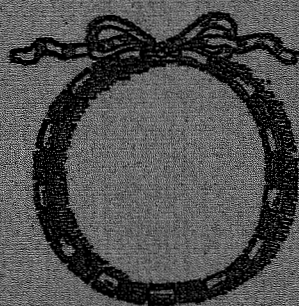


SWEDISH AMERICANA

An Informal Exhibition in the Rare Books Room,
on Saint Lucy's Day, December 13, 1968,
in honor of Prof. and Mrs. Erik Sjöqvist

Swedish Americana in the Princeton Library



The cover design represents a string of wampum used by the Indians along the Delaware River. It is reproduced from a woodcut in Thomas Campanius, *Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige uti America* (Stockholm, 1702), p. 138, where it is stated:

Desse Barbarer bruka ock et slags Penningar, som the köpslaga med sin emillan, hwilka icke äro af Gull, Silfwer eller någon annan Metall; ty sådant hålla the af intet värde; utan the äro Stenar rätt nått gjorde af brune och hwite Snäcke-Mussle-eller Osterskahl, aflånge och hol mit igenom, at the kunna trädas på bandlika som andra pärlor och kallas Zēband. . . .



Swedish Americana in the Princeton Library

BY HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

Two years ago the Library was the fortunate recipient of a volume of plates, in mint condition and original binding, published in Stockholm in 1824 and entitled *Atlas til Friherre Klinckowströms Bref om de Förente Staterne* (Fig. 1). The donor, Professor Erik Sjöqvist, explained that this album of views of the United States had been handed down through several generations of his family in Sweden, but that two volumes of text intended to accompany it were missing, despite much ransacking of drawers and cupboards. Apparently, as often happens in the course of the division and transmission of family possessions, two small octavo volumes had become separated from the thin but cumbersome "atlas," which measures 17 x 22 inches. Efforts on the Library's part to find copies of the scarce volumes of text proved unsuccessful until this past spring when, by one of those coincidences familiar to book watchers, three such sets, each "lacking the extremely rare atlas volume," were successively offered for sale within a short period by different antiquarian booksellers. As a fitting acknowledgement of Professor Sjöqvist's gift, the Library lost no time in purchasing the first set offered (which eventually turned out to be the most expensive!), and can now report that it possesses the first edition of Axel Klinckowström's *Bref om de Förente Staterne, författade under en Resa till America, åren 1818, 1819 och 1820* (Stockholm, Eckstein, 1824), complete with text and plates.¹ (Fig. 2).

¹ An abridged English translation is available: *Baron Klinkowström's America, 1818-1820*, translated and edited by Franklin D. Scott (Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1952). Although the editor makes a passing reference to the atlas of plates and reproduces one of them (Broadway and City Hall, New York), he has not correlated them with Klinckowström's text.

Axel Leonhard Klinckowström (1775-1837), then a lieutenant-colonel, was sent to the United States especially to study steam navigation and its possible applications to the Swedish navy. In addition to the technical reports submitted to his government, he also saw fit to publish his more general observations on the United States. "My trip to the United States in North America during the years 1818, 1819 and 1820," he noted in the foreword to his book, "was undertaken for public purposes. Hence I consider it my duty, and a gesture of thanks to the state, to give the public knowledge thereon, and to give the more enlightened portion of my countrymen information on the subjects which attracted my attention. It is with this object that I give out these diverse and incomplete notes in the form of letters to the public. . . ."

Klinckowström (sometimes spelled Klinkowström) was a thoughtful observer, whose letters provide a comprehensive survey of the eastern United States under President Monroe's administration. He made extended stays in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, so that his comments on life in these centers are particularly full. As would be expected from his professional background, he was much concerned with internal improvements and new inventions. Not only steamboats, but canals, factories, architecture and building methods, attracted his attention. He visited Stephen Vail's ironworks at Morristown, New Jersey, the textile factories at Paterson, and the Dupont de Nemours powder mills on the Brandywine, where he found "American hospitality blended with the finer French customs." Nor did he neglect the United States Mint in Philadelphia, the New York State House of Correction at Sing Sing, or the Military Academy at West Point. Klinckowström's more general observations are enlivened by his personal comments on people and places.

The "atlas" of plates provides a pictorial commentary on the "letters," and might be described as a sort of scrapbook, reflecting Klinckowström's wide range of interests. In addition to the vignette of the White House on the title-page lithographed by C. Müller, the volume includes sixteen plates of various sizes, executed in several manners. (See list.) The two maps engraved by C. F. Himberg are copied from John Melish's "Northern Section" and "Southern Section of the United States" (1816). The other plates are after Klinckowström's own drawings. Among the most beautiful are the aquatints by Akrell, including several views of Philadelphia ("Third Street," "Girard's Bank," "Bridge over the

FÖRTECKNING

på Gravurer och Planscher till Friherrn KLINCKOWSTRÖMS
Bref om de Förenta Staterna.

- 1, 2) 2:ne graverade Titelblad, ett för hvardera Delen af Texten.
- 3) Ett Lithografieradt Titelblad till Atlasen, med en vignette, föreställande
Presidentens af de Förenta Staterna Palats.
- 4) Kartan öfver Norra Delen af de Förenta Staterna.
- 5) Kartan öfver Södra Delen af de Förenta Staterna.
- 6) Plan af staden Philadelphia.
- 7) Third-Street i Philadelphia, föreställande ett gathörn.
- 8) Gerards Bank i Philadelphia.
- 9) Bron öfver Skalkyll-strömmen vid Philadelphia.
- 10) Capitolium i Washington, i vignette.
- 11) Esquisse af Wards taffla i Earles galleri i Philadelphia.
- 12) Ritning till Perkins Pressions-pump, med åtföljande tryckt Beskrifning.
- 13) Karta öfver Newyorks hamn.
- 14) Perspektiv-vue af Broadway-gatan och Rådhuset i Newyork.
- 15) Inrednings-ritning till ett Amerikanskt boningshus af trä, m. m.
- 16) Sid-ritning till Ångbåten *Chancellor Livingston*.
- 17) Planritning af en gammal fästning eller befästadt läger, hvaraf ruiner-
na finnas i Tennessee-staten.
- 18) Vue af Newyorks hamn och redd, samt Longislands-sundet.
- 19) Vue af Hoboken; ett lustställe utanföre Newyork.

Schuylkill") and of New York. The attractive "View of Broadway and City Hall" and "View of New York Harbor and Roads from Brooklyn on Long Island" are well known to connoisseurs of New York prints.² There is also a large aquatint by Akrell showing a profile and cross-section of the steamboat *Chancellor Livingston*, in which Klinckowström journeyed up the Hudson to Albany—as described in his text (I, 152-160).

² See I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1915-1928), III, plates 84-85, described on pp. 563-564.

Although less spectacular, several of the lesser known small plates are of considerable documentary interest. One of these (reproduced here, Fig. 3) shows the plan of the typical town dwelling house which Klinckowström observed in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. Another depicts a pump invented by Jacob Perkins (cf. text, I, 97). Art and archaeology also came within Klinckowström's range of interests. In the Capitol at Washington he admired John Trumbull's painting of the Declaration of Independence: "Old Benjamin Franklin with his silver white hair seems to give the others confidence in their own powers and support in their deeds. Jefferson and John Adams seem to say, 'Oppression goes too far; we can no longer tolerate it.'" (I, 54). In the Pennsylvania Hospital at Philadelphia Klinckowström "long stood" admiring Benjamin West's "masterly painting" of Christ healing the sick. At Peale's Museum he scrutinized the famous mammoth skeleton. One of the modern paintings that he saw at "Mr. Earle's gallery," also in Philadelphia, interested him so much that he made a sketch of it, which was in turn included among the plates illustrating his *Bref*. This was a painting by Ward "portraying a handsome East Indian Anaconda snake which came down from a tree to encircle a Hindu and the fine white horse on which he was riding." "Those who have seen the Laocöon group," Klinckowström notes, "can understand this amazing, captivating painting, for I believe the facial expression of the Hindu was copied after Laocöon." (I, 80-81).³

When he was in New York the Swedish visitor discussed with Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill the ancient remains discovered in the Ohio Valley and other parts of the West. He copied the plan of an ancient fort in Tennessee which Dr. Mitchill had received from Mr. "Donnisson" [William Donneson] of Nashville. This, too was included in Klinckowström's "atlas." In his text he published, through Dr. Mitchill's courtesy, a translation of Donneson's letter describing the ruins. (I, 200-204).⁴ This bit of evidence

³ James Earle's Gallery of Paintings was at 169 Chestnut Street. The painting that Klinckowström admired was probably by James Ward, the English animal painter.

⁴ Chapters 12, 13, and 14 of Klinckowström's *Bref*, concerning the ancient inhabitants of America and including the Donneson-Mitchill letter, are omitted in F. D. Scott's edition (1952). The ancient fort described in Klinckowström's translation of Donneson's letter and the plan of it reproduced in his "Atlas," is the "Old Stone Fort" on the Duck River near Manchester, Coffee County, Tennessee (cf. U.S. Geological Survey, Manchester, Tennessee, quadrangle). The prehistoric fort was described, but not illustrated, in John Haywood, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1823), pp. 169-172. An article by "W. T." on "Western Antiquities," in *The Western Messenger* (Louisville), V, No. 2 (May 1838), 112-

concerning the pre-Columbian inhabitants of America took its place in the several chapters which Klinckowström devoted to the subject. The material he collected was not from direct observation, but was culled from various books which came to his attention. Reflecting on these archaeological riddles, he thought that one of the forts found on the Muskingum River resembled a Carthaginian *Castrum Punicum*, and was even reminded of Diodorus Siculus' reference to the fair islands discovered by Phoenician sailors beyond the Pillars of Hercules. (I, 226) .

In the course of his own travels Klinckowström had occasion to recall several of his compatriots who had visited America before him. Among them was his uncle, Count Axel Fersen, who had served with the French army in America during the American Revolution. In Washington Klinckowström made the acquaintance of Senator William Hunter of Rhode Island. (I, 60-61) . Hunter spoke of Fersen, whom he remembered from the days when Rochambeau's army was stationed in Newport and whose letters he still treasured. During the French Revolution Fersen played an important role in the attempted escape of Marie-Antoinette and Louis XVI. Later still, in 1810, he was assassinated under tragic circumstances in his native land. Fersen's brilliant career was fresh in Klinckowström's mind, so that the discovery that he was still remembered in America in 1820 must have been especially gratifying. Appropriately, it was to be Klinckowström's son who, later in the nineteenth century, first edited Fersen's papers, including the letters written to his family during the American Revolution.⁵

120, includes a description of the Stone Fort with a plan "drawn by Wm. Donneson, Esq., formerly of Tennessee." *The Western Messenger* description and plan in turn found their way into E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (Washington, 1848, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. I) . A new description with new plans was later published by Joseph Jones in his *Explorations of the Aboriginal Remains of Tennessee* (Washington, 1876, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. XII) , pp. 100-103. It would thus appear that the plate in Klinckowström's "Atlas" (1824) was the first publication of a plan of the "Old Stone Fort." A recent annotated reprint of Haywood's *Natural and Aboriginal History*, edited by Mary U. Rothrock (Jackson, Tennessee, 1959) , reproduces the Klinckowström plate (apparently from a separate example) , but does not mention his text.

⁵ Rudolf Mauritz Klinckowström, ed., *Le Comte de Fersen et la Cour de France, Extraits des Papiers du Grand Maréchal de Suède, Comte Jean Axel de Fersen, publiés par son petit-neveu . . .* , 2 vols. (Paris, 1877-1878) . Volume I, pp. 36-73, includes "Extraits des lettres autographes du Comte de Fersen à son père, pendant la guerre de France contre l'Angleterre dans l'Amérique du Nord (1780-1783)." A more complete edition of Fersen's letters from America has subsequently been published: Count F. U. Wrangel, ed., *Lettres d'Axel Fersen à son père pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance d'Amérique* (Paris, 1929) .

A quarter of a century before the American Revolution, when the United States were still English colonies, the naturalist Pehr Kalm, collaborator and disciple of Linnaeus, spent three years in America. Soon after his return to Sweden an account of his travels was published by the Swedish Royal Academy under the title *En Resa til Norra America* (3 vols., Stockholm, Lars Salvii, 1753-1761). Klinckowström was of course familiar with Kalm's book. In the preface to his own work (p. iii) he reminds his readers that those who possess Kalm's *Journey to America* "should compare it with my letters to find how in such a short space of time this country has so significantly progressed." The first Swedish edition of Kalm's *Resa* was acquired by the Princeton Library several years ago.⁶ Now, by a happy accident of cataloguing, Klinckowström's *Bref . . . författade under en Resa till America* takes its place on the Library's shelves beside Kalm's work, so that it is possible to make the suggested comparison and observe through Swedish eyes some of the changes that took place in America during the span of seventy years between 1750 and 1820.

One of the changes was the gradual disappearance of surviving vestiges of the old seventeenth-century Swedish settlements along the lower Delaware. In 1819 Klinckowström, in the company of Mr. Dupont de Nemours, journeyed in a steamboat from Philadelphia down the river to Wilmington—"a charming little city situated at Christina Creek, a stream named after Queen Christina." "Mr. Dupont told me," Klinckowström continues,

that there are several places which still retain their Swedish names, for it was in this state especially that the first Swedish colonists settled. There are many reasons to lament the wars that Charles X waged, but especially the war with Holland that cost us this beautiful colony. If Sweden had owned this colony at the time of the American Revolution many of our laws and statutes would have formed the basis for the present constitution of the state of Delaware, and would have influenced the laws of Pennsylvania. Our language might still be in use, just as German is still widely spoken in many districts of Pennsylvania. If it had not served our country in any other

⁶ See Erik Sjöqvist, "Pehr Kalm and His Travels in North America," in the *Chronicle*, XVI, No. 3 (Spring, 1955), 145-148. An excellent modern English edition is available: Adolph B. Benson, ed., *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America, The English Version of 1770, revised from the original Swedish and edited . . . with a Translation of New Material from Kalm's Diary Notes*, 2 vols. (New York, 1937). Benson's edition has recently been reprinted by Dover Publications, Inc. (New York, 1966).

way, it would at least have been an honor to the nation to find free and prosperous colonists of Swedish descent in another part of the world. North America is now an unforgettable monument to the genius and power of the English nation. But our own political position during Charles X's reign and the many wars we waged did not permit us to think of such a distant colony. Now our language is forgotten; the English laws have forced out the Swedish, and there is no other trace of the oldest settlers except a few names of towns and country places, and here and there some evidences of our building methods.⁷

Seventy years earlier Kalm had found more tangible traces of the seventeenth-century Swedish settlers. He records, for example, a conversation he had in March 1749 with Nils Gustafson, an old Swede whose father had come over from Sweden with the first settlers. Gustafson, then ninety-one years of age, remembered the country as it was before the arrival of the English, when it was still in Dutch possession and when there was only a great forest on the spot where the city of Philadelphia later stood. Old Gustafson, Kalm notes, was still pretty healthy and could walk with the help of a cane, "but he complained of having felt in these later years some pains in his back and limbs, and confessed that he could now keep his feet warm in winter only by sitting near the fire."⁸ The naturalist's interview with old Gustafson, whom he subjected to a systematic questionnaire designed to elicit as much information as possible, was characteristic of Kalm's efforts to collect material on the history of New Sweden.⁹

⁷ Klinckowström, *Bref* (1824), I, 86-87; Scott edition (1952), pp. 51-52.

⁸ Kalm, *Resa* (1753-61), III, 59-73; Benson edition (1937), I, 265-274.

⁹ Although Kalm incorporated some of his gleanings about New Sweden in his published *Resa*, still other notes and observations on the subject remained unpublished until the twentieth century when they appeared in Vol. IV of F. Elfving and G. Schauman's edition of *Pehr Kalm's Resa till Norra Amerika* (Helsingfors, 1929). Benson's edition includes the supplementary notes and diary. It may be noted here that a systematic account of New Sweden and the surviving Swedish parishes was published at the time Kalm's book was appearing. This work, which used material similar to that collected by Kalm, was compiled by Israel Acrelius, provost of the Swedish churches in America at this time. Acrelius' book, a copy of which is in the Princeton Library, is entitled *Beskrifning om de Swenska Församlingars Forn och Närwarande Tilstånd, uti Det så kallade Nya Sverige . . .* (Stockholm, Harberg and Hesselberg, 1759). An English translation is available: William M. Reynolds, ed., *A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware, by Israel Acrelius, translated from the Swedish, with an introduction and notes. . . .* (Philadelphia, 1876, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Memoirs, Vol. 11).

One of the early Swedish colonists was the Reverend Johan Campanius, who arrived with Governor Printz at Fort Christina in 1643. During his six years as the colony's pastor Campanius recorded information about the new world and about his missionary work with the Indians. His papers, however, remained unpublished until his grandson Thomas Campanius, a half century later, drew on them for an account of New Sweden entitled *Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige uti America . . .* (Stockholm, 1702).¹⁰ By the time this book appeared, New Sweden had long since passed from Swedish rule, first to the Dutch and then to the English. For nearly a century, however, Sweden retained a cultural link with the dwindling Swedish parishes in the Delaware Valley,¹¹ and regularly supplied them with ministers from Sweden. The publication of Thomas Campanius's *Kort Beskrifning* under Royal auspices was evidence of this revived solicitude for the handful of overseas Swedes in America, as was also the printing a few years earlier of Johan Campanius's translation of the Lutheran catechism into one of the American Indian dialects. A copy of this small book—*Lutheri Catechismus, Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket* (Stockholm, Burchardi, 1696)—came to the Princeton Library a half century ago with the acquisition of the so-called Goertz Collection, an extensive polymathic library of sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth-century books accumulated by the noble German family of Goertz von Schlitz.¹² This Goertz-Princeton copy of the catechism was presented by King Charles XI of Sweden, its sponsor, to Johann Albertus Fabricius, a book collector and compiler of learned bibliographies.

¹⁰ A copy of the original edition is in the Grenville Kane Collection, Princeton University Library. Among the plates (V) is the map of "Nova Svecia, hodie dicta Pennsylvania," engraved by Thomas Campanius "Holm" (i.e., Holmiensis, of Stockholm) after an earlier manuscript map prepared ca. 1654-1655 by the engineer P. Lindström. It shows the valley of the Delaware from roughly the site of present Trenton ("Asipinck") to the mouth of the river. There is a complete English translation of Campanius's *Kort Beskrifning* edited by Peter S. Duponceau: *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden, now called, by the English, Pennsylvania, in America . . .* (Philadelphia, 1834, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Memoirs, III, 1-166). Duponceau's preface (p. ix) carries this useful message to translators and editors: "It was thought better to translate the whole work, than to give it by way of extracts, as it might be thought by some, that what was left behind, was more interesting than that which was presented to the public. . . ."

¹¹ Wicacoa (Philadelphia), Christina (Wilmington), Racoon (Swedesboro, N.J.), Penns Neck (near Salem, New Jersey). See Reynolds edition of Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, pp. 203-345, for a detailed history of these parishes.

¹² See James Holly Hanford, "The Goertz Collection," in the *Chronicle*, XVII, No. 1 (Autumn, 1955), 40-45.

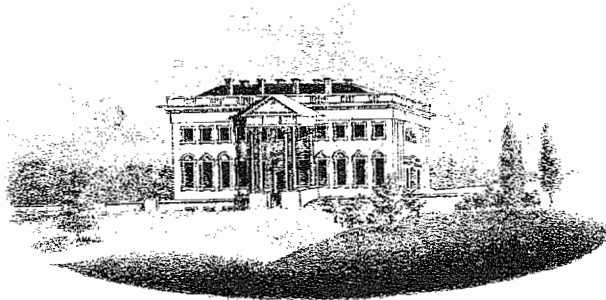
ATLAS

til

Friherre KLINCKOWSTRÖMS Bref

om de

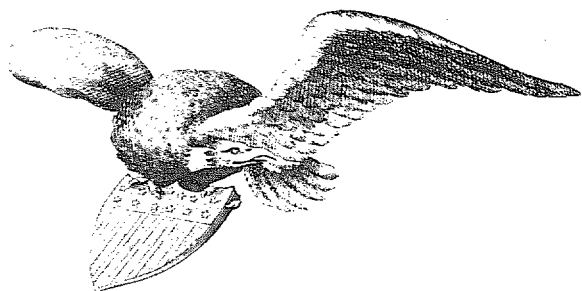
FÖRENTE STATERNE.



Residence of the President of the United States, Washington.

Stenr. af C. Müller

Fig. 1. Title page of Klinckowström's "Atlas," Stockholm, 1824
Lithograph by C. Müller. Reduced
Princeton University Library



B R E F

om de

FÖRENTE STATERNE,

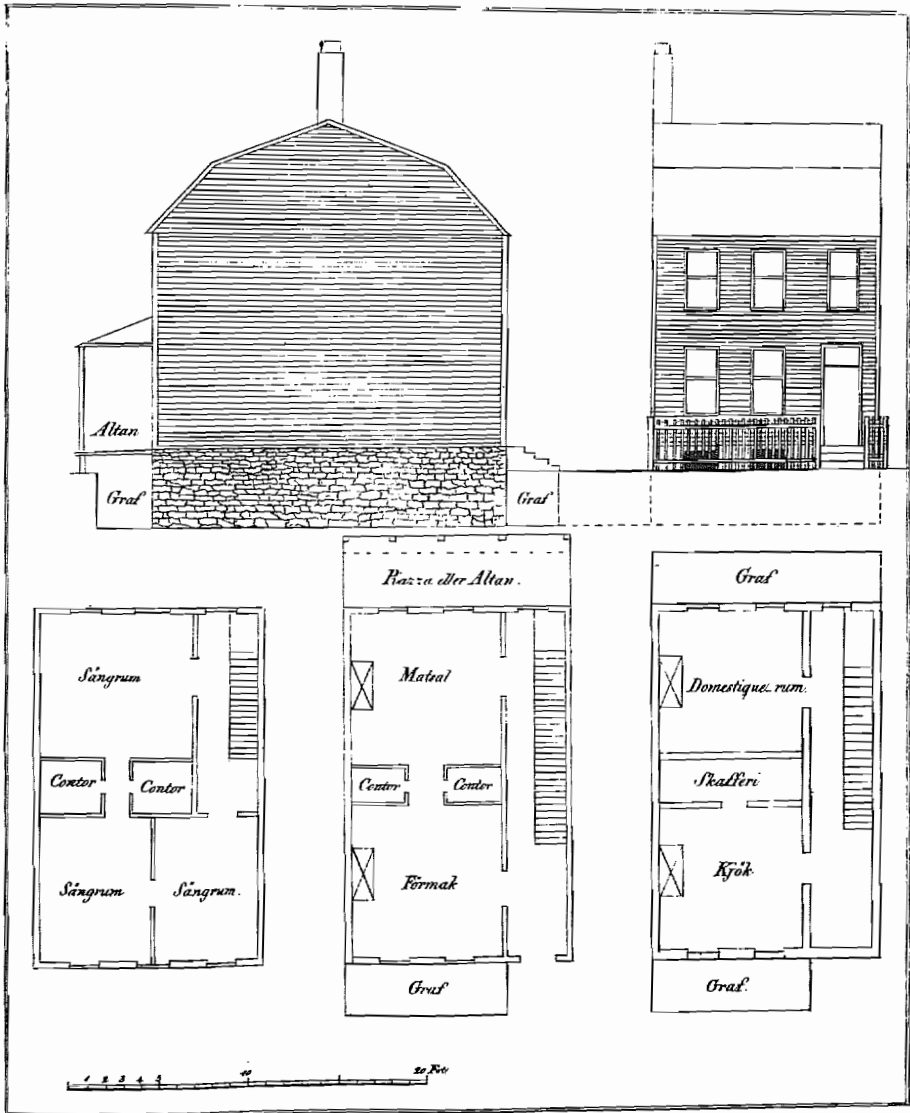
författade

under en Resa till America.

ÅREN 1818, 1819 OCH 1820.

af Friherre
KLINCKOWSTRÖM.

Fig. 2. Engraved frontispiece to Klinckowström's *Bref*, Stockholm, 1824
The frontispiece appears in both volumes 1 and 2 of the text



*Inrednings ritning till ett vanligt litet böningshus af träd i Newyork
Newjersey och Pennsylvania Staterna.*

Fig. 3. Typical wooden dwelling house in the states of New York,
New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Plate No. 15, Klickowström's
"Atlas," Stockholm, 1824. Original, 14½ x 10¼ inches

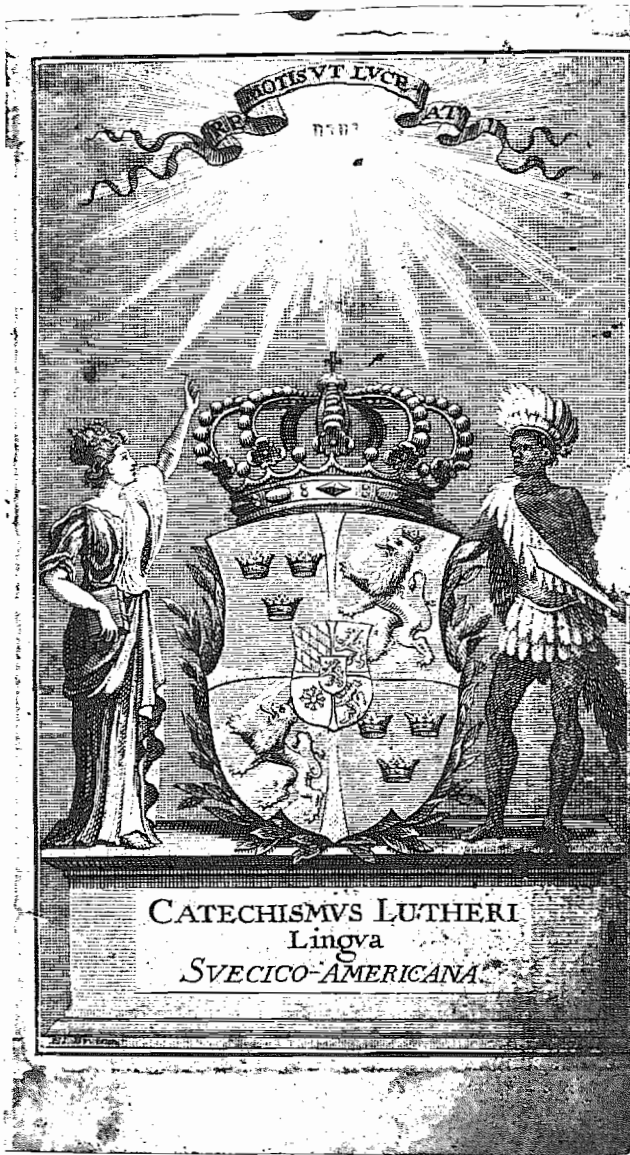


Fig. 4. Engraved frontispiece, *Lutheri Catechismus, Ofwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket*, Stockholm, 1696

Princeton University Library

More recently, another copy, with interesting variations, has come to Princeton as the gift of Bernhard K. Schaefer.¹³

Although it was not published until 1696, this translation of the catechism had been made by Johan Campanius during his sojourn in New Sweden from 1642 to 1649. In 1656, after his return to Sweden, he completed a revised manuscript of it for the King, in the hope that it might be published and circulated in America. But it was not until after Johan Campanius's death (1683), that his intentions were finally realized, through the efforts of his grandson Thomas. Johan Campanius's missionary labors among the Indians of New Sweden were contemporaneous with those of the Reverend John Eliot in New England. The latter's *Indian Primer*, printed at Cambridge for the Massachusetts Indians in 1669 also included a "catechizaonk"—which was not, however, of the Lutheran variety. It is worth noting, too, that the editor of the 1696 Stockholm volume included, in addition to the Lutheran catechism, a systematically arranged vocabulary, "Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum" (pp. 133 ff.), as well as specimens of American Indian languages from other works. Among these specimens there is a page from John Eliot's translation of the Bible (Cambridge, Mass., 1663), and another from the *Petit Catéchisme . . . en la langue des Caraïbes Insulaires* (Auxerre, 1664), by Father Raymond Breton, a French Dominican Missionary in the West Indies.

When copies of the Lutheran catechism were sent out to America it was expected that they would be used by the Swedish pastor-missionaries to convert the Indians. How well did the book serve this purpose? Pehr Kalm evidently asked himself this question,

¹³ Cf. Paul Wagner, "A Luther Exhibition, Selections from the Gift of Bernhard K. Schaefer '20," in *Chronicle*, XXIX, No. 1 (Autumn, 1967), 103-106. The Goertz-Princeton copy of the Catechism is bound in parchment like the other books from the Goertz library. The Schaefer-Princeton copy has a French style leather binding. There is another copy of the Catechism in the Scheide Library at Princeton; this is bound in leather with the royal arms blind-stamped on front and back covers. None of these three copies shows much evidence of use in the wilderness. The Schaefer-Princeton copy has marks of ownership of previous collectors, including the bookplate of Jean Hersholt. This copy has the engraved frontispiece (reproduced here, Fig. 4) which is lacking in the other two. None of the three has the engraved map (the same that appeared as Plate V in Thomas Campanius's *Kort Beskrifning*) which was bound in to some of the surviving copies. A facsimile edition of the Catechism, with informative notes, was issued as a "New Sweden Tercentenary Publication": *Martin Luther's Little Catechism translated into Algonquian Indian by Johannes Campanius, Facsimile of the printed edition, Stockholm 1696, With Some Notes by Isak Collijn, Director of the Royal Library, Stockholm (Upsala, 1937)*.

for he recorded in his diary some of the answers that he found in America. He noted, for example, under date of May 21, 1750:

The Rev. Mr. Lars Nyberg told me that he had taken a copy of the Indian Catechism, which had been sent over from Sweden, and tested it on the savage natives of Virginia to see whether or not they could understand it, since it was said to be translated into their dialect. But they could not comprehend a word of it, whereas it was found upon examining the Indians on the Delaware River that they understood a good deal.¹⁴ The late Mr. Peter Kock asserted several times that it was stupid to have spent so much money in the printing of the Red Man's Catechism, since it had not been translated into the right Indian dialect.¹⁵

Again, on June 10, 1750:

In Christina, or the Swedish Church in Wilmington, there are something over a hundred copies of those catechisms which had been published in Sweden in the Swedish and Indian tongues and later sent over here. They are bound in a French binding¹⁶ and printed on excellent paper, which shows what an act of vanity it was. I was told that Dean Anders Hesselius had written home to Bishop Svedberg informing him that he had converted several heathen savages, when as a matter of fact, only one single Indian had been converted through this means.¹⁷

In spite of these somewhat disparaging remarks about the efficacy of the Swedish-American catechism, the volume retains its significance as an early landmark in the study of the languages of the American Indians.

¹⁴ Kalm's informant (a Lutheran who defected to the Moravians!) was probably mistaken in thinking that the term "Virginian," as used in the title of the 1696 catechism, was intended to apply in the narrow sense to the colony of Virginia only. According to common seventeenth century usage, it was more or less synonymous with English North America as a whole. The speech into which Campanius transcribed the catechism was that of the Lenni Lenape Indians, an Algonquian tribe living along the banks of the Delaware. See James C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* (Washington, 1891, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin No. 13), pp. 65-66; Nils G. Holmer, *John Campanius' Lutheran Catechism in the Delaware Language* (Upsala, 1946, American Institute of the University of Upsala, Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature, No. 3).

¹⁵ Kalm, *Travels*, Benson edition (1937), II, 684.

¹⁶ The Schaefer-Princeton copy is in a "French binding," presumably like those Kalm saw in the Swedish church in Wilmington.

¹⁷ Kalm, *Travels*, Benson edition (1937), II, 685.

Alongside the catechism the Library can now, thanks to a very recent purchase, place another rare Swedish-American publication entitled *De Plantatione Ecclesiae Svecanae in America* (concerning the planting of the Swedish Church in America). This brochure of 42 pages, printed at Upsala in 1731, is the academic dissertation in Latin presented that year at the University of Upsala by one Tobias Erik Biörck (or Björck).¹⁸

בשם יהוה
 DISSERTATIO GRADUALIS,
 De
 PLANTATIONE
 ECCLESIAE SVECANÆ
 IN
 AMERICA,
 QUAM,
*Suffragante Ampl. Senatu Philosoph. in
 Regio Upsal. Albanæ,*
 PRÆSIDE,
VIRO Amplissimo atque Celeberrimo
 MAG. ANDREA
 WERNER/
 Eth. & Polit. Prof. Reg. & Ord.
 In Audit. Gust. Maj. d. 14 Jun.
 An. MDCCXXXI.
Examinandam modeste sistit
 TOBIAS E. BIÖRCK.
 AMERICANO-DALEKARLUS.

UPSALIÆ Literis WERNERIANIS.

¹⁸ Sabin, No. 5664. Church Catalogue, No. 911. Streeter Collection sale catalogue, II (April, 1967), No. 917.

Tobias Björck's father, Erik Björck (1668-1740), was one of three Swedish pastor-missionaries sent to America by Charles XI in 1697 as part of the royal effort to revive and maintain the influence of the national church among the surviving Swedish settlers in the Delaware valley. After serving the church at Christina (Wilmington, Delaware) for over fifteen years Erik Björck went back in 1714 to Sweden where he spent the rest of his life as pastor at Falun. He returned home with his wife (Kristina Stalcop, daughter of a Pennsylvania merchant, whom he had married in 1702) and their five children—"the first American family given back to Sweden," as a later chronicler describes it.¹⁹ Among the returning Swedish-Americans was the pastor's son Tobias, he who subsequently, in 1731, presented the Latin dissertation for his degree at Upsala. Tobias describes himself on the title-page as "Americano-Dalekarlus," that is, an American Dalecarlian (of the province of Dalarna or Dalecarlia). As a further reminder of his American birth, Björck's dissertation includes dedicatory verses in English addressed to Count Charles Gyllenborg, chancellor of the University at Lund, who had earlier befriended the author's father when the latter had been living "about *Christeen*, in *Pennsilvani-Wood*." In these same verses Björck defines the subject of his dissertation:

How Swedish Church is planted there,
 Of Swedish Priests and Sheeps,
 On both they Sides of *de la Ware*,
 Among great many Heaps,
 Of diverse Sects and Indians. . . .

The printed dissertation also includes a commendatory preface in English addressed "To the Learned American Mr. Tobias Björck, upon Publishing his Gradual Disputation in the Famous University at Upsal." The author of this preface was Andrew (Andreas or Anders) Hesselius, who had succeeded the elder Björck as pastor at Christina and who had returned to Sweden in 1723 to become pastor at Gaguäf in the diocese of Westeros. "And as for You, Dear Cousin," Hesselius wrote, "if it should please God, to put you into the same method of life, as your Reverend Father hath been engaged in (Whose particular Distinction is, to signalize himself for the Welfare of the Church both abroad and at home) I promise myself You will find more Reason for re-

¹⁹ "Denna war den första Familie America skänkt Sverige tillbaka." Acrelius, *Beskrifning*, p. 319.

turning to Your Native Country, and entering our Society, than you could at first have expected. However, I shall not trespass against Providence and Your own inclination, as a Fortune-Teller by a presage of future changes and Adventures. . . ." In spite of this guarded hint, Tobias Björck, as far as we know, never returned to his Native Country, and thus added no sequel to his dissertation.

Shorn of its prefatory matter, Björck's little book gives in academic Latin a succinct chronicle of the Swedish church in America during the period of his father's pastorate there, and is indeed based largely on information supplied by his parent, as dutifully acknowledged on page 2. After a brief historical and geographical introduction—illustrated by a folding map of the Delaware valley²⁰—Björck treats in turn of the arrival of his father and the other ministers in 1697, of their pastoral labors among the Swedish settlers, of their relations with "diverse Sects" (Anglicans, Quakers), and finally of the Indians ("*quos Scevi Wildar . . . vocant*"). The latter, according to the author, resembled the Laplanders in their general way of life. When describing the religion of these "Gentiles," Björck introduces into his text a woodcut of

Ad religionem eorum, si religio dicenda, quod attinet, duos agnoscunt Deos seu spiritus, quos *Manetto's* vocant. Unum dicunt rectorem rerum cœlestium, alterum terrestrium. Priorem; quia bonus, non adorandum, vel timendum; posteriori vero quia malus, & timendum, & adorandum, perversè censent: cujus hanc fere formam januæ incolæ Sveco-

MANETTO INDIANORUM.



Americani incifam depinxit Mag. A. Hesse-

lius. Variis indulgent superstitionibus, omen a variis avibus, serpētib; aliisque animalibus, quæ

²⁰ "Delineatio Pennsylvaniae et Casarea Nov. Occident. Seu West N. Jersey in America." Engraved by Jonas Silfverling, Upsala, 1731. The map (plate mark) measures 7 1/4 x 10 5/8 inches.

the “manitou of the Indians,” explaining that it was drawn by Andrew Hesselius from a carving seen on the door of a Swedish-American’s house. Hesselius had presumably brought this design back to Sweden, where it remained among his papers for his young protégé to copy in 1731. In his own diary of his American years at Christina, Hesselius had noted, under date of June 10, 1712:²¹

I saw at the house of a Swedish merchant a figure which the Indians themselves had painted in accordance with the form of their *maneto*, but which they pray to and worship. It is more like a wolf’s-head which grimaces and exhales fire and smoke. The body is a dragon body very thick but narrowing out at the tail, where there are some peculiar decorations and characters to be seen. Otherwise the body has no feet or wings but only a couple of out-stretched arms and hands with claws on the fingers, spread out to grasp something.

Another document of particular interest is preserved by Björck in the concluding pages of his dissertation. Mentioning the difficulties experienced by the Swedes in attempting to convert the Indians, he cites as an example of the obstacles encountered a letter written to his father by another of the Swedish pastors, Jonas Aurén, who was then at Conestoga in the vicinity of what later became Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Aurén’s letter to Erik Björck (the printed Latin text is presumably a translation from Swedish), dated “Canistogae 13 Jan. 1 $\frac{699}{700}$ ” records a “colloquium” with the Indians, in which they explained their reasons for rejecting the religion and God of the Christians. Thus, Tobias Björck has preserved in his dissertation what might be described as the Indians’ refutation of the Lutheran catechism, and—unwittingly, perhaps—given us one of the essential reasons for the reputed ineffectiveness of the little book printed at Stockholm in 1696.

Björck’s *Dissertatio* takes its place with the other notable Swedish Americana in the Princeton University Library—another link in a chain which extends from Johan Campanius, to his grandson Thomas, to Pehr Kalm and Israel Acrelius, to Axel Fersen, and to Axel Klinckowström.

²¹ “The Journal of Andrew Hesselius, 1711-1724,” trans. by Amandus Johnson, *Delaware History*, II, No. 2 (September, 1947), 85.

Extract from

THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CHRONICLE

Volume XXX Number 1 Autumn 1968

Fifty copies with this special cover
have been issued in honor of

ERIK AND GURLI SJÖQVIST

as a souvenir of their years in America

SWEDISH AMERICANA

An Informal Exhibition in the Rare Books Room,
on Saint Lucy's Day, December 13, 1968,
in honor of Prof. and Mrs. Erik Sjöqvist.

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List of Items Shown

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1. Howard C. Rice, Jr. Swedish Americana in the Princeton Library. Extracted from the Princeton University Library Chronicle, vol. XXX, No. 1 (Autumn 1968), pp. 39-52. Fifty copies with special cover issued in honor of Erik and Gurli Sjöqvist as a souvenir of their years in America.

The display was based on this article.

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AXEL KLINCKOWSTRÖM

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2. Axel Klinckowström, Bref om de Förenta Staterne, författade under en Resa till America, åren 1818, 1819 och 1820 (Stockholm, Eckstein, 1824). 2 vols., text.
[Ex 1053.527.1824 v. 1-2]
3. Atlas til Friherre Klinckowströms Bref om de Förenta Staterne
[Ex 1053.527.1824 e Atlas]
Reproduction of Table of Contents, listing plates.
Reproduction of Plate 14, "Ruiner efter en gammal fastning i Tennessee Staten"; with U.S. Geological Survey quadrangle (Manchester Quadrangle, Tennessee, Coffee County) showing location of "Old Stone Fort" on Duck River near Manchester, Tennessee. [Maps Division]

4. Baron Klinkowström's America, 1818-1820. Abridged English translation edited by Franklin D. Scott (Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1952). [1053.527]

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AXEL FERSEN

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5. "Extraits des lettres autographes du Comte de Fersen à son père, pendant la guerre de France contre l'Angleterre dans l'Amérique du Nord (1780-1783)," in Rudolf Mauritz Klinckowström, ed., Le Comte de Fersen et la Cour de France, Extraits des Papiers du Grand Maréchal de Suède, Comte Jean Axel de Fersen, publiés par son petit-neveu... (Paris, 1877-1878), vol. I, pp. 36-73. [1509.177.343.34]
6. Lettres d'Axel Fersen à son père pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance d'Amérique, ed. Count F. U. Wrangel (Paris, 1929). [1081.343]

7. Axel von Fersens Dagbok, ed. Alma Söderhjelm, 4 vols. (Stockholm, A. Bonniers, 1925-1936). [1509.177.343.11]
Colored reproductions of portrait miniatures of Fersen appear on the covers.

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PEHR KALM

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8. Pehr Kalm, En Resa til Norra America, 3 vols. (Stockholm, Lars Salvii, 1753-1761). [Ex 1053.509.12]
9. Adolph B. Benson, ed., Peter Kalm's Travels in North America, The English Version of 1770, revised from the original Swedish and edited...with a Translation of New Material from Kalm's Diary Notes, 2 vols. (New York, 1937). [1053.507.11] Paperback reprint: Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1966. [HCR]

10. John Bartram, Observations...made in His Travels from Pensilvania to Onondago, Oswego, and the Lake Ontario ...To which is annex'd, a curious Account of the Cataracts at Niagara, By Mr. Peter Kalm, a Swedish Gentleman who travelled there (London, Whiston & B. White, 1751). [Ex 10992.149.11]

Kalm's "Account" appears at pp. 79-94: "A Letter from Mr. Kalm, a Gentleman of Sweden, now on his Travels in America, to his Friend in Philadelphia; containing a particular Account of the Great Fall of Niagara," dated Albany, September 2, 1750.

The same letter was printed in The Gentleman's Magazine, January 1751 issue, vol. XXI, pp. 15-19. An engraved "View of the Fall of Niagara" accompanies it. [0901.G339 v. 21]

11. Erik Sjöqvist, "Pehr Kalm and His Travels in North America," in The Princeton University Library Chronicle, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (Spring 1955), p. 145-148.

12. Carl Skottsberg, Pehr Kalm, Levnadsteckning (Stockholm, 1951, Levnadsteckningar över K. Svenska Vetenskaps-akademiens ledamöter, No. 139). [8604.509.86]

Page 163: photograph showing a specimen of Kalmia latifolia preserved in a Swedish herbarium, with a description of the plant in Kalm's handwriting.

13. "Kalmia Latifolia" [Mountain Laurel] depicted in Plate 55 of J. J. Audubon's The Birds of America. "Cuvier's Regulus" is represented on a sprig of Kalmia. [Ex 8880.134.11 e vol. I]

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ISRAEL ACRELIUS

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14. Israel Acrelius, Beskrifning om de Svenska Församlingars Forna och Närwarande Tilstånd, uti Det så kallade Nya Sverige... (Stockholm, Harberg and Hesselberg, 1759). [Ex 1116.113]
15. Israel Acrelius, A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware, translated and edited by William L. Reynolds (Philadelphia, 1875, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Memoirs, Vol. 11). [1212.7017.6 v.11]

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THOMAS CAMPANIUS

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16. Thomas Campanius, Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige uti America.... (Stockholm, 1702). [Kane Collection]

Based on materials assembled by the author's grandfather, Johan Campanius, one of the original Swedish colonists, who reached Fort Christina in America in 1643.

Note: Map of "Nova Svecia," Pl. V, facing p. 12. The map, engraved and published by Thomas Campanius in 1702, is based upon a map made ca. 1655 by the Swedish engineer, P. Lindeström. It shows the Delaware Valley from its mouth to the region where Princeton later grew.

Note: p. 138, woodcut of string of wampum (reproduced on cover of special Chronicle reprint).

17. Thomas Campanius, A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden, now called, by the English, Pennsylvania, in America, translated and edited by Peter Stephen Duponceau (Philadelphia, 1834, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Memoirs, III, 1-166). [1212.7017.6 v.3]

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JOHAN CAMPANIUS

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18. Johan Campanius, trans., Lutheri Catechismus, Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket (Stockholm, Burchardi, 1696).
- THREE Copies:
- "Goertz copy" [Ex 2028.27.61]. Presented by King of Sweden to Johann Albert Fabricius, the collector and bibliographer.
- Copy in "French" style binding, presented to Library by Bernhard K. Schaefer with his Luther Collection. [Temporary shelved, Schaefer Luther Collection No. 48.] This copy has engraved frontispiece, lacking in other two.
- Copy lent by The Scheide Library. This copy in leather binding blind-stamped with royal arms of Sweden.
19. Facsimile edition: Martin Luther's Little Catechism translated into Algonquian Indian by Johannes Campanius...., notes by Isak Collijn (Upsala, 1937). [2028.27.61]
20. Nils G. Holmer, John Campanius' Lutheran Catechism in the Delaware Language (Upsala, 1946). [2028.27.47].
- "American Institute of the University of Upsala, Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature, No. 3."

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TOBIAS BJÖRCK

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21. Tobias Erik Björck, Dissertatio Gradualis, De Plantatione Ecclesiae Svecanæ^{in America} (Upsala, 1731). [Ex]
- Folding map: "Delineatio Pennsilvanæ et Caesareæ Nov. Occident. seu West N. Jersey in America." Engraved by Jonas Silverling, Upsala, 1731.

22. "The Journal of Andrew Hesselius, 1711-1724," trans. by Amandus Johnson, in Delaware History, II, No. 2 (September, 1947). [1116.2953, v. 1-3]
Entry for June 10, 1712 (p. 85), mentioning the Indian figure of Manitou, which he saw on door of Swedish settler's house [and which Tobias Björck later reproduced in his dissertation].

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LINNAEUS, PROFESSOR AT UPSALA

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23. Autograph note signed by Carl Linnaeus. Upsala, 25 May 1758. A certificate in Swedish written for his student Johan G. Colliander, testifying that the latter has been prevented by illness from taking up his new employment and has been permitted to remain at Upsala pending his recovery. [Gen. Mss. Misc., "L"]
24. Letter in Latin written by Carl Linnaeus (Linné) to the French naturalist Valmont de Bomare. Upsala, 1 April 1765. [John Wild Autograph Collection, Vol. 5]
"....Tu habitas in felicissimo climate,....
ego infelix habito in gelida regione...."
Engraved portrait of Linnaeus is also in the album, following the letter.

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SWEDEN IN THE 17th and 18th CENTURIES

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25. "Svecia, Dania, et Norvegia, Regna Europae Septentrionalia."
Engraved map, colored, in G. & J. Blaeu, Le Théâtre du Monde, ou Nouvel Atlas (Amsterdam, 1643), Vol. I, pp. 11-12. [Ex 1009.183.11 e]
26. Samuel Pufendorf, De Rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sveciae Rege Gestis Commentariorum Libri Septem. Elegantissimis Tabulis Aeneis Exornati, cum Triplici Indice. (Nuremberg, C. Riegel, 1696). [Ex 1616.511.739.73 q]

History of the reign of Charles X (Charles Gustavus), with many engravings, portraits, battle scenes, etc. Includes (between pp. 604/605) foldout panoramic view showing funeral procession for Charles X, Stockholm, 3 November 1660: "Exequae Serenissimi Potentiss: Principis ac Domini Caroli Gustavi Suecorum Gothorum et Vandalorum Regis d. 3 Novemb. 1660 Holmiae Celebratae." Drawn by E. J. Dahlberg.

27. Erik Dahlberg, Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna. Nineteenth-century reprint (some restrikes, some facsimile reproductions?) of series of engraved views first published in Stockholm, 1667-1716. Bound with this set is: Beskrifning öfver Städer, Engendomar, Minnesmärken, m.m., upptagne uti E. Dahlbergs Suecia Antiqua & Hodierna (Stockholm, P.A. Huldbergs Bokhandel, 1856). [SA 1615.281 f, 3 vols. bound in 2]

Views of Sweden during the reigns of Charles XI and Charles XII, including Stockholm, Drottingholm, and Upsala.

28. "A Plan of the City of Stokholm, 1771." Map engraved by J. Andrews, colored, in A Collection of Plans of the most Capital Cities of every Empire Kingdom Republic and Electorate in Europe..... from Actual Surveys (ca. 1775), pp. 95-96. [Ex 1404.124]

29. Svenska Trädgårdskonsten....., comp. by Hakon Ahlberg, Harald Wadsjö, et al., photographs by C. G. Rosenberg. 2 vols. (Stockholm, Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1930). [NA 9500.S96 f (SA)]

Includes views and plans, old and new, of Drottingholm.

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THE BIBLE IN SWEDISH

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30. First edition of the Swedish Bible. Printed by George Richolff, Upsala, 1541. [Shown through the courtesy of The Scheide Library.]

This version is ascribed to Laurentius Petri, Archbishop of Upsala, in collaboration with his brother O. Petri, assisted by other colleagues. It is known as "Gustavus Vasa's Bible."

By a royal ordinance, a tunna [about four bushels] of wheat was deducted from the tithe of every parish to help towards the cost of the publication; and these contributions became known as bibeltryckstunnan [Bible-printing bushels]. A copy of the Bible was provided for every church throughout the country.

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SAINT LUCY

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31. Saint Lucy. Represented in an illuminated initial of a 14th-century Venetian missal. Note the crown and the lamp (symbolising light). Her feast day falls on December 13, according to the present calendar. [Garrett Manuscript No. 39, fol. 262^{vo}]
32. Saint Lucy. Woodcut in THE NUREMBERG CHRONICLE, printed by Anton Koberger at Nuremberg in 1493. fol. cxxv. "Lucia virgo deo devota natione sicula...." [Ex I 1016.816 f]
33. "DE SANCTA LUCIA VIRGINE" The legend of St. Lucy as related in "The Golden Legend," compiled in the 13th century by Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican friar of northern Italy.

This edition in Latin--LEGENDA AUREA--was printed by Günther Zainer at Augsburg, ca. 1474. The woodcuts had been previously used in his German edition of the work published in 1471-72. [Ex I 5428.49.12 q]

34. THE GOLDEN LEGEND. Printed by William Caxton at Westminster, 1483. [Shown through the courtesy of The Scheide Library.]

Caxton was the first English printer and this is one of the first books printed in England. It is Caxton's own translation of the LEGENDA AUREA, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine.

Here opened to the life of SAINT LUCY:

"Lucie is said of light/ And lyght is beaute in
beholdynge.....

"Saynt Lucye the holy vyrgyne was born in Cecylle/
and extrayt & engendred of a noble lygnage in the
cyte of Syracuse....."