

CULTURE CONTACT AND ACCULTURATION IN NEW SWEDEN

1638 - 1655

A Thesis

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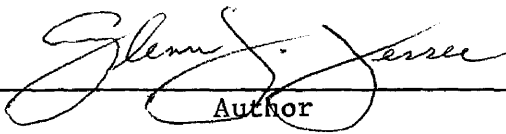
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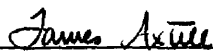
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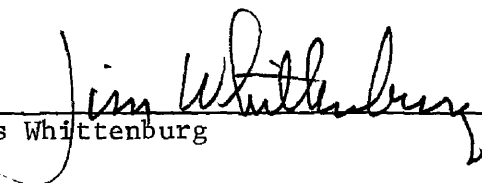


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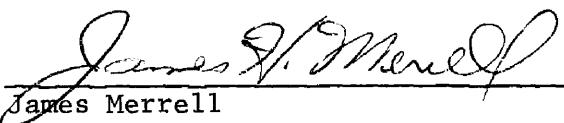
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FOR MY PARENTS

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ABSTRACT

In 1638, Swedish colonists settled along the shores of the Delaware River in America, establishing a colony called New Sweden. Already living in the lower Delaware Valley were the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware, Indians. Curious European observers recorded their thoughts and impressions regarding the lives, character, and origins of the native Americans. Their points of view were not homogeneous. Some saw the Indians as mischievous innocents. Others considered the Indians as enemies who ought to be destroyed.

The wishes of the latter group of colonists very nearly came to pass because the arrival of the Swedes led to the disruption and decline of Delaware society and culture. The introduction of unfamiliar diseases, such as smallpox, brought a dramatic increase in the death rate. Alcohol and drunkenness led to illness and disorder. The fur trade resulted in changes in Delaware material culture, increasing intertribal hostilities between the Delawares and competing tribes, the weakening of traditional Delaware religious beliefs, and the questioning of tribal authority in light of its inability to check the threat posed by European colonization. Swedish culture, on the other hand, fared much better during this period of race contact. Little was changed other than a few aspects of material culture and the foodways of the colonists.

When the colony was taken by the Dutch in 1655, Swedish rule along the Delaware came to an end. In 1664, the colony was brought under English rule, yet for a time the Swedes remaining in the region were able to retain their language and culture. However, during the eighteenth century, that began to change. Swedish culture, like Delaware culture a century before, went into decline, the victim of "anglicization."

CULTURE CONTACT AND ACCULTURATION IN NEW SWEDEN

1638 - 1655

INTRODUCTION

With the advent of the seventeenth century, Sweden was fast becoming a modern nation-state. During the preceding century, King Gustavus Vasa unified the country and freed it from foreign power and influence. The dynasty he founded would, during the seventeenth century, modernize Sweden and make it one of the most powerful states in Europe. At this time, the Netherlands set the pace for Swedish development by its own successful example, and particularly in economic affairs, Sweden quickly tried to emulate Holland. The Dutch were outstanding merchants who made available a ready supply of capital for maritime ventures. This capital allowed Dutch sailors and merchants to set their sights far beyond the shores of Europe and to plant colonies in the New World. A Sweden eager to share in the riches of America hastened to plant its own colony along the Delaware River in 1638.

Like their Dutch brethren, and like the English who had also begun colonizing ventures, Swedish capitalists expected to find great wealth and a market for their country's surplus production in the New World. What their agents who undertook the perilous voyages across the Atlantic found

instead was a forested wilderness inhabited by a people vastly different from themselves. The contact between these two cultures, one European and the other native American, was marked at various times by curiosity, tolerance, hostility, and misunderstanding. Just as the contact experience was varied and changing, so, too, were the impressions of the Swedes who ventured to the colony on the Delaware.

For those few literate Swedes who left records of their experiences and observations while in the colony, the American Indians posed a special problem. They described the Indians in great detail and tried hard to understand them; yet their differences in background and vocation made them see the New World and its native inhabitants in different lights. Together, the writings of these colonists document the impact of culture contact and colonization on the Swedish mind in America.

However, the colonization of New Sweden affected more than the way Europeans perceived the New World. More significantly, it resulted in changes in both Swedish and Delaware Indian society and culture. Europeans and Indians fared differently from culture contact and acculturation. The world the Delawares had known was ravaged by the experience. Swedish culture in America, at least during the seventeenth century, remained largely intact.

The New Sweden colony was taken over by the Dutch in 1655, but the Swedish presence in the New World did not end that year. Many settlers stayed on, living under Dutch rule

and, after 1664, English rule. Swedish culture and society persisted in the Delaware Valley into the eighteenth century. In 1748, Peter Kalm, a Swedish scientist, visited North America. In some respects, his observations record the final chapter in the history of New Sweden. His Travels in North America expressed a romantic view of the Indians who had long since vanished from the sea coast. More importantly, he witnessed the assimilation of Swedish-Americans into the dominant Anglo-American culture. As the strength of the distinctly Swedish culture in the region waned, New Sweden as an ethnic or cultural reality finally ceased to exist.

CHAPTER I
THE MEETING OF CULTURES

When Swedish colonists aboard the ships Kalmar Nickel and Vogel Grip landed at what is now Wilmington, Delaware, in 1638, they saw before them a virtually unlimited expanse of wilderness. They also found that wilderness inhabited by people they had never seen before, the American Indians, or more specifically, the Delaware (or Lenni Lenape) Indians of the lower Delaware Valley. Contact with these Indians posed commercial and security problems for the colonists, but it posed an intellectual problem as well. Who were the Indians? How did they come to inhabit North America? Were they savages or trustworthy innocents? How could they be dealt with? These were some of the questions that the Swedish colonists tried to answer.

Fortunately, written records survive from the Swedish period of colonization on the Delaware, 1638-1655, but they fail to provide a uniform look at the Indians living in the New World. Three sources are especially significant because of their comprehensiveness, but each reflects the interests and the occupation of the writer. The first is the Description of the Province of New Sweden, written by Thomas Campanius Holm in 1702. This work is based on the notes taken by his

grandfather, the Reverend John Campanius, who ministered in New Sweden from 1642 to 1648. The second work is the Geographia Americae, written by Peter Lindestrom in 1691 based on notes and surveys made during his service in the colony, 1653-1654. Lindestrom was an engineer by profession, but his book reflects his interests in natural science and in the Indians as a subject of scientific study. The third and final source consists of some of the official documents of the colony, the letters and reports of Governors Johan Printz and Johan Claudius Rising.

The establishment of a colony in America was a significant step in the coming of age of the Swedish state. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the focus of power in Europe had shifted from the Mediterranean to northern Europe.¹ This was no accident, but rather the consequence of the political, economic, and military modernization of states such as England, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden. In Sweden, sweeping changes in governmental administration were made during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, 1611-1632. The aristocracy was transformed into a national bureaucracy instructed to serve the state. Large and small landowners were appointed to civil and military posts. The Council of State became a closely knit center of power composed of men from the upper aristocracy. The chancery and treasury were modernized after Dutch models, universities received increased support from the crown, new cities were established, and the clergy was brought

more fully under the power of the king. Furthermore, Gustavus Adolphus created a national, citizen army and decreased his reliance on paid mercenaries.²

Economic modernization was harder to achieve. Seventeenth-century Sweden was overwhelmingly rural with nearly the entire population employed in traditional agricultural activities, forest occupations, such as hunting, fishing, and trapping, or handcrafts.³ Still, Sweden was beginning to industrialize. Iron, tar, and copper were the most important industrial products in seventeenth-century Sweden and they accounted for between eighty and ninety percent of Swedish exports. These exports in turn helped to finance the country's military and political expansion.⁴ However, these industrial activities were conducted on a relatively small scale. If industry was to grow, enabling Sweden to increase the level of her exports, capital was needed, but capital was lacking at home. In other European states, merchants supplied the capital for economic growth, but Sweden's shipping and trade were in the hands of foreigners--the Dutch, the English, and merchants from the Hanseatic cities across the Baltic. Furthermore, Swedish nobles were unable to generate sufficient investment capital because they spent most of their wealth on land and luxuries. The key, then, to Sweden's economic modernization and advancement was to "Swedify" foreign entrepreneurs and keep investment capital at home.⁵ This desire to link foreign talent and ability to Sweden's

economic development would eventually lead to the nation's short-lived colonial adventure.

Sweden relied on many foreigners to represent her interests abroad. One foreign agent was Samuel Blommaert of Amsterdam who sold iron and copper in Holland for the Swedish government. In 1635 Blommaert suggested to Axel Oxenstierna, the Swedish chancellor, that Sweden organize a company like the Dutch West India Company to undertake the copper trade with West Africa, where copper was in great demand.⁶ The Swedish government failed to act on this proposal, but another idea, that of settling a colony in America, was more compelling.

The Swedes were not the first to try to plant a colony on the Delaware River. The Dutch had tried earlier. In 1631, they established a patroonship at Swanendael, now the site of Lewes, Delaware, but it was destroyed by Indians in 1632. Attempts to reestablish the settlement proved too costly, so the colony was abandoned. In 1635, the rights to the Swanendael patroonship were transferred to the Dutch West India Company. Among the members of the company were Blommaert and Peter Minuit, the former director of the New Netherlands colony.

Minuit had been dismissed from his post in New Netherlands because his superiors felt that he served his own interests instead of those of the company. Seeking employment as well as profit, Minuit persuaded Blommaert of the advantages of establishing a Swedish colony in the New World. In a letter written in 1635 to Peter Spiring, a Dutchman close to Oxenstierna, Minuit pointed

out that France, England, and Holland had already established strong footholds in the New World and it was time that Sweden do the same. Furthermore, tremendous profits could be realized from the fur trade and the cultivation of tobacco and grain in the New World. Toward all these ends, Minuit offered his services to the Swedish crown.⁷

After a year of negotiations, the Swedes eventually accepted his proposal and, in 1637, the New Sweden Company was formed with half the cost of the first expedition being borne by Blommaert, Minuit, and their Dutch friends, and the other half by Axel Oxenstierna and his associates in Sweden. The company's charter is lost, but the instruction from Queen Christina to Governor Johan Printz in 1642 gives some indication of the purposes behind the foundation of the colony. She directed, first of all, that Indian peoples in the region be treated kindly, but that the governor, "at every opportunity, exert himself, that the same wild people may gradually be instructed in the true Christian religion and in other ways brought to civility and good public manner, as though led by the hand."⁸ Thus, two goals of colonization emerged. The first was to convert the Indians to Christianity. The second was to "civilize" them.

Another reason even more important than the first two, was the establishment of trade with the Indians. The Queen continued, "Especially shall he seek to bring them thereto and into the state of mind [that they believe] that he, the Governor,

or his subordinate people are not come into those parts to do them any wrong or injury, but much more for the purpose of bringing them to have what they need for their domestic common life, and sell and exchange such things for other things which are found among them and which they themselves have no use for."⁹ There was a competitive spirit about the launching of trade in New Sweden. Not only were the agents of the New Sweden Company to establish trade with the Indians, they also were to "allow the wild people to obtain the necessary things they need for somewhat more moderate prices than they are getting them of the Hollanders from Fort Nassau, or the adjacent English, all that said wild people may be withdrawn from them, and so much the more turn to our own people."¹⁰

With these instructions in hand, the first expedition to New Sweden arrived in the spring of 1638 and the colonists began the construction of a fortress aptly named Fort Christina. Eventually, the colony would grow until it occupied territory along both sides of the Delaware River from the present site of Philadelphia to the sea. The Swedes desired to own their lands outright and to have a valid claim to the territories they occupied, so they purchased lands from the Indians.¹¹ They were also quick to establish trade with the local tribes, offering European trade goods in exchange for food and furs. Ultimately, the Swedes' best partners in the fur trade were the Black and White Minquas, Susquehannock tribes inhabiting what is now northern and eastern Pennsylvania.¹²

From the colony's inception, the venture proved less than profitable. By the end of 1641, the Dutch investors had withdrawn from the company, letting the Swedes purchase their share of the investment. It seems that the growing Swedish-Dutch conflict over Dutch West India Company claims to the entire Delaware River Valley put the Dutch investors in a difficult position at home. Since they were not making any money from their risky venture, they decided to let the Swedes proceed alone.¹³ During the next six years, the colony expanded, and shipments of goods for both the colonists and for the Indian trade were sent regularly by the Company's directors in Sweden.

Serious problems arose, however. After 1648, shipments to the colony virtually ceased.¹⁴ The Indians, who had an insatiable desire for European goods, grew restless, and the Dutch, with a steady supply of trade goods, began to compete all too effectively with the Swedes in the fur trade. There were reasons for the neglect of the colony by Swedish authorities. Government finances were drained by the expense of fighting the Thirty Years War, a series of bad harvests in the 1640s led to internal unrest at home, and Sweden's small population was not sufficient to sustain a steady emigration to the New World. Furthermore, Sweden was largely a producer of raw materials, not manufactured goods, and was incapable of providing a steady supply of goods for the fur trade. Perhaps the best reason of all was that Sweden had overextended itself politically, militarily, and financially during the many years

of war in Europe and was therefore never able to consolidate its position to the degree necessary to support expansion across the seas.¹⁵ Finally, in 1655, the colony was vanquished by the Dutch and New Sweden was a Swedish colony no more.

Since one of the missions of the New Sweden Company was to convert the Indians to Christianity, religious men were needed in America to minister to the Indians. In 1642, a Lutheran minister, the Reverend John Campanius, was sent to the colony as Governor Printz's Chaplain to America. He remained in the colony for six years. During that time he learned the Indian languages spoken in the region and translated Luther's Catechism into Delaware.¹⁶ He died in Sweden in 1683, but his notes on his stay in America survived him and became the basis for the Description of the Province of New Sweden, written by his grandson, Thomas Campanius Holm.

Holm described the Delawares as "tall, strong, nimble, and their limbs . . . well proportioned: they have broad faces, small black eyes, flat noses, large lips, short broad teeth, but very white, they have no beard: their hair is black and straight."¹⁷ As interesting as their physical appearance must have been to a European clergyman, Campanius' greater interest might have been in the Indians' character and moral development. The natives seemed to be benevolent beings, "friendly and upright in their intercourse with strangers who treat them in the same manner; but, sometimes, they can be very cunning and even roguish."¹⁸ Furthermore, looking back on the Dutch attack of

1655, the Delawares proved to be trusted allies in addition to being just friends. According to Holm, the Indians not only warned the Swedish settlements of the impending attack, but helped to fight off the Dutch.¹⁹

Holm also commented on the generosity of the Indians. "They have, indeed, not much to bestow," he wrote, "but be it much or little, they are always glad to share it: they neither care for to-morrow, as their hunting, fishery, and trapping always supply them with a plentiful table."²⁰ The example of the Indians in this case served as a harsh reminder to the Christian settlers. Whereas the Indians were moved by a spirit of friendship and generosity, they could not help but wonder at the Christians, "when they see them so attentive to their comforts, and building for themselves houses and fortresses, as if they were to live for ever."²¹

These roguish innocents were changed by their contact with white colonists and Holm described many of the harmful effects. "As to their manners and customs," he wrote, "they have greatly changed since the Swedes first came among them. It had been observed and been a subject of regret . . . that they have learned many vices by their intercourse with the Christians, particularly drunkenness, which was before unknown to them, as they drank nothing but pure water."²² The white influence was not entirely corrupting. One beneficial change occurred in the Indians' dietary habits. According to Holm, "When the Swedes first arrived, the Indians were in the habit

of eating human flesh, and they generally eat that of their enemies after broiling it, which can be easily proved."²³

The proof was in a story related to John Campanius' son, the author's father. Apparently, a Swedish settler was invited to a feast by some of the local Indians. After he had eaten, some other Indians told him he had been eating the flesh of an Indian from an enemy tribe who had been broiled, boiled, and hashed.²⁴

Holm also saw that from early contact the Delawares were well disposed toward Christianity, "so much so, that in several places they have turned from their heathenish practices to the Christian religion."²⁵ At first, the Indians were merely curious about and suspicious of Christian religious observances. As a matter of fact, their suspicions caused them to fear that "every thing was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward amongst us" wrote Holm; "in consequence of which my grandfather's life and that of the other priests were, for some time, in considerable danger from the Indians who daily came to him and asked many questions."²⁶ But these suspicions soon gave way to feelings to wonder. The Indians were fascinated with Christian stories about the creation, the fall of man, and Jesus Christ. The Indians, Holm believed, "began to think quite differently from what they had done before; so that [Campanius] gained their affection, and they visited and sent to him very frequently. This induced him to exert himself to learn their language, so as to be able to translate for them what they

wanted very much to instruct them in the Christian doctrine."²⁷ Whether Campanius was really so successful in guiding "those people who were wandering in darkness . . . to see the light" is open to speculation.²⁸ For example, Campanius' translation of Luther's Catechism into a bastardized version of the Delaware language was difficult for the Indians to understand, possibly because the Indian language Campanius learned was a trade jargon, or a lingua franca, not true Delaware.²⁹ Furthermore, it is likely that the Indians showed more curiosity and amusement in response to the Christian teachings and ceremonies than they did genuine interest and desire to convert.³⁰

Whether or not the Indians were successfully converted, Holm believed that they were relatively pliable innocents who needed only the guiding hand of civilization and Christianity to bring their lives into order. Typical was a meeting between local Delaware leaders and the colony's authorities in June 1654 in which the Indians, after presenting a serious grievance to the Swedes, became deferential and apologetic toward the Europeans. The Indians were angry because they thought "the Swedes had brought much evil upon them; for many of them had died since their coming into the country."³¹ The Swedes placated their Indian guests with presents, and soon afterwards one of the chiefs rose to speak. "'Look,' said he, pointing to the presents, 'and see what they have brought to us, for which they desire our friendship.'"³² Then, making a motion as if tying a knot, he reaffirmed the friendship between the Indians and

the Swedes. Shortly, wine and brandy were served. Not surprisingly, another Indian rose "and admonished all in general, that they should keep the league and friendship which had been made with the Christians."³³ Soon afterwards, the Indians were fed and the "sachems sat by themselves, the other Indians all fed heartily and were satisfied. The treaty of friendship which was then made between the Swedes and the Indians, has ever since been faithfully observed on both sides," noted Holm in 1702.³⁴

That meeting, like many others, testifies to the largely economic nature of the relationship between Indians and Swedes. Reflecting on the first contact between the two groups, Holm recalled a story in which the Indians met to decide what they should do about the Europeans who were settling upon their lands. Some of the Indians proposed that the Swedes be killed, but feared superior Swedish firepower. Finally, it was decided that "they should love them, and trust them as their good friends, because it might still happen that they would send a ship laden with all kinds of merchandise, wherewith they might trade."³⁵ Thus, Delaware-Swedish relations were based more on economic interdependence than on friendship and respect.

Holm's interest in the Delawares went far beyond an examination of their habits, morals, and appearance. He was also curious about their origins and especially about how they came to North America. He concluded that the most reasonable opinion was "that of those who believe that men as well as animals after the flood, made their way by land to America."³⁶

More specifically, Holm questioned the exact geographic or ethnic origins of the Indians. He considered theories which claimed that the Indians came from Asia, that they were descended from the Scythians and Tartars, or perhaps even from the Chinese, the Phoenicians, or the Athenians. However, the sheer diversity of North American peoples led him to refute any suggestion that they had a common origin. According to Holm, "they are so much unlike each other, not only in size and shape, but in their manners, customs, and languages, that it is not probable that they are all descended from any one particular nation, but rather from different races of men."³⁷

Before he arrived at this conclusion, he explored one other possibility. According to Holm, Father Louis Hennepin, a French recollect missionary, thought that the Indians might be descended from the Hebrews. In order to back up his theory, Hennepin pointed out some of the similarities between the customs of the ancient Hebrews and those of the Indians. Both lived in huts, both smeared themselves with grease, women mourned for a year after the death of their close relations, and it appeared "as if God's curse had fallen upon them [the Indians] as it did upon the Jews; for they are a wild and headstrong race, have no fixed or certain habitations, etc."³⁸ Holm found more evidence which he thought lent credence to Hennepin's notions. He noticed a strong similarity between the Delaware and the Hebrew languages.³⁹ It was assumed, then, that the Indians had their origins in more "civilized" cultures. It was only a matter of time, however,

until the Indians would be restored to civilization once again. According to Holm, "At first, men will have been satisfied with leading a savage life . . . according to the law of nature; afterwards, they will come to the neighborhood of places where laws, political government, the virtues and the arts were in use, and in process of time, will have forgotten their former habits and usages."⁴⁰

Whereas the Reverend Campanius was sent to New Sweden to minister to the colonists and to convert the Indians to Christianity, Peter Lindestrom was sent to fortify the colony and subdue the land. He studied at the University of Upsala, where in addition to learning history and geography, he specialized in mathematics and fortifications. In 1653, he requested a recommendation from the Commercial College in Stockholm, which was overseeing the Delaware expeditions, to Governor Printz of the colony, and was accepted into the governor's service. He remained in New Sweden only a short time, arriving in 1653 and leaving for Europe after the fall of the colony in 1655. During that short time, he compiled sufficient notes for his book, Geographia Americae.⁴¹

Lindestrom was a scientist, not a minister, and his impressions of the Indians were not as favorable as Campanius's. Lindestrom called the Indians "wild people . . . on account of their idolatry and error in religion."⁴² He described them as being "brownish" in color and well proportioned, "slender and straight as a candle."⁴³ He attributed this to the Indian

practice of keeping children on cradleboards while they were young.⁴⁴ He also found the Delawares to be brave, daring, revengeful, fearless, heroic, strong in their arms (but weak in their backs), agile, limber, and always eager for war. He said they smelled like dogs, but that they were industrious, diligent, bold, inquisitive, charitable, patient, and able to endure much hardship. With the exception of their smell, all of these characteristics portray the Delawares in a favorable light. However, Lindstrom also recognized a dark side of their character. He believed that they were mischievous, haughty, mistrustful, untruthful, thievish, shameless, and dishonorable.⁴⁵ He considered the Indians' sexual practices animal-like. In his own words, "The Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother, and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child."⁴⁶ He noticed, too, that the Indians were relatively healthy, and he remarked on the rare occurrence of disease. However, according to Lindstrom, the "French disease sometimes indeed rages among the savages, because they live in such unchastity and adultery like irrational brutes."⁴⁷

Still, he found the Delawares capable of acts of kindness and loyalty. "When they know that they have among them a mittappi or a good friend who wished them well, entertains him with food and drink, when he comes, and also presents him with some little [thing] , like an awl point, a mirror, glassbeads

and such things," he wrote, "then he shows his generosity again in 20, 30 to 40 fold value in pelts and other things."⁴⁸ The Indians had to be treated gently, however, because they were easily offended.⁴⁹ All in all, the Delawares proved to be people of mixed qualities in Lindestrom's eyes, although he concluded that they were "more inclined towards bad than towards good."⁵⁰

Like Holm, Lindestrom also saw a touch of innocence in the Delawares' nature. He honestly believed that the Indians were incapable of lying. "They are so simple that they cannot simulate," he wrote, "nor do they know of any deceit, but do not imagine that anything could pass from a man's tongue, without coming from the heart."⁵¹ Unfortunately, it was this view of the Indians that made their treatment by the Swedish colonists so much more unjust. Lindestrom recognized the fundamental economic relationship that existed between the Europeans and the Indians. That relationship, however, was not necessarily an honest and a fair one on the part of the Swedes, who made a healthy profit from the Indian trade when their supply ships managed to arrive.⁵² As a matter of fact, Lindestrom believed that the profitability of the fur trade was the only thing preventing the extermination of the Indians.⁵³

Profit was a strong motive in the European colonization of the New World, but the Delawares initially were not well versed in the trading practices of whites. Lindestrom pointed out that Indians were cheated in the measurement of the frieze

they purchased from the Swedes. "When the Christian measures the frieze for the savage," he wrote, "they measure it for the savage on the edge, the savage taking hold of a corner of the frieze and the Christian on the edge, whereupon they pull the hardest they are able, stretching thus the ell for the savage, so that he for three ells barely gets more than two."⁵⁴ The Indians were also cheated in their purchase of powder. Powder was sold by the handfull and it was common for the Swedes to draw their hands together so that "the savage hardly gets more than 1/2 handfull for a whole."⁵⁵ The Swedes also abused the Indians by robbing Indian burial sites, "so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater."⁵⁶

Lindestrom, like Holm, did not limit his study of New Sweden to a description of the peoples there and its geography. His experience in the New World prompted him to speculate on the nature of society. "In former times," wrote Lindestrom, "the people here on earth were not rich, neither did they aspire after any riches, but were satisfied with little."⁵⁷ Furthermore, they lived out of doors, subsisted on game and fruits, and drank only water. Their clothing was simple, at first only leaves and, later, furs.⁵⁸ However, this state of nature soon required adjustments and improvements. More secure shelters were needed to protect men and women from enemies and from wild animals. With the advance of civilization, men's habits changed and they turned away from murder, cannibalism, and incest. Finally,

cities and governments were created. "Thus we see how the world in these times has been placed in a beautiful order, compared to what it was in former times."⁵⁹ In America, however, Lindestrom discovered man in the state of nature his European ancestors had once experienced and ultimately outgrown.⁶⁰

Both Holm and Lindestrom examined Indians as subjects of scientific or moral study, yet their impressions varied somewhat according to their own interests and their views of man and the world. The governors of the colony were more pragmatic in their approach. Furthermore, the reports and letters left by two of the colony's governors, Johan Printz and Johan Claudius Rising, present an insightful look at Indian-white relations, the problems encountered as the two cultures clashed, and the deterioration of relations over time until the colony was taken by the Dutch in 1655.

Johan Printz was governor of New Sweden from 1642 until 1653. Unlike Holm and Lindestrom, Printz did not see the Delawares as innocents. In a letter written to Per Abrahamsson Brahe, a member of the Swedish Council of State, in April 1643, Printz described the Indians as "large, strong and well built fellows; [who] color themselves terribly in the face, variously, not one like the other, go naked, only a piece of cloth about one-half an ell wide around their middle, and down below their loins."⁶¹ In the same letter, he also said that they were terribly barbarous heathens, revengeful, wise in trade and traffic; clever to do all kinds of things of lead, copper, and

tin, as also to carve artistically in wood; they are also good and quick shots with their arrows, but have no knowledge of God, but place their hope in the devils."⁶²

As governor of the colony, Printz was responsible for the triple mission of the colony--to civilize the Indians, convert them to Christianity, and establish trade with them. However, because of the great distance between the Delaware Valley and Stockholm, Printz received broad discretionary powers from the Queen so that he might better deal with the harsh realities of colonization.⁶³ Printz reported that efforts to convert the Delawares were unsuccessful. The Swedes brought Indians into their communities to watch church services, "but they have watched their opportunity and have run away again to the Savages."⁶⁴ Printz, always the pragmatic soldier, offered a solution. If the Indians were to be converted, "it must happen with compulsion, so that one would strike to death and destroy the greatest part of the older [people] and bring the remainder under the obedience of H[er] R[oyal] Maj[esty] and then compel and force them to a knowledge of God."⁶⁵

Printz was not a subtle man, nor could he afford to be. In 1644 the Swedes were constructing a small boat to use in their trade with Indians. That same year, Printz reported that "the savages set a fire on the island in the night and burnt part of the material which had been saved and cut for the boat."⁶⁶ Swedish efforts to trade with the Indians were plagued with other problems as well. Shortages of shipments of trade

goods from Sweden constituted one of the greatest. The year 1644 had been good for trade; over two thousand pieces of beaver were sent back to Sweden in addition to 20,467 pounds of tobacco, 15,476 pounds having been purchased in Virginia.⁶⁷ But in his report of 1644 Printz complained of the shortage of sewant, or wampum, which facilitated trade with the Indians.⁶⁸ By 1647 Printz was complaining that no ship had arrived with goods for over two years and, as a result, the Dutch "have drawn the principle [sic] traders (who are the White and Black Minquas) from us that we shall be able only with great difficulty to regain them."⁶⁹

This competition from Dutch as well as English traders posed the second major problem for Swedish trade. Printz called it his "greatest hindrance."⁷⁰ "We have evil neighbors, especially the English," he wrote. "The Hollanders are also not to be trusted, and the Savages even still less."⁷¹ By 1650 Printz was writing to Per Brahe complaining that the Dutch had come to monopolize the fur trade with the Indians "for we have had no cargoes at all and as long as we are without cargoes we must fear the Savages; yet we have not observed any hostile intentions from them and they do not dare, on account of our strong forts, to begin anything against us."⁷² The Dutch started to make deep inroads into territory claimed by Sweden, and by 1652 Indian-Swedish relations were deteriorating rapidly. In a letter to Oxenstierna, Printz reported that the Dutch "stir up the Savages against us and hasten them upon our neck; to

which the Savages begin not to be averse."⁷³ Apparently, the utility of Swedish colonization from an Indian point of view lasted only as long as the supplies of European trade goods. Both goods and time were running out for the Swedes.

Relations with the Indians were always precarious. In 1644 word reached New Sweden of a second Indian uprising in Virginia and of Indian problems in New Netherlands. In the same year Indians in New Sweden killed a man and his wife, and a few days later murdered two soldiers and a workman.⁷⁴ Fearing retribution, the Delawares sued for peace, but as Printz wrote, "they do not trust us and we trust them still less."⁷⁵ Printz, a man of action, came up with a solution to the Indian problem. In his report of 1644 he commented that "nothing would be better than to send over here a couple of hundred soldiers and [keep them here] until we broke the necks of all of them in this River, especially since we have no beaver whatsoever with them but only the maize trade."⁷⁶

Printz left New Sweden in the autumn of 1653 and returned to Europe. Before news of his departure reached Sweden, another man, Johan Claudius Rising, had been commissioned to serve as Printz's assistant in the colony. When Rising arrived in New Sweden in 1654, he immediately assumed the vacant post of governor and, for a while at least, approached his duties with great optimism. He wanted to expand the Indian trade in the region, and he honestly believed that Swedish claims to the Delaware Valley could be upheld in spite of English and Dutch encroachment.⁷⁷

However, by 1655 optimism turned to fear. "Our neighbors the Renappi [Delawares] threaten not only to kill our people in the land and ruin them . . . ," he wrote, "but also to destroy even the trade, both with the Minquas and the other savage nations, as well as with the Christians. We must daily buy their friendship with presents, for they are and continue to be hostile, and worse than they have been hitherto."⁷⁸ When New Sweden was taken by the Dutch that year, deteriorating Indian-white relations ceased to be Rising's problem.

Campanius, speaking through his grandson Holm, saw the Delawares as crude innocents eagerly awaiting conversion and civility. Lindestrom saw them as natural men, exhibiting both good and bad qualities and living in a state of nature common to all societies at some time in their development. Governors Printz and Rising saw the Indians as a threat that must be contained and controlled, or eliminated. No single theme connects these disparate Swedish views of the Indian. Rather, two broad themes emerge. The first is the Indian as a "noble savage," an uncivilized yet uncorrupted being of the forest. Holm and Lindestrom shared this idea, at least in part. At the opposite end of the spectrum stood Printz and Rising. Printz especially espoused the philosophy that would come to prevail in a significant segment of United States Indian policy up to the twentieth century. He might not have realized it at the time, but when he begged his superiors in Sweden for

two hundred soldiers so that he could exterminate the local Indian tribes, he was among the first to suggest that the only good Indian is a dead Indian.

CHAPTER II

THE MINGLING OF CULTURES

Campanius, Lindestrom, Printz, and Rising had differing views of the events they experienced in common, which reflects the varied and subjective nature of the colonizing process. However, a single reality underlay their perceptions. The contact of two vastly different cultures, one American and one European, and the conflict and acculturation it engendered, led to the irreversible decline of Delaware culture and society. Swedish society fared much better as it endeavored to survive in the New World. On the whole, there is nothing unusual in the drama of colonization as it was played out in New Sweden. The same plot was played out with different characters over the next three centuries as Europeans spread their dominion over the entire globe. Based on this long history of colonization and cultural contact, anthropologists and sociologists have succeeded in constructing frameworks for understanding race contact, conflict, and acculturation, which are useful for analyzing the brief history of Indian-European relations in New Sweden.

On the eve of contact, the Delaware Indians, a matrilineal society belonging to the Algonkian linguistic community, numbered between eight and twelve thousand. They called

themselves "Lenni-Lenape," or "our people," and were organized into small clans living in scattered settlements in the Delaware River Valley, extending from what are now Delaware and New Jersey to southern New York. Each clan had a male leader, or sachem, who performed a variety of administrative, legislative, and judicial duties in conjunction with a council, but there was no great sachem or king uniting all the Delaware clans as in the Powhatan Confederacy to the south in the Chesapeake Bay region. Instead, each settlement was politically independent of the other villages.

The Delawares supported themselves with a subsistence economy based on agriculture, hunting, and gathering. Agriculture was predominantly woman's work. Female clanswomen cultivated a variety of crops such as squash, pumpkins, beans, tobacco, and the staple, corn. The men hunted, supplementing the Delaware diet with a variety of mammals and birds while also providing pelts and hides for clothing and (after contact) for the fur trade. Fish, wild plants, roots, nuts, and wild fruits rounded out the Delaware diet. This subsistence economy required seasonal settlement changes. During the spring and summer clans grew their gardens and fished while residing in their dispersed villages. In the fall they repaired to their family hunting territories where they stayed through the winter.

The Delaware world was at once natural and supernatural. Foremost among the inhabitants of the supernatural realm was the creator, or Great Spirit. Below him and assisting him were a

host of lesser anthropomorphic deities such as the Earth Mother, who cared for and fed mankind, and the Sun and the Moon who were considered "elder brothers" by the Delawares. Visions and dreams provided communication with the inhabitants of this realm. Males especially sought guardian spirits which took the form of an animal, a deity, an inanimate object, or a ghost in order to serve as man's helpers and allies. The Delawares also believed that humans had two souls. One resided in the heart and left the body only after death. The other, the soul in the blood, stayed on earth after death to bring misfortune to the living and to torment friends and kinsmen who failed to honor the dead properly.⁷⁹

The initial period of contact between the Swedes and the Delawares was peaceful. The Indians invited the Europeans to their settlements and offered them feasts of bread, deer, elk, bear meat, fish, and bear fat, much of it served raw. The natives were easily offended if their guests violated their rules of etiquette, especially in regard to expressing gratitude. Occasionally this put the Swedes in an awkward position. Peter Lindstrom noted the "if one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for the feeding and feasting of the horse, just as if it had consumed and eaten the same."⁸⁰ If a colonist failed to do this, the consequences were unpleasant for "otherwise they would kill the horse, thinking that it would scorn them; for they have no horses

or cattle wherefore the savages do not know their nature, but they think that they eat the same food as the people eat."⁸¹ The Delawares were equally unfamiliar with European manners. If Indians were expected to share a meal in a Swedish house, it was necessary to keep the lower end of the table uncovered since they would jump up on the table and sit there with their legs crossed.⁸²

Whereas the initial period of contact between a native society and a colonizing society may be cordial, prolonged relations between the two often lead to conflict. In his study of colonization, René Maunier, discerned several possible effects of colonization. One is the disappearance of the native group. This may be intentional, the product of war or conquest, or accidental, caused by the introduction of unfamiliar diseases into the environment. Colonization can also lead to the disintegration of native societies by undermining traditional authority or beliefs. This breakdown of tradition can leave the members of a society despondent, slowly dying as they pine away for a vanished past. A third effect is the opposition of the native society to the invading colonists and its reluctance to adopt new customs and manners. This opposition may take the form of open hostility or perhaps a more subtle tension pervading relations between the two peoples.⁸³

The history of New Sweden lends support to Maunier's theory, because hospitality soon turned to distrust and enmity as the presence of the Swedes in America began to affect Delaware society.

The Delaware population was decimated by the smallpox brought to the New World by Europeans. Ever since the Dutch first established trading posts in the Delaware River region, a number of epidemics raged through the area killing most of the Indian population. The spread of disease hurt trade between the Swedes and their Indian trading partners since so many Indians were afraid to come to the Swedish settlements during times of sickness.⁸⁴

The introduction of alcohol had debilitating effects on the native population as well. Many Indians who had developed a strong taste for liquor died prematurely.⁸⁵ Lindstrom cautioned against giving Indians liquor, for when "one gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take care not to give him too much."⁸⁶ Lindstrom offered this advice because he knew that an intoxicated Indian "becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, no knowing what he does."⁸⁷

High death rates due to epidemics and alcoholism created further disorder within Indian society. Warfare with the Susquehannock tribes to the north strained it further, as Swedish expansion pushed the Delawares farther inland and as intertribal hostilities increased.⁸⁸ Native leaders were unable to deal with the problems facing their people, and any unity they might have developed in opposition to the Swedish presence dissolved

during a 1654 meeting with Governor Rising when gifts of alcohol, food, and trade goods were distributed. The disunity of the clans and the local nature of Delaware leadership made dealing with the Swedes difficult, and may have accelerated the crisis within Delaware society by bringing the authority of the sachems into serious question.

Maunier described a fourth possible effect of colonization: transformation or adaptation.⁸⁹ Another term for this process is acculturation, defined as "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous systems."⁹⁰ During the early stages of contact, especially in a trading environment, material culture changes predominate. Most often these changes reflect the process of "additive integration" as new, foreign objects and uses are added to a society's culture.⁹¹ For example, an Indian may acquire a copper cooking pot and some European textiles which he can use in traditional ways, and a European trader may receive some furs or a necklace in trade which he can wear or sell. Neither person has yet been required to eliminate traditional cultural practices or values, so contact is mutually advantageous. This condition is temporary, however, and soon new intercultural relationships are established between the two societies.⁹²

The Delawares and their Minqua competitors welcomed the opportunity to trade furs for European goods that the Swedes could supply. They especially sought European cloth, though the Swedes marvelled at the Indians' lack of discrimination in

distinguishing quality. According to Lindestrom, "the savages really do not understand this trade, for they hold frieze in as high esteem as the finest scarlet."⁹³ Perhaps the Indians simply saw greater value and utility in the woolen fabric. Nevertheless, European cloth soon became a status symbol and Indian leaders were those most often associated with European textiles in the accounts of the period. According to Holm, the "sachems and chief warriors have begun to dress themselves in European cloth, of which they wrap around their bodies a square piece of different colours, some yellow, and some blue; they think themselves very elegant when dressed in this manner."⁹⁴ Others wore squares of cloth only when they were dealing with Europeans, buying one piece at a time as needed.⁹⁵

The Delawares started to wear European clothing in addition to mere pieces of imported cloth. Sachems and chiefs began to fancy shirts which extended down to their knees. They were also fond of certain "coats, reaching to the knees, made of frieze . . . the one side of the breast and back, red, the other side, blue, likewise on the arms, as the clothes of the orphan children in Stockholm are made."⁹⁶ These stylish aborigines also coveted small caps which were made by Swedish women "out of all kinds of old clothes, at the top of which they fixed a tassel of various colours, which they made of differently coloured rags, which they unravelled and mixed together."⁹⁷ Unfortunately, the Indians neglected to wash their clothes, letting them rot on their backs.⁹⁸

Cloth was also used in funeral rites. Lindstrom observed that after the dead were buried, the Indians "dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes."⁹⁹ The Delawares also used rugs and frieze to make sails for small sailing vessels.¹⁰⁰

European trade goods were put to other uses. Brass and copper kettles were substituted for clay pottery.¹⁰¹ Metal vessels proved so vastly superior to traditional earthenwares that by the middle of the eighteenth century the Indians of Pennsylvania no longer made their own.¹⁰² Iron tools were also preferred to traditional tools made of bone, stone, and shell.¹⁰³ Trade goods could be put to ornamental uses. Objects such as glass beads and mirrors might have carried with them some status, but their introduction probably did little to change Delaware culture. The Minquas, however, found an interesting use for iron chains in the torture of their victims. Lindstrom reported that when Minquas punished their prisoners, they placed them "upon the high framework, who were bound around their waists with long slender iron chains; they then put fire to the bark, lying below, and later, shoved one prisoner after the other down into the fire."¹⁰⁴ The Minquas also acquired guns. Although the Europeans first agreed not to sell guns to Indians, after the English began to do so in Virginia the Swedes followed suit, not wishing to be excluded from any

trading opportunities enjoyed by their rivals.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, guns came to displace bows and arrows, and the Minquas not only had guns but a small iron cannon as well.¹⁰⁶

The incorporation of European artifacts into Delaware material culture did not represent a major decline in Indian material culture. Although the Indians desired trade goods because they were superior to their own hand-made artifacts, they continued to use them in traditional ways for traditional ends. But the importance which Delawares placed upon trade with Europeans contributed to the disruption of native society and culture. First of all, competition with the Minquas in the fur trade encouraged intertribal conflicts which the weaker Delawares could not win.¹⁰⁷ Secondly, the diversion of time and labor away from the Delaware subsistence economy into trade with the Swedes, together with the deleterious effects of alcohol, disease, warfare, and European encroachment, weakened the ability of the economy to support the Delaware population. As an eighteenth-century writer noted, "At first [the Swedes] were forced to buy maize of the Indians, both for sowing and eating. But after continuing for some years in this country they extended their maize plantations so much that the Indians were obliged, sometime after, to buy maize of the Swedes."¹⁰⁸

Acculturation proceeds at different rates, even within a single contact situation, depending upon the aspect of culture which comes under pressure to change. The material aspects of a society can change very quickly. Behavior and ideas, on

the other hand, are slower to change if they change at all.¹⁰⁹ The single aspect of Delaware culture that best resisted the disruption of contact was religion. In spite of Campanius' efforts to bring the Indians to Christianity, they seemed only curious about the Swedes' Christian faith and were unwilling to convert. As late as the 1720s, Swedish ministers were still trying to convert the Indians remaining in the Delaware Valley. The Reverend Israel Acrelius wrote of a young boy who was induced to spend some time in the home of the Reverend Samuel Hesselius, "was there instructed in English in the principal doctrines of Christianity, and afterwards baptized. But not long after that he again returned to the savages, and lived like them."¹¹⁰ The emphasis which the Delawares placed on religion as an important component of cultural survival in the face of growing European cultural dominance in America probably explains in part the eighteenth-century development of the Big House Ceremony as Delaware society underwent transformation and reunification after a period of weakness and decline.¹¹¹

Delaware resistance to conversion and the creation of new religious myths do not mean that Delaware religion passed through the period of contact with Europeans unscathed. The fur trade encouraged Indians to hunt and kill greater numbers of fur-bearing animals both to satisfy their own subsistence needs and to satisfy their desire for the trade goods which only the Europeans could supply. However, as Calvin Martin observed in his study of the Micmacs, "the entire Indian-land

relationship was suffused with religious considerations which profoundly influenced the economic (subsistence) activities and beliefs of these people."¹¹² Hunting, then, was more than just an economic pursuit; it also brought the hunter into contact with the spirits inhabiting animals and forests. Environmental and spiritual harmony prevailed so long as the Delawares demanded only subsistence from their world. But when hunting became exploitative, the spiritual framework upon which that subsistence was based began to erode.¹¹³

If Delaware society and culture underwent profound changes as a result of culture contact, Swedish culture and society, too, were not untouched by the experience of colonization. The Swedes came to the Delaware to profit and to ultimately remake the New World in an Old World image. Upon landing in 1638, they began the construction of Fort Christina, designed for protection against potentially hostile natives and the Dutch upriver at Fort Nassau. In 1642 Governor Printz was instructed to choose a site for another fortress in order to safeguard the Delaware River for Swedish shipping.¹¹⁴ Once that was accomplished, he was to encourage farming, tobacco cultivation, husbandry, viniculture, mining, forestry, fishing, sericulture, and the making of salt.¹¹⁵

Two years later, Printz reported that only food and tobacco cultivation were underway.¹¹⁶ Still, the Swedes were slowly "taming" the wilderness. They built rude houses for themselves. One was described a century later as having "one

little room, the door of which was so low, that one was obliged to stoop in order to get in. As they [the colonists] brought no glass with them, they were obliged to be content with little holes, before which a moveable board was fastened."¹¹⁷ For warmth, "chimnies were made in a corner, either of grey sand, a stone, or (in places where no stone was to be got) of mere clay, which they laid very thick in one corner of the house."¹¹⁸ However, it was not long before additional forts were being built along the Delaware River and the Swedes started constructing watermills and two-story houses of hickory logs.¹¹⁹ This building effort required supplies. In March 1644, a cargo arrived on the ship Fama, which included three saw-mill saws, eight grindstones, a pair of large millstones, barrels of lime and pitch, and a few thousand bricks in addition to a vast assortment of other goods.¹²⁰

Governor Printz caused a new settlement to be raised called New Gothenburg, which included a fortress and a fine residence for himself. It was destroyed by fire in 1645, but subsequently rebuilt. Lindestrom recalled that "the late Governor Printz had a church built, also a hall for himself and his family, which is called Printzhoff--very splendidly and well built, with a pleasure garden, summer house and other such [things] ."¹²¹ The church Printz built at New Gothenburg was "decorated according to our Swedish fashion, so far as our resources and means would go."¹²² This was in accordance with the recommendations of Per Brahe, who in a

letter to Printz in November 1643 advised him to "decorate your little church and your priests in a Swedish manner with chasuble in order that you may be different from the English and the Hollanders, fleeing from all Calvinistic leaven."¹²³

Agriculture was an important part of the economic plan for New Sweden. But North America was not Europe, and the Swedish settlers on the Delaware were forced to adapt to a new and harsh environment. The climate seemed cruel and uncomfortable, even to Scandinavians. Peter Lindstrom observed that though winter in New Sweden was shorter than winter in Sweden, it was "indeed as severe there, while it lasts, as the most severe [winter] here in Old Sweden."¹²⁴ Also, there was no subtle change of seasons. Winter came on quickly, and after giving way, summer arrived fast behind it "with such a heat that the colonists who plant are not able to do anything in the middle of the day, during the summer, and cannot wear any other clothes but linen clothes, made quite wide, on account of the oppressive heat."¹²⁵

The Swedes complained about the climate, but it also gave them cause to wonder. Lindstrom noticed the infrequent rains, but he was even more impressed by thunder and lightning storms. The rain, he wrote, "does not often fall there, but when it does, it is generally in connection with heavy thunder, that we hear and see the heavens with great horror, for when it thunders the whole heaven appears to be on fire, that nothing can be seen but flames of fire and smoke."¹²⁶

Another source of amazement for the Swedes were the new stars they had never been able to see from their homes in northern Europe.¹²⁷

The unfamiliar climate of New Sweden was made all the more threatening by sickness and death. In his 1644 report, Governor Printz related that twenty-five colonists had died during the previous year--twelve laborers, eight soldiers, two freemen, two women, and a preacher. Those who survived, he said, wanted only to leave the colony. After procuring additional provisions from the English and the Dutch and restoring the health of many of the colonists, he claimed they were better disposed to stay.¹²⁸

Nevertheless, the morale in the settlements so far from Sweden continued to lag. Printz summed up conditions in the colony in a letter to Axel Oxenstierna, dated April 26, 1653.

In the next place I do humbly appraise Y[our] Excell[ency] that the people who still live and are left here in New Sweden are altogether, men women, and children, about 22 souls. The families who have settled [on farms] are doing well and are provided with cattle; the crops of the country are middling, but the sustenance of the soldiers and others who still serve under the Company is very poor; [they] look every day for means and opportunities to get away from here, if not with permission then in what way soever they can [do it] , because they doubt altogether [the arrival] of deliverance, since they have not had a single letter from our fatherland during the space of four years and a half; and the English trade by which we used to have a good support is completely at a standstill, because of the war between Holland and England, and from the fur trade [there is] no profit any more, and especially since the Arrigahaga and Susquahannoer (from whom the beavers come) begin to fight one another.¹²⁹

By July 1653 rebellion seemed possible. Twenty-two settlers signed a petition requesting that two representatives be sent to see Queen Christina to inform her of the neglected condition of the settlements in America and of the brutal mismanagement of the colony under Printz's administration. Printz responded by having one of the leaders of his opposition, Anders Jonsson, executed for treason.¹³⁰ By the time Johan Rising arrived in the colony the following year, only seventy colonists remained. The others had either returned to Sweden with Printz or deserted. Approximately 250 additional colonists arrived on the Orn in 1654, the survivors of nearly 350 passengers who had set out from Europe.¹³¹

The Swedes suffered heat and cold, loneliness, and death in the New World, but its natural riches helped to compensate for their hardships. The Indians taught them about a variety of foodstuffs such as pumpkins, watermelons, squash, and corn, which came to be a staple food for the colonists. Like Indians, the Europeans baked corn bread in the embers of their fires.¹³² The Indians also taught the Swedes about edible wild roots growing in the region. The colonists were especially fond of katwiss, which resembled the turnip, and hopmiss, a potato-like root that the Europeans ate during the early days of settlement when they lacked bread.¹³³ Gourds, or calabashes, were found to make useful utilitarian wares which the Swedes even suggested might be rimmed with silver.¹³⁴

European settlers learned to use other native plant materials. They acquired boxes and pails Delawares made out of the bark of the Virginian maple, or buttonwood tree.¹³⁵ They also learned that the Verbascum Thapus, or great white Mullein, called the "tobacco of the savages," could be tied around the feet and arms in an effort to cure the ague and that a tea made from its leaves was useful as a treatment for dysentery.¹³⁶ A variety of uses were found for the sassafras tree. Sassafras was brewed with beer, a decoction of the roots was mixed with water to cure the dropsy, sassafras chips were placed in chests to repel moths, and similarly bedposts made of sassafras were supposed to keep insects away.¹³⁷ Colonists treated pleurisy with a beer made from holly leaves and they learned from the Indians how to relieve toothaches with the root of the candleberry tree.¹³⁸

The Swedes borrowed still other usages from the Indians. In the eighteenth century, dugout canoes were used by many farmers living along the Delaware.¹³⁹ During the seventeenth century, the Swedes fancied a variety of Indian wares as novelties. In a letter written to Per Brahe in 1644, Governor Printz mentioned his intention to send a present of a belt of wampum and a tobacco pipe to Queen Christina.¹⁴⁰ Printz, too, wanted a souvenir of his sojourn in the New World. According to Holm, Delaware women could "spin thread and yarn out of nettles, hemp, and some plants unknown to us."¹⁴¹ Printz must have

delighted in their work because he "had a complete suit of clothes, with coat, breeches, and belt, made by those barbarians, with their wampum, which was curiously wrought with the figures of all kinds of animals, and cost some thousand pieces of gold."¹⁴²

The Swedes' interest in native culture extended beyond material goods. They also found it wise to learn the Delaware language and perhaps other Indian tongues as well. The Reverend Campanius studied Delaware for the purpose of converting the Indians to Christianity. Governor Printz, too, understood the value of speaking Indian languages in the fur trade. In his report of 1644, he requested that Commissioner Hindrik Hugen not be recalled to Sweden since he had a Dutch servant "who knows all the Indian languages and understands well how to carry on the trade."¹⁴³

Whether or not the Swedes actually learned Delaware or simply a pidgin form of the language is open to speculation. Campanius' translation of Luther's Catechism seems to have been written in a bastardized version of Delaware. Still, the efforts to translate a religious document and to retain an important translator indicate that a point in interracial relations was reached when communication using signs and gestures became inadequate, necessitating the use of Indian languages to communicate more complex messages and ideas.¹⁴⁴

No mention was ever made by Swedish colonists of Delawares learning Swedish. Likewise, in the New Netherlands colony there

was little or no evidence that the Indians learned Dutch.¹⁴⁵

It might be suggested, then, that the Swedish impact on the Delaware Valley was so limited in terms of both duration of political control and volume of trade that the Indians saw no advantage in adopting the Swedish language. Furthermore, the Europeans seemed more than eager to facilitate the fur trade with the Indians by learning Indian languages themselves.

CONCLUSION

The colonists who traveled to New Sweden came from a variety of backgrounds which colored their perceptions of the New World and its inhabitants. The minister, John Campanius, the engineer, Peter Lindestrom, and Governors John Printz and Johan Claudius Rising all shared a common European heritage, yet they saw America and the native Americans in different ways. The records and books they left behind reflect their disparate views of the colonizing experience and chronicle its effects on the Indians, on themselves, and on their countrymen.

These men contributed to the literary and intellectual heritage of their homeland, but together with their fellow colonists, they played a vastly more significant role in the history of the European colonization of America. Swedish settlers who came to the Delaware Valley were bearers of European culture and when they encountered a distinctly different population in the New World, a process of culture contact and acculturation began. Of the two colliding peoples, it was the Delawares, not the Swedes, who were the most changed by the colonizing experience.

The changes occurred on two levels, the physical and the cultural. The Delaware population was dramatically reduced in number by diseases introduced by the Europeans. Alcoholism and intertribal warfare exacerbated by the fur trade also took their toll in lives. The role of the Swedes in this death and destruction was indirect. They never conducted open warfare against the Delawares, and so Indian-European conflict was not a factor in the decline of the Delaware people. However, the presence of the Swedes in the New World set the course of the physical demise of the Delawares in motion.

The withdrawal of the Delaware Indians before advancing white settlement was accompanied by the disintegration of Delaware society. The magnitude of social disintegration is uncertain. However, the disruptive influences of disease, alcoholism, displacement, and the inability of Delaware leaders to effectively meet the threat posed by the presence of an invading culture placed strains on Delaware society.

Delaware culture also underwent less dire changes and, in some respects, experienced a partial acculturation to Swedish culture. The fur trade in particular led to the adoption of numerous European manufactures into Delaware material culture. Indians eagerly accepted European clothing and textiles and endowed even the most ordinary items with a special status. Other objects, such as brass and copper kettles and iron tools, were welcomed as superior additions to Delaware life, replacing

traditional manufactures and rendering part of Indian technology obsolete.

One area of Delaware culture that was little affected by contact with the Swedes was religion. It is possible that the fur trade upset the relationship between the Indians and the spirits present in the environment. Yet in spite of repeated efforts by Swedish ministers to Christianize the Indians, natives remained largely indifferent to the new religion. This might reflect in part the relative inflexibility of Delaware culture in regard to changes in fundamental values and beliefs. During the eighteenth century, religion played an important role in the revitalization of Delaware society as it tried to hold on to its culture and traditions while being pushed farther and farther westward by white expansion. However, the adherence of the Delawares to their beliefs might also reflect the mixed approach to colonization adopted by the Swedes. In terms of exploiting the land and the Indians economically, the Swedish approach was certainly one of directed contact in which they made a conscious effort to exert their power and authority over the Delawares and their lands. But insofar as little effort was directed toward the intentional and complete transformation of Delaware culture, contact was undirected as well.

Therefore, while some degree of cultural integration took place in New Sweden, there was little social integration.

Contemporary observers did not mention marriages taking place between Indians and Swedes in the Swedish settlements. Furthermore, one attempt to adopt and Christianize a Delaware boy in the eighteenth century proved unsuccessful. The fate of the Swedes who deserted the colony in its early years is uncertain. Some supposedly fled to Dutch settlements in the north. Perhaps others fled to the Indians where more complete social integration would have taken place as Europeans adopted the native culture and assumed a place within Indian society.

Changes in Delaware society and culture after contact were considerable. Changes in Swedish society and culture were not. There were almost no alterations in Swedish culture over the course of the seventeenth century. Changes that did occur were additive in nature and brought about primarily in response to environmental conditions. The Swedes quickly adopted a variety of native plant materials for use as both foodstuffs and medicines. They also borrowed some items of Indian material culture, but these were for the most part considered primitive counterparts of Old World objects or mere novelties.

Some Europeans attempted to learn Indian languages. One reason for this was a desire to facilitate trade. Another was to convert the Indians to Christianity. However, the ability of the Swedes to successfully communicate abstract ideas rather than rudimentary facts and information is open to serious doubt.

The early years of settlement were marked by the dependence of the Swedes upon the Delawares until they acquired a firm hold in the New World. Foodstuffs were obtained from the Indians as Swedish supplies dwindled and the Indians taught the Swedes about the uses of American plant and animal resources. Later, the Delawares were forced to get food from the Swedes as their own ability to feed themselves declined. Also, the profitability of the colony made the Swedes rely upon the Delawares and the Minquas for a steady supply of furs and in return, the Indians became dependent upon the Europeans for the trade goods they so intently desired. Therefore, although Swedish culture was little changed by contact while Delaware culture was ravaged, both were caught in a network of interdependence.

EPILOGUE

ACCULTURATION REVISITED: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By the middle of the eighteenth century, few American Indians inhabited the Atlantic coast, but lived on there largely in tales and legends. The story of their decline was told in part by a Swede, Peter Kalm, in his Travels into North America, first published in Sweden in 1753. Kalm was a professor of economy at Abo (Turku) University in Swedish Finland. He began his journey to North America in 1748 under the sponsorship of the Swedish Academy of Science, which instructed him to bring back information on the natural resources of the continent and to seek out plants that might be grown to some benefit in Scandinavia. Kalm remained in America until 1751. Upon his return, he wrote the Travels based upon the journals he kept while abroad.¹⁴⁶

Kalm reflected the surprise shared by many eighteenth-century European travellers when they discovered that all of America was not still wild and teeming with savages. "The Indians have sold the country to the Europeans," he wrote, "and have retired further up: in most parts you may travel twenty Swedish miles, or about a hundred and twenty English miles, from the sea-shore before you reach the first habitations of

the Indians."¹⁴⁷ Selling out was not the only way the Indians were displaced along the Atlantic. Kalm discovered that "most of them ended their days before, either by wars among themselves, or by the small-pox, a disease which the Indians were unacquainted with before their commerce with the Europeans."¹⁴⁸

While he traveled through the lower Delaware Valley, Kalm was especially interested in the stories told by the descendants of the original Swedish colonists. One such man was Nils Gustafson. Gustafson, 91, lived near Racoon, an old settlement in New Jersey, and he told Kalm about the atrocities committed by the Indians. He told of murders, scalplings, and kidnappings, and of the Indians' fondness for brandy and cider.¹⁴⁹ These kinds of tales however, contradicted the impression of the Indians that Kalm received in Germantown, Pennsylvania. "Every one is of [the] opinion that the American savages were a very good-natured people if they were not attacked," he wrote. "No body is so strict in keeping his word as a savage. If anyone of their allies come to visit them, they shew him more kindness, and greater endeavors to serve him, than he could have expected from his own countrymen."¹⁵⁰ Here Kalm, the scientist and clergyman-to-be showed his kinship with Holm and Lindstrom. The innocent Indian of the intellectual emerged once again.

Even though the Indians were gone, there was no end to the process of cultural contact and change in what had once been New Sweden. Descendants of seventeenth-century Swedish

colonists remained, as did remnants of Swedish culture.

However, a new cultural group, the English, introduced itself into the area late in the seventeenth century and by the time of Kalm's visit to America, Swedish culture, like the Delaware culture which preceded it, was on the wane.

For many years, the Swedes held on to their religious heritage. In 1691, the colonists along the Delaware sent a request to the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam for a Swedish minister. They heard nothing. Sometime later, the nephew of Governor Printz, Anders Printz, visited the colony and upon his return to Sweden related an account of the Swedes living there to John Thelin, the secretary and postmaster of Gothenburg. Thelin in turn informed King Charles XI of the colonists' need for a minister and religious books, and the king was quick to respond. In the autumn of 1696, three ministers were sent to America to serve the Swedish congregations there, along with five hundred copies of Luther's Catechism in the Delaware language, Bibles, Postils, and other church books.¹⁵¹

The Swedes guarded their customs and beliefs jealously. In 1710 Pennsylvania Quakers succeeded in having public oaths made by swearing on the Bible replaced with a simple nod of the head. The law was voided in England in 1711, but efforts by the Quakers to reinstate the change prompted the Swedes to petition Queen Anne, voicing their opposition to the measure out of fear that it would lead to the spread of Quakerism.¹⁵²

The Swedes also succeeded in keeping Moravian ministers out of their churches.¹⁵³ They were less successful when it came to fighting off the Great Awakening, for many families were persuaded to join in the religious revival and they left the Swedish Lutheran Church to join English congregations.¹⁵⁴ Swedish Christmas traditions were soon abandoned as well. Until about 1740, "Matins had been celebrated on Christmas-day, with lights burning in crowns and arms made of wood for the purpose."¹⁵⁵ These displays were a source of wonder because "the English people, and especially the Quakers, came in crowds out of the town to gaze at the celebration, and some travelled long distances to gratify their curiosity by staring at it, and also passed unfavorable judgments upon it, it was therefore laid aside, and one now only hears it spoken of as something wonderful."¹⁵⁶ Swedish marriage customs also began to change. "The old," wrote a contemporary minister, "speak of the joy with which their bridal parties formerly came to church and sat during the whole service before the altar; but when it comes to the time for their own children to do so, then they . . . run off to some English Minister with a license."¹⁵⁷

Swedish traditions gradually gave way to a process of "anglicization." Swedish and English churches in the Delaware Valley had long been associated with one another, with Swedish ministers performing services for both communities in Swedish and English.¹⁵⁸ So valuable were the services performed by

the Swedish clerics that those who retired from service in North America and returned to Sweden were given £30 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.¹⁵⁹ Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the Swedes had been successful in perpetuating the use of Swedish among their countrymen, due largely to the presence of Swedish ministers in the colony.¹⁶⁰ Yet by the middle of the eighteenth century, Swedish was falling out of use among the young, and children were receiving religious instruction in English.¹⁶¹

As time passed, the English influence among the Swedes grew stronger. They abandoned traditional fencing styles, opting for worm fences instead. Like the English, they let their livestock graze out of doors in the winter instead of keeping them in stables.¹⁶² One old Swede encountered by Peter Kalm bemoaned the changes that had occurred since he was a boy. Tools were no longer made in the Swedish fashion, steambaths were no longer taken, Christmas traditions were lost, and such familiar yet ordinary items as a particular style of cart for hauling wood were no longer in use. Kalm concluded that "before the English settled here, [the Swedes] followed wholly the customs of Old Sweden; but after the English had been in the country for some time, the Swedes began gradually to follow their customs."¹⁶³

The Swedes who settled in the New World were greatly transformed by colonization, but not by their contact with the

Indians. Instead, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the descendants of those first colonists along the Delaware were being assimilated into the dominant English culture in the region. The Swedes started to follow English agricultural methods. They also abandoned the use of the Swedish language and traditional religious practices. Just as Delaware culture and society were eclipsed by a more powerful Swedish presence in the New World during the seventeenth century, now Swedish culture fell into the shadows cast by the burgeoning English colonies.

NOTES

¹Kurt Samuelsson, From Great Power to Welfare State (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1968), p. 15.

²Ingvar Andersson, A History of Sweden, Carolyn Hannay, trans. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 166-167.

³Samuelsson, Great Power to Welfare State, pp. 17-21.

⁴Ibid., pp. 26-27.

⁵Ibid., pp. 40-41.

⁶Amandus Johnson, Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1911; reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), 1:91-92.

⁷Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 1:96-97: G.B. Keen, trans., "Letter of Peter Minuit Proposing the Founding of the Colony of New Sweden," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 6(1882): 458-460.

⁸Amandus Johnson, trans., The Instruction for Johan Printz (Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1930; reprint ed., Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1969), p. 80.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹C. A. Weslager, The Delaware Indians (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), p. 118.

¹²Ibid., pp. 98-99.

¹³John A. Munroe, Colonial Delaware (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1978), pp. 19-20.

¹⁴Four more expeditions were sent to New Sweden. One, sent out in 1649, foundered in the Caribbean and the Protestant colonists and crew were cruelly abused by Spanish colonial authorities. A second expedition arrived in New Sweden in 1654 and a third arrived the same year after being detained in the New Netherlands colony where it had sailed by mistake. The fourth and last arrived after the colony had fallen to the Dutch in 1655.

¹⁵Andersson, History of Sweden, p. 193; Samuelsson, Great Power to Welfare State, pp. 13, 16; Charles De Lannoy, A History of Swedish Colonial Expansion, George E. Brinton and H. Clay Reed, trans. (Newark, DE: Department of History and Political Science, University of Delaware, 1938), p. 11.

¹⁶Thomas Campanius Holm, Description of the Province of New Sweden, trans. Peter S. Du Ponceau (Philadelphia: McCarty & Davis, 1834; reprint ed., Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1975), p. v.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 116.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 117-118.

²¹Ibid., p. 118.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 122.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., p. 35.

²⁶Ibid., p. 75.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., p. 75.

²⁹Nils G. Holmer, John Campanius' Lutheran Catechism in the Delaware Language (Upsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1946), p. 32.

³⁰Ibid., p. 9.

³¹Holm, Description, p. 76.

³²Ibid., p. 77.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., p. 78.

³⁵Ibid., p. 74.

³⁶Ibid., p. 34.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 34-35.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 113-114; Father Louis Hennepin, A New Discovery of A Vast Country in America, 2 vols., Reuben Gold Thwaites, trans. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 2:455.

³⁹Holm, Description, pp. 114-115.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 34.

⁴¹Peter Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, Amandus Johnson, trans. (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 1925), pp. xviii-xxiii.

⁴²Ibid., p. 191.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 201-202.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 191-192.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 193.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 239.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 233.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 234-235.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 192.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 235.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 223-224.

⁵³Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, pp. 211-212.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 226.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 251.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 12.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 12-14.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 16.

⁶¹Printz to Brahe, April 12, 1643, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 150.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Instruction for the Governor of New Sweden, Johan Printz, August 15, 1642, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 92.

⁶⁴Printz to Brahe, July 19, 1644, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 164.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Report of Governor Printz, 1644, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 119.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 107-108.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 118.

⁶⁹Report of Governor Printz, 1647, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 132.

⁷⁰Printz to Brahe, April 12, 1643, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 150.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Printz to Brahe, August 1, 1650, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 178.

⁷³Printz to Oxenstierna, August 30, 1652, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 185.

⁷⁴Report of Governor Printz, 1644, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 116.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 117.

⁷⁶Ibid.

- ⁷⁷Report of Governor Rising, 1654, in Albert Cook Myers, ed., Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 143-149.
- ⁷⁸Report of Governor Rising, 1655, in Myers, Narratives, pp. 156-157.
- ⁷⁹Weslager, Delaware Indians, pp. 33, 41-42; William W. Newcomb, Jr., The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1956; reprinted 1970), pp. 13-15, 21-22, 25, 51-53, 59-64.
- ⁸⁰Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, pp. 234-235.
- ⁸¹Ibid., p. 235.
- ⁸²Ibid., pp. 233-234.
- ⁸³Rene Maunier, The Sociology of Colonies (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1949), pp. 75-82.
- ⁸⁴Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 2:514-515.
- ⁸⁵Peter Kalm, Travels into North America, John Reinhold Forster, trans. (Barre, MA: The Imprint Society, 1972), p. 189.
- ⁸⁶Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, p. 234.
- ⁸⁷Ibid.
- ⁸⁸Weslager, Delaware Indians, pp. 98-99.
- ⁸⁹Maunier, Sociology of Colonies, pp. 453, 456-458.
- ⁹⁰Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation, 1953, "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," American Anthropologist (56(1954), p. 974.
- ⁹¹Edward H. Spicer, "Types of Contact and Processes of Change," in Edward H. Spicer, ed., Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 539.
- ⁹²Spicer, "Contact and Processes of Change," pp. 539-540.
- ⁹³Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, p. 225.
- ⁹⁴Holm, Description, p. 120.

- ⁹⁵Ibid., p. 119; Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, pp. 225.
- ⁹⁶Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, p. 199.
- ⁹⁷Holm, Description, p. 131.
- ⁹⁸Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, p. 199.
- ⁹⁹Ibid., p. 250.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 237.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 254-255.
- ¹⁰²Kalm, Travels, p. 169.
- ¹⁰³Ibid., p. 219.
- ¹⁰⁴Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, p. 242.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 227.
- ¹⁰⁶Holm, Description, pp. 157-158.
- ¹⁰⁷Weslager, Delaware Indians, pp. 98-99.
- ¹⁰⁸Kalm, Travels, pp. 255-256.
- ¹⁰⁹SSRC, "Acculturation," pp. 990-991.
- ¹¹⁰Israel Acrelius, A History of New Sweden, William M. Reynolds, trans. (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874; reprinted ed., Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), p. 283.
- ¹¹¹Newcomb, Culture and Acculturation, p. 64.
- ¹¹²Calvin Martin, "The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe, An Ecological Interpretation," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd, 31(1974), 4-5.
- ¹¹³Ibid., 17-23; see also, Frank J. Esposito, "Indian-White Relations in New Jersey, 1609-1802," Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1976, pp. 193-194.
- ¹¹⁴Instruction for the Governor of New Sweden, Johan Printz, August 15, 1642, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 82.
- ¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 82-90.

- 116Report of Governor Printz, 1644, in Johnson, Instruction, pp. 111-112.
- 117Kalm, Travels, p. 260.
- 118Ibid.
- 119Acrelius, History, pp. 45-46.
- 120Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 1:316-317.
- 121Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, p. 172.
- 122Report of Governor Printz, 1647, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 131.
- 123Brahe to Printz, November 9, 1643, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 156.
- 124Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, p. 175.
- 125Ibid., pp. 175-176.
- 126Ibid., p. 176.
- 127Holm, Description, p. 59.
- 128Report of Governor Printz, 1644, in Johnson, Instruction, pp. 109-110.
- 129Printz to Oxenstierna, April 26, 1653, in Johnson, Instruction, pp. 187-188.
- 130Johnson, Instruction, pp. 37-39.
- 131Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 2:514.
- 132Lindestrom, Geographia Americae, pp. 255-256.
- 133Kalm, Travels, p. 248.
- 134Holm, Description, pp. 52-53.
- 135Kalm, Travels, pp. 39-40.
- 136Ibid., pp. 71.
- 137Ibid., pp. 174-175.
- 138Ibid., pp. 103, 179.

- 139 Ibid., p. 87.
- 140 Printz to Brahe, July 19, 1644, in Johnson, Instruction, pp. 166-167.
- 141 Holm, Description, p. 130.
- 142 Ibid.
- 143 Report of Governor Printz, 1644, in Johnson, Instruction, p. 120.
- 144 Lois M. Feister, "Linguistic Communication Between the Dutch and Indians in New Netherland 1609-1664," Ethnohistory 20/1 (1973), pp. 33-35.
- 145 Ibid., p. 31.
- 146 Kalm, Travels, pp. xi-xvi.
- 147 Ibid., pp. 118-119.
- 148 Ibid., p. 247.
- 149 Ibid., pp. 256-258.
- 150 Ibid., p. 57.
- 151 Acrelius, History, pp. 181-202.
- 152 Ibid., p. 130.
- 153 Ibid., p. 334.
- 154 Ibid., p. 242.
- 155 Ibid., p. 293.
- 156 Acrelius, History, pp. 293-294.
- 157 Ibid., pp. 356-357.
- 158 Ibid., pp. 219, 237-238, 294-295.
- 159 Ibid., pp. 361-362.
- 160 Ibid., pp. 352.
- 161 Ibid., p. 303.
- 162 Kalm, Travels, pp. 226, 228-229.
- 163 Ibid., p. 261.

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