TWO FINNISH SCHOLARS IN AMERICA *

ERNEST JOHN MOYNE

In cultural relations between countries there are usually persons who, wittingly or unwittingly, unite their native land in close bonds of friendship with another nation. During the course of history ambassadors and statesmen have frequently been such intermediaries of culture. Travelers have also done much to create mutual understanding. Among travelers, scholars have been of special importance. Two Finnish scholars, Peter Schaefer and Peter Kalm, have played a particularly important part in Finnish-American cultural relations.

Peter (Pietari) Schaefer, the son of Henrik and Elin (Thorvööst) Schaefer, was born in Åbo (Turku), Finland, about 1660. He matriculated as a student in the university at Åbo in 1677 and in the university at Uppsala in 1685, receiving the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Åbo in 1688.¹

At the University of Åbo Schaefer, who early in life had displayed mystical tendencies, met young men of similar disposition, and these religious mystics soon banded together. In his great zeal Schaefer even went so far as to renounce his degree, since he felt that it was not proper for a disciple of Jesus to bear the title of "master."² Schaefer and his associates, a clergyman, Lauri Ulstadius, and two students of theology, Olavi Ulhegius and Lauri Lithovius, gave the courts and consistory in Åbo a great deal of trouble. The principal charge against them was that of believing the official acts of an unregenerate minister to be invalid and useless. Schaefer recanted as did all the others except Ulstadius, who

* An address delivered at the University of Delaware on the evening of January 9, 1951, being the fifth in a series of addresses on subjects of Delaware interest, arranged by the History Department and sponsored by the Institute of Delaware History and Culture. This address was originally entitled "Three Finnish Scholars in America," but the part dealing with August Fredrik Soldan has been omitted here. For an account of Soldan, see the author's article "August Fredrik Soldan: A Finnish Scholar at Delaware College in 1849-1850" in Delaware Notes, 23: 83-89.

was condemned to death for his fanatical notions. At the outset of 1698 Schaefer, agitated anew by his beliefs, traveled by way of Novgorod, Russia to Halle in Germany. After wandering from Germany, through Holland, to England, he finally reached Pennsylvania.

From an allusion in Frederick Breekling’s “Zeugnisse der Wahrheit,” it would appear that Schaefer was a fellow-passenger of Johannes Kelpius, leader of a company of German Pietists, on the Sarah Maria Hopewell. This ship, loaded with the followers of Kelpius, left England in February, 1694, and arrived in America in June of the same year. If he did come over at that time, which seems very likely, Schaefer must have returned to Europe between 1694 and 1699, for we find him landing in this country again in the early part of the latter year. When Schaefer came to Pennsylvania, presumably for the second time, the brethren of Pietists received him cordially at their Tabernacle in Germantown. Kelpius, the Hermit of the Wissahickon, and his followers were ‘awakened Christians,’ who had a tinge of mysticism, probably also of millennialism, and looked down upon the church as a spiritual Babylon.” Schaefer, who was learned but somewhat eccentric, soon differed with Kelpius and the other mystics concerning the sacraments. As a result, he offered to withdraw from their community, and proposed to live a life of seclusion and contemplation. Kelpius thereupon submitted to him the names of several devout families who would give him his living, provided that he would instruct

5 Ulstadius’s sentence was changed to life imprisonment, and he died in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1732, after spending thirty-nine years of his life in prison. The last thirteen years of Ulstadius’s imprisonment were self-imposed, for he refused to leave his place of confinement after being pardoned in 1719. See A. J. Palmén, “Lauri Ulstadius,” Iso Tietosanakirja, XIV (1938), 650.


5 Julius F. Sachse (trans. and ed.), “The Diary of Magister Johannes Kelpius,” Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, XXV (1917), 32-37. In a letter from Kelpius to Heinrich Johann Deichman, London, England, May 12, 1699, he wrote: “I hear with special joy, how you show in your last letter, happily delivered together with a package by Mr. Schaefer. . . . If now, dear brother, you find some assuredness in your heart, to come to us . . . as I am certain, you will be drawn by quite a different principle in coming hither, as our dear Schaefer, or others were, who from hence ran back again, hoping to teach the world or even the saints.” This would lead us to believe that Schaefer had been in America, and then returned to Europe.

6 Seidensticker, p. 428.
the children of the household for a number of hours each day; the remaining time he could spend in esoteric studies, permitting "God to prepare his soul and fix his purpose." Schaefer rejected these offers in order that he might labor as an evangelist among his countrymen who had settled along the Delaware and the Schuykill some forty or fifty years earlier. Denied the freedom of religious belief in his native land, he probably came to America in hope of retaining his own views on religion, while living among people of his own nationality. Kelpius recorded Schaefer's attachment to his countrymen in a letter to Heinrich Johann Deichman, secretary of the Philadelphic Society, in London. Kelpius wrote:

But his heart always drew him to his nation... and he went amongst them, and we parted from each other in love, as we left the door open for him, to come back to us, if he should not find among his nation that which he thought he would. But when at last, his soul shall be brought to rest, the Lord alone knows, for he himself is without method to attain this end, on the contrary, he is desirous of converting and strengthening others, though he himself confesses he has no grounds, and thus many impede their own progress in various manners, and cannot enter into their rest because of mere unbelief, standing so firmly upon themselves. Now, who could think, that our human way could be a wrong way, in so much as to be unwilling to turn therefrom. God be merciful unto such and unto us all!

Instead of going directly to the Finnish settlements upon leaving the Tabernacle, Schaefer went to Philadelphia. There he presented himself to Edward Shippen, one of the magistrates and leading Friends of the province, and informed him and his wife, Rebecca, that he had a call to stay under their roof for six weeks, "during which time he was to live upon bread and water." They permitted him to remain in their home at his pleasure, and during the fast he became more and more involved in his own wild notions and mystical speculations.

Early in the year 1700, the Scandinavians established a school at Wicaco, a part of present-day Philadelphia. In one of his letters

---

7 Sachse, p. 38.
8 Seidensticker, p. 428. The Philadelphic Society was "a league of Christians who insisted on depth and inwardness, and had affiliations in Germany."
9 Sachse, p. 38.
to Sweden Pastor Björk wrote that there was “an able teacher at the head of it, who also serves as parish clerk.” 11 The able teacher referred to might well have been Peter Schaefer. 12 How long the eccentric visionary remained in charge of the school at Wicaco, if he ever assumed charge of it, is unknown. But we do know that he went to Penns Neck to teach school. There he accomplished very little, however, for soon after he entered New Jersey he began what he termed a “death fast,” receiving a revelation that he should arise and wander about at random. The simple inhabitants of Penns Neck took him for a saint, and after his eventual return to the Tabernacle on the Wissahickon, they sent him a call to come back again and be their minister. Although he received an assurance that twenty-four pounds were ready for his support, Schaefer never returned an answer to the call. Nevertheless, he regarded it as a great honor, and always carried the summons with him.

After accompanying Jonas Aurén, a Swedish clergyman on the Delaware, “upon one of his missionary tours to the Indians on the Conestoga,” 13 Schaefer proceeded to England, where he entered upon a fast of fifty days. At the end of the ordeal, he received another revelation that he should return to his home in Finland, retracing carefully the route he had followed from his native land to England. In the fall of 1701 he reached Åbo, where he spent the next six years in peace. His conscience bothering him about his recantation, he later denounced his former judges for their course against him. At first he was condemned to death, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

During his years of incarceration in the castles, i.e. fortresses, of Åbo and Gefle, he observed an annual fast from the beginning of December to the middle of January in commemoration of his fast at the home of Edward Shippen in Philadelphia. 14 In 1712 Schaefer, who never gave up hope of his release from custody, busied himself with plans to lead his loyal followers from Finland to America. 15 But Schaefer’s colony in Pennsylvania never be-

13 Ibid.
14 Martti Ruuth (ed.), Kaksi Petter Schäferin Päiväkirjaa, in Suomen Kirkkohistorialliset Seurant Toimitukset (Helsinki, 1915), XII, Part I, 44, 52, 64, 79.
15 Ibid., p. 31.
came a reality, for his affairs took a more serious turn. According to his diary he was transferred in 1713 from Åbo to the castle of Gefle in Sweden. This change affected him so that for the first time since 1701 he wrote to Deichman in London and Kelpius in America. In his letters he related to his friends the main events of his life since his return home, information which he had not sent them earlier because he had expected to revisit them soon. Kelpius never received the belated news, for he had died in 1708. Schaefer himself was doomed to spend the rest of his days in prison, where he died in 1729.

Visionary and mystic that he was, Peter Schaefer deserves to be remembered as one of the first schoolmasters on the Delaware and as one of the early missionaries working among the Indians. He was an interesting enough figure to have attracted the attention of John Greenleaf Whittier, who, in his poem The Pennsylvania Pilgrim, a tribute to Francis Daniel Pastorius and the colonial Quakers of Philadelphia, wrote:

Haply, from Finland's birchen groves exiled,
Manly in thought, in simple ways a child,
His white hair floating round his visage mild,
The Swedish pastor sought the Quaker's door,
Pleased from his neighbor's lips to hear once more
His long-disused and half-forgotten lore.
For both could baffle Babel's lingual curse,
And speak in Bion's Doric, and rehearse
Cleanthes' hymn or Virgil's sounding verse.
And oft Pastorius and the meek old man
Argued as Quaker and as Lutheran,
Ending in Christian love, as they began.

18 Ibid., p. 22, n. 4. The editor of Schaefer's two diaries in Finnish obviously had difficulty with the orthography in the journals, for he has transcribed the name Kelpius as Kelpins. Moreover, he has concluded that Kelpins [sic] was a Quaker, since he lived near Philadelphia. Kelpius was a well-known German Pietist, but the incorrect transcription of his name apparently led the editor astray.
19 Ibid., p. 5.
20 The Pennsylvania Pilgrim was inspired by Dr. Oswald Seidensticker's articles on the Quakers written for Der Deutsche Pioneer. See R. E. Thompson, "The German Mystics as American Colonists," The Penn Monthly, II (1871), 398: "Of the colonists five stand out from the rest as men of letters, Magister Peter Schäffer. . . ." Thompson also used Seidensticker's articles.
Beyond his own claim to our attention, Schaefer commands our interest as the forerunner in America of a much more important scholar from the University of Åbo, Peter Kalm.

Peter Kalm, the son of Gabriel and Katarina (Ross) Kalm, was born in 1716 in the province of Ångermanland, Sweden, whither his family had fled during the Carolinian wars. Kalm's father, the regular curate of Närpiö, Finland, died six weeks before the birth of his son, leaving the responsibility of Peter's upbringing to Kalm's mother, who was of Scotch descent. Although poverty-stricken, young Peter Kalm attended school in Vaasa, Finland, and in 1735 matriculated as a graduate student at the University of Åbo. There he displayed a leaning toward theology, but Bishop Johan Browallius, a divine and naturalist, encouraged his budding interest in the natural sciences. Chiefly through the influence of the Bishop, Kalm was befriended by Baron Sten Carl Bjelke, who helped him financially in carrying on his studies. After becoming a pupil of the famous Swedish botanist, Linnaeus, at Uppsala, Kalm's rise in the world was rapid. In 1744 Linnaeus publicly acknowledged Kalm in an academic thesis, and in the following year the Swedish Academy of Sciences elected him to its membership. In 1746 Kalm was appointed docent in natural history and economics at the University of Åbo, and in 1747 he was made professor of economics.

When the Swedish Academy of Sciences decided to send a representative to North America in order that seed-material of plants and trees hardy enough to thrive in northern Europe might be obtained, it selected Peter Kalm for that mission. Kalm was qualified for such an undertaking because he had shown particular interest in medicinal and dye-yielding plants, and had previously traveled with good results in Sweden, Finland, and Russia. In spite of the strenuousness of the voyage to America, Kalm, being strong and courageous, was eager to go to the New World. The University of Åbo cooperated by granting him a leave of absence and by contributing part of the funds for his journey. By the end of 1747, his preparations completed, Kalm, accompanied by an expert gardener, Lars Jungström, left Sweden.

22 Ibid., pp. 127-42.
Almost a half century had elapsed between Schaefer's departure from America and Kalm's arrival there. In September of 1748 the distinguished scientist landed in Philadelphia, after having spent some time in Norway and in England on the way from Sweden. According to his original plans, related by Kalm to Cadwallader Colden in a letter which Kalm scholars hitherto seem to have overlooked, Kalm intended to visit New England and spend the winter of 1748-1749 in Boston, or even farther north, so that he could continue his trip to Canada the following summer. Then, his mission fulfilled, he was to return to Europe in the fall of 1749. But his late arrival in Pennsylvania prevented Kalm from carrying out his proposed journey northward, with the result that his stay in North America was greatly lengthened. During the winter 1748-1749 he explored the region of the Delaware, making observations in the colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. He came to Wilmington a number of times, his first visit occurring on October 4, 1748, less than three weeks after his arrival in this country. Having made a previous trip to New York, Kalm left Pennsylvania in May, 1749, for Canada. He returned to Philadelphia in November, after a difficult but successful journey. The following year he traveled through western Pennsylvania, and moving northward he reached Niagara Falls. In the autumn of 1750 he was again in Philadelphia. On February 13, 1751 Kalm departed from that city, proceeding to New Castle, where, on the sixteenth of the month, he embarked for Europe, even though his work in America was still unfinished. By the time he arrived back in his native land, he had been absent almost four years.

Between 1753 and 1761, En Resa til Norra America (A Journey to North America), Kalm's official account of his American trip, written in Swedish, appeared in Stockholm. Within eleven years of its first publication, it was translated into German, English, and Dutch, thus bringing European fame to its author. A Journey to

---

24 See Adolph B. Benson (ed.), The America of 1750; Peter Kalm's Travels in North America; The English Version of 1770 (New York, 1937), I, x. In the Introduction (p. x) the editor writes: "Naturally Kalm had no definite itinerary with fixed dates mapped out for his work in America; but, in brief, his explorations extended to the States of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, and to southern Canada."


26 Ibid., IV, 99.
North America, better known as Kalm's Travels, is one of the most important works on our country by a foreign traveler. As might be expected, Kalm's narrative is full of scientific observations. Yet the scope of subjects which attracted him was tremendous and extended far beyond his purely professional interests. The topics recorded in his diaries and later reprinted in En Resa til Norra America are innumerable. Of all the natural advantages of Philadelphia, its temperate climate impressed Kalm most. He wrote in his journal:

Even their coldest days in some winters have been no severer than the days at the end of spring are in the middlemost parts of Sweden and the southern ones of Finland.  

Kalm frequently made comparisons between this country and his native land. For example, he compared America with Finland in the making of tar. The manner of burning, or boiling, in Carolina was "entirely the same as in Finland." 28 The American flying squirrel," he wrote, "is assuredly only a variety of that which we have in Finland." 29 Among other matters the great naturalist compared Finland and America as to strawberries, 30 shoes, 31 fishing, 32 and forest conservation. 33

Kalm was particularly interested in the Finnish and Swedish colonists who came to America in the seventeenth century and settled in the region now divided into the states of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. He received much information about these early settlers of New Sweden directly from their descendants. Among the earliest colonists on the Delaware had been many Finns, some of whom spoke Swedish and Finnish, others only their native tongue. Concerning these pioneers and the Finnish language in America, Kalm wrote:

Finns have also settled here... They have always spoken Finnish among themselves. Most of them settled in Penn's Neck, where people have been found who until recently spoke Finnish. But now most of them are dead, and their descendants

---

28 Ibid., I, 147.
29 Ibid., I, 169.
30 Ibid., I, 324.
31 Ibid., II, 417, 472.
32 Ibid., II, 576.
33 Ibid., I, 508.
changed into Englishmen. Helm believed that the copy of the Finnish Psalmbook, which had been presented to me by Zachris Peterson, was not only the oldest of all Finnish and Swedish books available here at this time, and which the Finns had brought with them, but that it was the only Finnish book procurable here; for Mr. Helm said he had often seen the copy, and had also had it as a loan, without ever seeing any more in that language.  

Apparently someone in the Peterson family had been of Finnish origin since the Finnish Psalmbook had come down in the family to Zachris, who gave it to Kalm. Moreover, since Mr. Helm had had the book as a loan, it is logical to assume that he probably was of Finnish ancestry, also, and knew how to read Finnish. At any rate, it is interesting to note that the Finnish tongue had not completely disappeared from the Delaware region in 1750.

According to the testimony transmitted to Kalm by the descendants of the earliest Scandinavians, there were many Finns in Delaware. Kalm wrote:

Most of the people who settled at Christina [present-day Wilmington] or Traanhuyen [i.e., in English, Cranehook, just south of modern Wilmington] were from Finland, such as Mr. Björk's mother-in-law, and others. Tolsa, Mullika, and Likonen may be recognized as Finnish names. Toy was said to have come from Holland, but old Garret claimed the family of that name came from Finland.  

Pastor Björk's mother-in-law, mentioned by Kalm, was Mrs. Peter Stalecop. The name Tolsa has been variously rendered in the early records as Toersen, Torsa, Tossa, and finally in its anglicized form as Tussey. The original Finnish name was Tossawa, many members of this family appearing under that surname in the records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes') Church in Wilmington. The Mullika surname has come down to us as a place name, Mullica Hill and Mullica River in New Jersey having been named for Eric Mullika, who led a group of colonists across New Jersey from the Delaware in 1697.  

In his journal Kalm recorded many valuable facts concerning

---

34 Ibid., II, 717.
35 Ibid., II, 731.
the life of the seventeenth-century settlers on the Delaware. Speaking of growths on trees, for instance, he wrote:

Formerly the Swedes, and more especially the Finlanders, who have settled here, made dishes, bowls, etc. of the knobs which were on the ash trees. These vessels, I am told were very pretty, and looked as if they were made of curled wood.\footnote{A. B. Benson (ed.), \textit{Peter Kalm's Travels}, I, 221.}

Evidently the early colonists brought their handicrafts to America and put them to good use.

The houses which the Delaware settlers built upon their arrival in the New World were very poor. In a description of a one-room dwelling so low that one had to stoop in order to enter, Kalm points out that holes or cracks in the walls were stopped with clay since no serviceable moss could be found.\footnote{Ibid., I, 272.} He does not say whether these earliest huts were built of logs or not, but in another passage he definitely indicates that there were log cabins in New Sweden. Speaking of the houses along the Delaware in the middle of the eighteenth century, Kalm wrote:

Formerly the houses of the Swedes were all of wood, with clay smeared between the logs, like those now built here by the Irish. They have no glass in their windows, only small loopholes with sliding shutters before them, just like our Finnish cabin windows.\footnote{Ibid., II, 728.}

When the Finns and the Swedes came to America, they constructed the same kind of log cabins in this country as they were accustomed to at home. They were the first to build log cabins in America.\footnote{See Harold R. Shurtleff, \textit{The Log Cabin Myth, A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America}, ed. S. E. Morison (Cambridge, 1939), p. 4.} Whether this type of construction spread to the Scotch-Irish and the English from the Finns, or from the Germans who brought over a similar technique in building, the log cabin soon became a typical American frontier dwelling. This structure, characteristic of northern European countries, has influenced our literature, the “Log Cabin to the White House” series having “firmly fixed the log cabin as the proper scenario for the birth of a great American.”\footnote{See William M. Thayer, \textit{From Log-Cabin to the White House: Life of James A. Garfield} (Boston, 1881).}
From the descendants of the original settlers Kalm received a great deal of other information, some historically accurate, some bordering on legend. Whether history or legend, he recorded the following story in his journal:

Among the ships sent here from Sweden was one loaded almost entirely with Finnish passengers, who had been sent here to settle the land; but when they came near the American continent the vessel sprung a leak so that they were unable to pump out all the water that came in. They kept pumping however for three days, though the water finally got the upper hand and the damage was irreparable. Besides the crew, there were three hundred people on board. When the sailors saw that all hope of saving the ship was gone, they jumped into the [life-]boat under the pretext of investigating the leak, but in reality to save their own lives. But when one of the Finns, by the name of Lickoven (otherwise known as Jacob Eit) noticed it, he jumped into the boat also. [Kalm's manuscript account of his travels, which is in the library of the University of Helsinki, gives the name of the Finn as Likkonen, otherwise known as Jacob Liten (or Little Jacob).] The ship sank with all its passengers, but some of those in the lifeboat reached the shores of New England; yet no one came here, and information was received only through rumors. This ship was called Det Finska Skeppet (The Finnish Ship). The ship doctor had silently been exhorted by the captain to board the lifeboat but he had not wished to leave the people, had stayed on the vessel and perished with the rest.43

What was the real story behind this legendary narrative reported to Kalm? Even legends seem to have some foundation in fact. Perhaps the descendants of the first settlers had twisted the account of one of the twelve voyages made by their ancestors, such as the disastrous ninth expedition,44 into this version. After 1655 when the Dutch became the masters of the Delaware, they encouraged Finnish immigration to their colony because the Finns were good farmers. Early in 1664, for instance, a number of Finnish families from northern Sweden and Finland landed in Holland on their way to America. Their relatives and friends had written to them about "the glories of the country,"45 urging them to come and share its benefits. This particular group, which had made its way

43 A. B. Benson (ed.), Peter Kalm's Travels, II, 713.
to Norway and thence by ship to Holland, is reported to have sailed in June of 1664, its destination, America. Whether these Finns ever reached the New World or not is unknown. It is certain, however, that enough Finnish colonists continued coming here until fairly late in the seventeenth century to give rise to such speculative stories as the one recorded by Kalm.

Besides his scientific notations and the records of the early Delaware Finns and Swedes, Kalm’s account of his travels contains much else important for an understanding of his position in Finnish-American relations. Among his friends in America Kalm numbered many distinguished men, such as John Bartram, whom Linnaeus called “the greatest natural botanist in the world”; James Alexander (1691-1756), Scotch-born lawyer, politician, and statesman; Isaac Norris (1701-1766), merchant and politician; James Logan (1674-1751), jurist and scientist; and Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776), Scotch-American physician, botanist, and mathematician. Benjamin Franklin, however, was Kalm’s most important American acquaintance.

The friendship between Kalm and Franklin, brought about by letters of introduction from Dr. John Mitchell, English botanist, and Peter Collinson, English merchant and antiquary, redounded to their mutual benefit. In the famous Philadelphian Kalm found not only a firm friend but a wise counsellor as well. From him the Finnish scientist learned much about a variety of subjects ranging from New England herrings to American moose. Kalm, who came from a far distant kingdom little known here at that time, conveyed to Franklin the facts about his native land and people. It was he who acquainted Franklin with the facts of the early Norse discovery of America. During his travels about the country, he kept in constant touch with Franklin by mail, reporting to him the progress of his journey and the results of his explorations. In his journal, under the date of November 10, 1749, while in New York on the return trip from Canada to Philadelphia, Kalm wrote:

From the gazettes which were printed here in town I discover also that Mr. Franklin, the postmaster at Philadelphia,

---

46 Jared Sparks (ed.), *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston, 1838), VII, 37.
48 A. B. Benson (ed.), *Peter Kalm’s Travels*, I, 154-55.
49 *Ibid.*, I, 156.
my very special friend, had had printed in the Philadelphia
gazette an extract from the letter which I had written to him
from Quebec, Canada.\textsuperscript{51}

Almost a year later, on October 3, 1750, he recorded:

In number 1136 of the Pennsylvania Gazette, for September
20, 1750, Mr. [Benjamin] Franklin published under my name
my whole article on Niagara Falls.\textsuperscript{52}

These two letters printed in the \textit{Pennsylvania Gazette} constitute
the earliest contribution to American literature by a native of
Finland. In publishing these accounts sent to him by the natur-
alist, Franklin not only displayed excellent judgment but also
brought Kalm’s work to the attention of the American public. The
Canadian communication was reprinted by a New York gazette,
while the article on Niagara Falls became an authoritative source
for information concerning “one of the greatest curiosities in the
World.”\textsuperscript{53} Although a number of men had seen and described
Niagara Falls before Kalm’s account appeared,\textsuperscript{54} Kalm was the
first to write a description of the Falls in English from first-hand
information.\textsuperscript{55} His account, moreover, was the first written by a
scientist.

During his prolonged stay in America, Kalm sent seeds of all
kinds to Sweden. When he returned to Finland himself, he took
with him “a huge treasure of conchylia, insects and amphibia, in
addition to dried and living plants and also seeds.”\textsuperscript{56} He also took
to Finland a number of American books which he had collected in
the Colonies. These works he must have at some time or other
bestowed upon the University of Åbo, since they are now in the
library of the University of Helsinki.\textsuperscript{57} The botanical treasures he

\textsuperscript{51} A. B. Benson (ed.), \textit{Peter Kalm’s Travels}, II, 625.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 687.
\textsuperscript{53} Peter Kalm, “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, September 2, 1750,” reprinted in Charles Mason Dow,
\textit{Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls} (Albany, 1921), I, 53-62.
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid.}, I, 17-49.
\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Ibid.}, I, 62.
\textsuperscript{56} L. J. Chenon, \textit{Nova Plantarum Genera} (1751) in H. O. Juel and John W.
Harshberger, “New Light on the Collection of North American Plants Made by
Peter Kalm,” \textit{Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia},
LXXI (1929), 298.
\textsuperscript{57} The library of the University of Åbo was moved to Helsinki after the disastrous
fire of Åbo in 1827. A small bound volume in which Kalm had some of his Ameri-
carried with him to the University of Åbo. There, in a botanical garden which he established, might be seen apple trees from Albany, New York, or plants from Pennsylvania and Delaware, flora foreign to the soil and climate of Finland. While Professor Kalm continued his academic lectures at the University, he carefully cultivated his American collection of plants. In the meanwhile he busied himself with the preparation of his notes for the press. Besides his *En Resa til Norra America*, he contributed seventeen technical articles on American topics to the *Transactions of the Swedish Academy of Sciences*. Among the subjects he treated were the climate, trees, insects, animals, and plants of our country.

As interpreter of America to Sweden and Finland, Kalm bent all his energies toward acquainting the people of those lands with the New World. During a visit to Åbo in 1752, King Adolf Fredrik of Sweden was entertained by a ride in a birch-bark canoe, “in a manner which Professor Kalm had observed among the American Savages.” Kalm, who served as a frequent praexes at the University of Åbo, was naturally the chief source of information, or inspiration, for a large number of theses by his student respondents. Among the one hundred and forty-six dissertations for which Professor Kalm can be given credit are at least six items of Americana.

---

59 The garden of Professor Kalm at Åbo was still in good condition in 1897, but soon after that it began to suffer from lack of care. As in the case of so many eighteenth-century experiments, the Swedish kingdom received little if any real benefit from Kalm’s collections. Experience soon taught those who had indulged in great expectations of new resources and great wealth from the acclimatization of foreign animals and plants that such a project, for instance, as the cultivation of mulberry trees and silk-worms in the north could not be realized.

Daniel Backman, *Med Guds vilsignande nåd och vederbörandes tilstånd yttrade*
The very first dissertation published under Kalm's direction dealt with the American birch-bark canoe, which Kalm hoped would prove a useful means of transportation on the Finnish lakes. Anders Chydenius, who publicly defended the dissertation, soon acquired the name of "Birch-bark" Anders in his home town, where he tried to interest the common people in making canoes. Apparently Kalm was fascinated by the subject, for he had his students make canoes, and several of them were displayed in his botanical museum in Åbo. Other topics treated in dissertations directed by Kalm included American plants, the early history of America, and the history of New Sweden. Thus Kalm aroused an interest in many phases of American civilization among his students, not only through his lectures, but also by the subjects which he introduced in the theses.

In 1753, two years after Kalm's return from his travels, Linnaeus published his *Species Plantarum*. Of seven hundred North American plants described in that work, Kalm is accredited with the collection of ninety species. Although not all of these ninety species were new, about sixty species were discovered by Kalm. Linnaeus honored his pupil by giving to the American mountain laurel the scientific name of *Kalmia latifolia*. Great as was Kalm's achievement in collecting sixty new species himself, of even greater importance was the inspiration which he gave to American botanists.

tankar om nyttan, som kunnat tillfalla vårt kjära fäderesland, af des nybygge i America, fordem Nya Sverige kalladt (Åbo, 1754).

Andreas Abraham Indrenius, *Specimen Academicum de Esquimaux, gente americana, quod in regio Fenrorum lycaeo* (Åbo, 1756).


It was customary at the University of Åbo for a student who held a public disputation to read, usually in Latin, a thesis written either by himself or by one of the professors. Since this thesis was printed at the expense of the student, a professor who had a book to publish might cut it into short lengths and supply it to his students as theses. In a poor country lacking a book-buying public, this often proved the only way in which scholars could publish their works. For a discussion of the authorship of the theses presented by Kalm's students, see Martti Kerkkonen, pp. 191-92.

H. O. Juel and John W. Harshberger, p. 298.
by his visit.\textsuperscript{65} In America the scientists began to study their own flora and fauna with renewed vigor and interest.\textsuperscript{66}

The publication of \textit{En Resa til Norra America} added to Kalm's previous reputation. Since it was the first extensive scientific report based on methodical studies in North America, it naturally aroused interest throughout Europe. In 1764 Kalm was offered the professorship of botany at St. Petersburg, but he rejected it. Honors poured in upon him during the last years of his life. In 1757, while retaining his professorship at Åbo, he was ordained a Lutheran clergyman.\textsuperscript{67} Eleven years later, in 1768, the University of Lund conferred upon him a doctor's degree in theology. When the Order of the Star of Vasa was founded in 1772, Kalm was a recipient of that honor. He was elected to other native and foreign societies, and in 1775 was spoken of in some circles as a fit candidate for the office of Bishop of Åbo. After a very busy and useful life, he died in 1779.

Peter Schaefer and Peter Kalm not only kept alive old contacts between Finland and America but by their example opened the way for later Finnish scholars to come to this country. Although the Finnish origin of Schaefer has been obscured by his close association with the seventeenth-century Germans in Pennsylvania and the Finnish background of Kalm has been obscured by his identification with the Swedish kingdom of which Finland was a part for hundreds of years, each one of these scholars, in his own way, strengthened the cultural ties between Finland and America.

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Caldwallader Golden Papers}, V, 31-32.
\textsuperscript{67} While in America, Kalm often substituted in the pulpit of Raccoon Church in New Jersey, because the pastor of the congregation, the Reverend Johan Sandin, had recently died. In 1750 Kalm married Sandin's widow, and the following year, on his return to Europe, he took his family with him.