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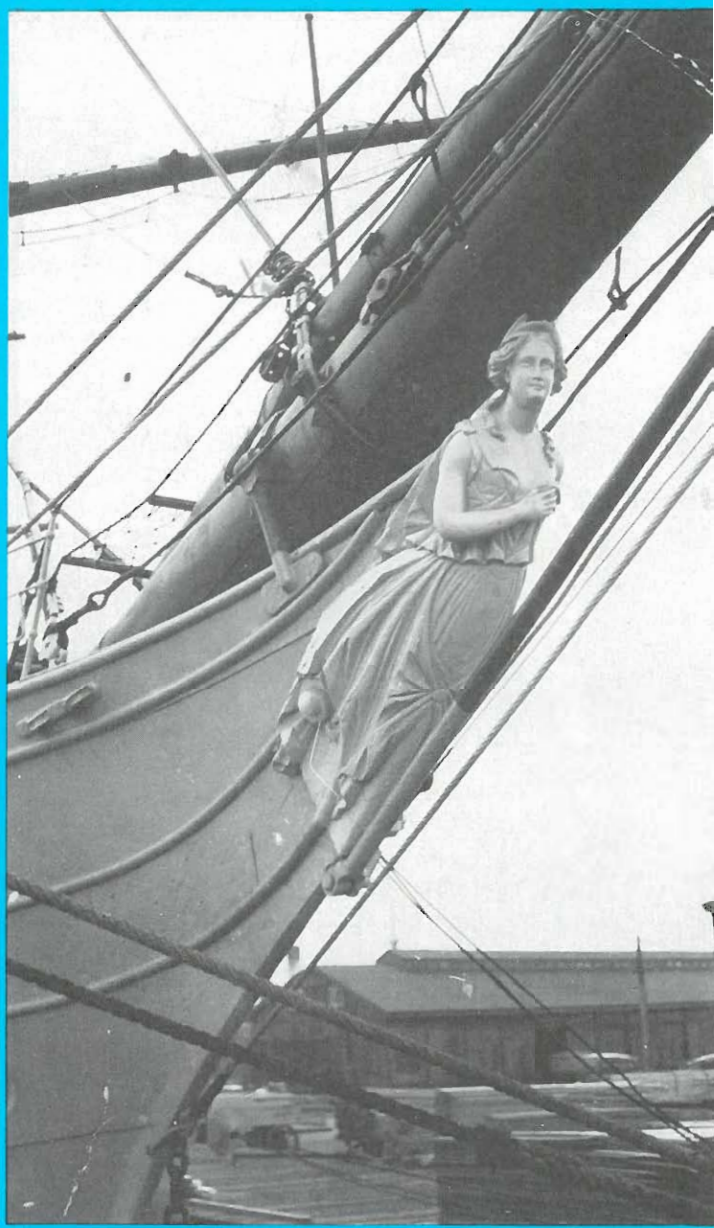
DELAWARE 350 AND AUSTRALIA 200 SEMINAR:



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Delaware 350 and Australia 200 Anniversaries:
Retrospect and Future in Migration Research

April 21, 1989,
at the Institute of Migration, Piispankatu 3, Turku, Finland

The Proceedings of the Seminar

Olavi Granö

Finnish Migration Celebrations 1988

Opening Remarks

The first beginnings of Finnish overseas migration are considered to have occurred 350 years ago, with the establishment of a relatively small settlement around "New Sweden", the joint Swedish–Dutch trading station which was set up in March 1638 at the mouth of the Delaware River. Among the first settlers there were emigrants both from among the Finnish population in Sweden and from present–day Finland itself.

The arrival of these settlers can be seen both as one element in the Swedish attempt to become a colonial power, and also as a contribution to the early settlement of North America. Here, then, were the first roots of that major wave of Finnish migration which was to follow 250 years later.

Olavi Granö, Chancellor of the University of Turku, Academician
Chairman of the Council of the Institute of Migration

The anniversary of the Delaware settlement was celebrated last year both in the United States and in Finland, and naturally also in Sweden. The main arrangements for the Finnish celebrations were organized by a Delaware Committee chaired by Matti Ahde, Speaker of the Finnish Parliament, including representatives from the major interested cultural and economic organizations in Finland. The aim was both to honor the role of Finnish migrants in the history of the United States, and to take the opportunity of presenting present–day Finland to the American rulers and people; and an excellent beginning was provided by the declaration by President Ronald Reagan of 1988 as a National Year of Friendship between the American and Finnish peoples. During the celebration year, a number of high–level visits were made between the United States and Finland. The most impressive of these was the visit to Finland by President Reagan, in conjunction with

his trip to the Soviet Union in May, accompanied by 250 American journalists. The visit to the United States by the Finnish Prime Minister, Harri Holkeri, also opened up new doors in American Government circles.

The visit in early July by the Speaker, Matti Ahde, stressed Finland's wish to maintain good contacts with the Finnish–origin population in America, while visits by three other Finnish Government ministers, Christoffer Taxell, Pertti Salolainen and Ilkka Kanerva, have extended Finnish contacts in other directions. There were a number of exhibitions mounted during the year, of which the most impressive was the Sea Finland marine exhibition in Philadelphia; the historical exhibition put up by the Institute of Migration also attracted wide attention both in the United States and within Finland, and is continuing on tour even although the anniversary year is now over. Several scholarly seminars were also arranged during the year, such as the conference on migration research held at the University of Delaware in March 1988.

There were also many events arranged in honor of the anniversary by Finnish–American organizations, of which the largest was the gathering of over 5000 people at the three–day Finn Fest in Delaware in July 1988. A delegation from Finland also took part in this festival, led by the Finnish Speaker, Matti Ahde. One of the ideas which he put forward was the establishment of a Register of Migrants, at the Institute of Migration in Turku. I also had the honor of giving an address at the celebrations, which I directed in particular to the Finnish migrants and their descendants.

The most significant results achieved during the year were the agreement with the University of Minnesota on the establishment of a Professorship in Finnish, and the decision to set up the Register of Migrants at the Insitute of Migration. This will be of service both to research scholars and to students of genealogy, especially the descendants of Finnish migrants, who now number over a million and are scattered all over the world. Like the statue by Wäinö Aaltonen in honor of the migrants, unveiled at the tercentenary celebrations in Delaware in 1938, the donation of this Professorship and the creation of the Register of Migrants will be the monuments to this year of celebrations.

1988 also saw the 200th anniversary of the foundation of the first permanent British colony in Australia, on the site of present–day Sydney, and this was the focus of extensive celebrations by the European–origin population in Australia. In Finland, the Institute of Migration celebrated the anniversary with an exhibition on the history of the Finnish migrants to Australia. This exhibition has been on display both in Finland and Australia, and will eventually be placed permanently in the Australian National Museum in Canberra.

The Institute has also taken care that Finnish scholars have been able to attend the Australian conferences on migration research, of which the most important was the III Symposium on Nordic Migration to Australia and New Zealand, at the University of Melbourne. The Finnish–Australian Society also arranged a special event in honor of the Bicentennial, followed up by a seminar on Finnish–Australian trade, at its summer meeting in Tampere. The principal speaker, who also lectured at several universities in Finland, was Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki, who is widely regarded as one of the creators of Australia's multicultural policies today.

One consequence of the Australian Bicentennial has been to provide added im-

petus to the proposals to set up a memorial in Turku to Herman Dietrich Spöring, who travelled with Captain James Cook's voyage in 1770, and is thought to have been the first person from Finland to visit Australia. A piece of natural stone has now been obtained for the memorial from Sporing Island, off the eastern coast of New Zealand, named after this early Finnish explorer.

In the wake of these two anniversaries, it is the aim of the Institute of Migration, for instance by arranging this seminar, to assemble an overall picture of the events held during the past year and of their significance for migration and for migration research, and to map out the need for future investigation. It is of prime importance to build up international research collaboration, especially with North America and with Australia. The process of European integration may well in the future create a somewhat different framework both for migration and for its investigation.

It is my pleasure to welcome the many distinguished people attending this seminar both from Finland and abroad. In particular, may I welcome our opening speaker, Dr. Richard H. Hulan from Virginia, himself a descendant of the old Delaware settlers, and Dr. Kari Tarkiainen from the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm. Another welcome member of this seminar is Rev. Timo Orta, well-known for his investigations into migration in Sydney, Australia. Ladies and gentlemen, I officially declare the seminar open and I would like to wish you every success in your work.

Kari Tarkiainen

The Emigration of Swedish – Finnish Burnbeaters to Delaware

The question of the role played by Finnish colonists in the New Sweden settlement on the banks of the Delaware River during the 17th century has attracted considerable attention during the recent celebrations of the 350th anniversary of the colony. At the various discussion forums, widely differing opinions have been put forward on the scale and nature of the Finnish contribution to the colony. In this paper, I wish to concentrate exclusively on the role played in the New Sweden settlement by the forest Finns, or "burnbeaters".

The justification for this is that the other Finnish settlers, who emigrated from Ostrobothnia, the Åland Islands, and the towns along the southern Finnish coast, actually belonged to the same cultural environment as the settlers who emigrated from metropolitan Sweden; the forest Finns, however, formed a distinctive ethnic grouping, in terms both of language and of culture. The basis of their economy, i.e. the exploitation of extensive tracts of forest by burnbeating, their adherence to the Finnish language, and their extended family institutions, all sharply differentiated them from the cultural formation represented by settlers originating from the established Swedish/Finnish town and village culture. There have long been differences of opinion between Finnish and Swedish scholars as to the numbers (and even existence) of forest Finns in the backwoods areas of Sweden. As far back as the 18th century, the Swedish local historians Erik Fernow and Abraham Hulphers argued that there were relatively few forest Finns in the provinces of Dalecarlia and Värmland, whereas the scholar Henrik Gabriel Porthan from Åbo (Turku) came to the conclusion that their numbers in those regions were very considerable.

Porthan's informant was a student called Johan Halberg, who argued that it was difficult to obtain reliable information on the numbers of forest Finns from the Swedish population, even in areas with considerable Finnish settlement, since the majority of these Finns were fully bilingual. He described the situation in Bjuråker parish as follows: "De talte den renaste svenska, men också finskan så ofördärvad, att jag ej annat visste än att jag talte med den ramaste savolaxare". ("They spoke the purest Swedish, yet they also spoke such uncorrupted Finnish that I had no way of telling that I was not talking to genuine Finns from eastern Finland"). This bilingualism, maintained by the forest Finns over several centuries, is a striking feature of their ethnic culture,

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since usually for an ethnic minority bilingualism means assimilation to the majority population.

The identification of the forest Finns and their descendants among the settlers in New Sweden is a difficult, indeed an impossible task. The major sources from which information can be gathered on the migration of forest Finns from Sweden to America are the following:

- Rolls and registers of two kinds: passenger lists from the ships which brought the settlers over, and a variety of census type surveys carried out within the colony itself. The last of these was one drawn up by the settlers themselves in 1693.
- The Accounts of the New Sweden Company, especially the Great Book for 1637–1657, where all the economic transactions are recorded, such as payments made and dues collected.
- The Parish Registers, kept by the Swedish pastors sent out to Delaware from the 1690s. The earliest of these have, to my knowledge, been lost – although the valuable notes which Pehr Kalm made from them do survive – but the later ones have survived from the Swedish parishes at Penn Snec and Raccoon Creek for 1713–1831. Parish registers for the Swedish congregations in America are also extant from the 1750s at the Cathedral in Uppsala.
- Other sources, such as letters, reports, descriptions of the conditions in the colony, etc., containing references to the settlers.

Each of the categories of sources mentioned above requires a different kind of source criticism. It must be asked for what purpose each source was drawn up. When there were only a few Finns, the usual Swedish practice was often followed in the rolls and lists, for example, of putting the word "finne" (Finn) against a name. When the Finns formed a large group, or even the majority, however, the word "finne" could no longer be used to distinguish individuals, and might in such cases be inserted in the heading of the register; an example of this is the catalog of original Swedish and Finnish settlers drawn up in 1693.

In relation to the Accounts of the Company, on the other hand, it has to be borne in mind that these record transactions – not only in America, but throughout the area of the trading Company's operations, including both Stockholm and even Holland – must always be checked that a transaction really refers to settlers actually resident in the colony. In the case of letters, the important question is as to who wrote them and for what purpose. One of the most important sources of information concerning the forest Finns in the 1690s, for instance, is one Anders Printz, about whom nothing else is known; it is unclear, for example, what relationship he may have had to the former Governor, Johan Printz.

Many investigators have taken the last names used by the settlers as a crucial guide to their origins. The evidential value of last names varies considerably, however. Last names such as Rambo, Cock, Stille, Minck, etc., have been interpreted as adaptations or translations of the Finnish names Romppainen, Kokkonen, Hiljakainen and Minkkinen, even in cases where the individuals' first names Gunnar, Åke, or Sören, for example suggest a very different origin; for the forest Finns made use of a very restricted range of first names, and avoided Swedish names such as these. Nevertheless, names can be useful evidence, particularly when other corrobatory evidence concerning the individuals is also available.

With reference to last names suggested as eastern Finnish, it is wisest to restrict

ourselves to those names actually documented in Sweden, and occurring in the same form as that found in the relevant Swedish sources such as the tithes rolls for Västmanland and the parish register for Fryksende. Observation of this precaution is likely to avert many mistakes.

The foundation of New Sweden in 1638 coincided with the adoption of harsher attitudes towards the forest Finns by the Swedish authorities. The search for military deserters in the forest areas inhabited by Finns, documented by a poster from 1636; the 1639 ban on burnbeating; the first Forest Decree, issued in 1647; these and other official moves all had the effect of hampering the freedom of the Finns to pursue their way of life in the great coniferous forests of central Sweden. At the same time, however, the supply of land for burnbeating began to run out, and Finns began to move in large numbers to Norway, whose forests they had beceome familiar with during the "Hannibal Purge" in the 1640s.

An old smoke-cottage in Vermland, Sweden. Photo: Vermland Museum. (SI/VA 0317/Ruotsi)

The first mention of America as a possible location for the settlement of forest Finns occurs in a Minute of a discussion in the Swedish Council of State dated July 30th, 1640. The Councellors resolved on this occasion to deport four burnbeating Finns to New Sweden "with their wives, children, and all their tools". These Finns, whose names are known, were from the parish of Sunne in Värmland.

On the same day that this decision was taken, a letter was sent from the Royal Chancellery in Stockholm to the Rector of the parish of Närke, stating that the ship the *Kalmar Nyckel* (the "Key of Calmar") was soon to sail again to New Sweden, and additional Finns should be recruited as emigrants. Similarly, soon afterwards, a letter was also sent to the Governor of the Province of Dalecarlia to the effect that Finns

should be recruited in the province "to settle the land of New Sweden in Virginia". Soon thereafter, the first recruiting agent, one Måns Kling, was sent to travel around the Finnish areas in Bergslagen; and with the support of the provincial Governors, he succeeded in gathering a group of Finnish settlers, who sailed for America with the fourth expedition in 1641.

There were two ships on this expedition: the *Kalmar Nyckel* was joined in Gothenburg by the *Charitas*, which had sailed from Stockholm. Unfortunately the passenger list only survives for the sailing from Stockholm. This lists 35 names: artisans, tailors, former soldiers, etc., from the Stockholm region, Uppland, and Södermanland. There are two names on this list which could be interpreted as Finnish: Måns Svensson Loom, and Per Kock. Both of these names were recorded on departure from Sweden, and had therefore clearly been adopted prior to arrival in America.

"Loom" is the Swedish name of a bird, the diver, and therefore could be a translation of the name of the Finnish Kuikka clan from Värmland, while the name Kock could represent the Kokkoinens, also from Värmland. In fact, however, this is not the case; Loom's patronymic, Svensson, rules out forest–Finnish origins, while Kock is specifically identified as a soldier who had deserted and who had been held prisoner at Smedjegården in Stockholm. In 1693, moreover, Kock's son wrote that his father had come from the parish of Bångsta in Södermanland. These examples serve to illustrate how difficult it is to identify Finns simply on the basis of names.

There were, however, many forest Finns who sailed across the Atlantic on the Kalmar Nyckel, which joined the Charitas in Gothenburg. No passenger list is extant, but since freemen who settled in the colony could pay for their crossing in arrears by working on the tobacco plantations in New Sweden, their names can be traced in the accounts books of the Company. The list of plantation workers for a year later includes many names which could well be Swedish translations of Värmland Finnish surnames, such as Geting (for Ampiainen, 'wasp'), Höök (for Haukkainen, 'hawk'), Räf (for Kettuinen, 'fox'), etc. It is on the other hand difficult to interpret last names referring to American wildlife, such as Kalkon ('turkey') or Mink ('mink'), as Finnish.

There are other names in the Company's accounts which could well also be Värmland Finnish, such as Wass (for Vaissinen), or Jeppe (for Jäppinen), etc. It is striking that no examples of these names, common among the Finnish population in Värmland, are found in the later records of the colony; one explanation could be that these were lone men who had left their families behind to follow on later, but that with the loss of contacts this became impossible.

One of the workers recorded on the tobacco plantation at Fort Christina in 1643 was one Mårten Mårtensson, who had probably sailed from Gothenburg on the *Fama*. He has the unusual title "Glasbeter", the meaning of which is not certain. The passenger list says, that he was from Jomala parish in Åland.In 1654, another Mårten Mårtensson arrived in the colony aboard the Örn; subsequently, following his death at the age of nearly a hundred in 1706, Pastor Rudman wrote in the (now lost) parish register that he had been born "in Finland in Sweden". This man, thought to have come from the Finnish parish of Rautalampi, probably belonged to the Savo–Finnish clan of Marttinen in Värmland, and he has been called "Rautalampi's gift to America", for his grandson, John Morton, was one of the

delegates who cast their votes for American independence.

One register drawn up in New Sweden lists the settlers who had arrived in the colony during 1639–48, in their order of arrival. Only five freemen are unequivocally labeled as Finnish. It is undoubtedly possible that there were more forest Finns, but they had not yet arrived in large numbers at this time; the "America fever" did not break out in their midst until around 1649, when the Swedish government fitted out a large ocean–going ship for the voyage, the *Kattan* ("The Cat").

Mats Eriksson, representing the burnbeating Finns, submitted two undated applications to the Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, requesting permission for 200 forest Finns to emigrate to America. In the Council of State, Councellor Bengt Skytte claimed that the true number wishing to emigrate was three hundred. It was resolved to send them all to New Sweden, "to promote the cultivation of the land", as it says in the Minutes. The Finns failed to reach the Kattan in time, however, for only one name in the passenger list, one "Jon Olfsson born in Värmland", could be interpreted as Finnish; and this was to their great fortune, for the Kattan was shipwrecked in the West Indies and none of her passengers ever reached the colony.

The America Fever continued to rage, however, in Värmland and in Dalecarlia. Some of the would–be emigrants managed to sail aboard the Örn in 1654, or in 1655 on the *Mercurius*, which took aboard 110 settlers in Gothenburg, mainly forest Finns. On the passenger list, dated August 17th, 1655, they are stated to have come from three areas: Fryksdalen in Värmland (49 persons, including both families and single people); an area called Lytestigen between Närke and Värmland (55 persons); and the parish of Brunsberg near Arvika (one family of six persons). There were as many again, however, left behind in Gothenburg harbor, and Lieutenant Johan Papegoja wrote that the situation of those who had not been taken aboard ship was desperate, for they had invested all their property in this venture.

The mechanisms operating in this emigration from the Finnish forest community are partly known. A copy survives of an emigration certificate issued in 1655 to one Dan Andersson, a Finn living at Lekvattnet in Värmland, which shows that the authorities insisted first that would–be emigrants must have paid all their taxes due, but that no polltax was levied for the actual year of emigration. This indicates that emigration was far from being as free as has earlier been assumed. Most forest Finns in Sweden already held an earlier permit to migrate from Finland, and the deeds to their new cottage, and this suggests that the migration of the burnbeating Finns from one part of the kingdom to another was relatively closely supervised.

In 1655, shortly before the departure of the last Swedish ship for America, the colony of New Sweden passed into the hands of the Dutch. This change did not diminish the forest Finns' interest in emigration, for they were unconcerned about political frontiers. The most massive emigration did not take place until 1664, when a large party of forest Finns from the parishes of Sundsvall, Torp, and Borgsjö in Medelpad (once again equipped with emigration licenses from the Ministers of the parishes) set out for America on their own account, traveling through Hälsingland and Dalecarlia into Norway, where in Christiania they boarded a Dutch ship for Amsterdam. Almost the entire route as far as Christiania took them through forests inhabited by Finnish settlers, and their journey thus remained completely secret from the authorities; not until these

140 forest Finns were already waiting for their ship for America in Waeterland, outside Amsterdam, were they visited by the Swedish ambassador, Peter Trotzig, who submitted a report to his government.

Two points in Trotzig's report arouse especial attention. He says that the emigration had been triggered off by a letter which one man had received from his brother in America in 1657, in which the country had been warmly praised. Secondly, Trotzig notes that the women and children spoke Finnish, but that the men were bilingual and could speak Swedish as well. The Ambassador's report thus demonstrates that the forest Finns were able to maintain effective communications, despite the enormous distances involved; and it also suggests that externally, since they could speak Swedish, they would have merged with the Swedish people around them. Later evidence also confirms that the Finnish settlers spoke Finnish only among themselves; if even one visitor was present, they would consistently speak Swedish.

These emigrants from Medelpad made a successful crossing to America, and joined the other settlers in New Sweden. I do not know whether any list of their names exists in the archives in Holland. By the 1690s, the Finns would clearly seem to have comprised a significant proportion of the population in the area of the former Swedish colony.

The most important source of information on this point consists of a letter from Lars Riddermarck and Johan Thelin, dated October 1st, 1691, based on information received from Anders Printz. The identity of this informant is, as mentioned earlier, unknown, and the validity of the information has therefore been questioned. I would argue, however, that this letter represent a relatively reliable source. The letter states that the Finns and Swedes in the area still live apart from each other; "If a Finn proposes to a Swede, or a Swede to a Finn, he must know the other's language; for otherwise the two groups live strictly apart." The authors of the letter estimate that 20 Finnish Bibles and about 200 Finnish hymnbooks would be needed; the corresponding figures for Swedish are for 50 Bibles and 300–400 hymnbooks. This suggests that the Finnish–speaking population comprised at this time about 2/5 of the members of the congregation, i.e. about 400 persons, since Pastor Rudman states soon thereafter that the total number in the parish consisted of 1200 persons.According to other sources, however, the Finns did not actually need any Finnish books or clergy, since they could also speak Swedish. Pastor Anders Rudman, in a description of the language situation in the parish in 1697, comments on the purity of the Swedish spoken, and on the survival of dialects from Eastern and Western Götaland; he makes no mention of Finnish at all.

There has also survived an important list, dating from 1693, of the 971 residents in the area, of whom 40 were "old Swedes and Finns" surviving from the early years of the settlement. The names of these settlers are very interesting; many of them may well be of eastern Finnish origin, e.g. Keen (possibly Keinäinen), Fisk (possibly Kalainen, 'fish'), Hellm (possibly Helminen), Lokenij (possibly Loukehinen), Hoppman (possibly Huopoinen), Hallton (possibly Halttuinen), Ekorn and maybe Orrane (possibly for Oravainen, 'squirrel'), Kabb (possibly Kapainen), Tossa and also Tossava (Tossavainen), Rosse (possibly Rossinen), Skrika (possibly Närhinen, 'jay'), Parkom (possibly Parkkoinen), Kempe (possibly Kemppainen), Savoy (possibly Savuinen), Repott

(possibly Repoinen), and Kuckone (Kukkoinen). These are all names found in the Finnish areas in Sweden.

Unfortunately the sources at my disposal report very little about the way of life of the Finns in America; there is for example no description of burnbeating. Possibly burnbeating was such an everyday event that no one bothered to write about it, although there are extensive descriptions of almost everything else, such as the way the Indians used forest fires in hunting.

The parish registers survive from the communities at Penn Sneck and Raccoon Creek from 1713 onwards. These observe the Swedish format, and comprise lists of baptisms, marriages, and funerals. The families which occur here are no longer identical with those mentioned in the 17th–century sources. It seems likely that many of the earliest Delaware Finns were no longer represented, either because they had no descendants, living in a community dominated by males, or because they had moved away from the area. In comparison with the 17th–century registers, there is a marked reduction in the number of last names; the families are also strikingly large, and infant mortality lower than in Europe.

All in all, therefore, it is extremely difficult to say much about the Finnish settlers in New Sweden during the 17th century. What the surviving parish registers suggest is the peaceful coexistence of large families, marked by a dense network of intermarriage, and their gradual anglicization.Forenames became mixed at a very early stage. In 1714, for example, we can see that Åke Helm and Elias Fisk were appointed to take the collection in the parish at Raccoon Creek; and if they were in fact descendants of the forest–Finnish Helminen and Kalainen clans in Sweden, their forenames were at any rate no longer typically forest–Finnish. The names of godparents of children brought to baptism also reveal the same intermixture of Finnish and Swedish names; when this same Elias Fisk and his wife Christina had their daughter baptized as Rebecca (an English name) in 1714, the godparents were Johan Mullikka (of Finnish origin), Peter Rambo (of Swedish origin), and Maria Mattson Abigael (origin unknown). Similarly, the seating arrangements issued in 1717 in the Penn Sneck parish placed next to each other on the fourth pew Henric Geens (origin unknown), Seneck Seneckson (possibly a descendant of the Finnish Sinikko clan), Johan Henriksson (origin unknown), Johan Shagen (origin unknown), and Johan Savoy (probably a descendant of the Finnish Savuinen clan). And in 1720, when a batch of Swedish Bibles arrived in Delaware, they were eagerly bought by all those local families whose names suggest possibly Finnish origins.

Research into the history of the forest Finns in the Delaware settlement is thus confronted by major problems. Whereas we are relatively well–informed about the Finnish emigration, their fate on the other side of the ocean remains obscure. Did they assimilate fairly quickly into the population of European origin, or did some of them move off into the uncharted American interior? Did they first become Swedish and then English? Or did they become "white Indians", whose traces disappear into the wilderness? There can be no doubt that the forest Finns had the potential for both of these destinies: assimilation to either European or a primitive forest culture; and it is for this reason that the fate of the forest Finns in America remains so fascinating, but also, I fear, insoluble for all time.

Richard H. Hulan

After the King: The Future of New Sweden in American Scholarship

In English, as spoken in the United States, we have a cliché that originally entered the language as the title of a manual on First Aid for the injured. The expression is, "What to do 'til the Doctor comes". A number of humorous parodies of this have been made by altering the last noun. For example, when I was in seminary we referred to the introductory part of the liturgy – the Voluntary, Introit, Kyrie, lectionary readings and congregational hymns – as "Spiritual First Aid; or, what to do 'til the Preacher comes". We seminarians, of course, were training to be the Preacher. And one hears the same parody applied to the anticipated arrival of the plumber, the Marines, Jesus, the income tax refund, or just about any other person or thing one might anticipate with unusual urgency or pleasure.

For a short while – five years for a few people, but less than two years for any sizeable community – last year's tour through America by the Swedish royal couple became the focal point of New Sweden commemorative events. Thus, by extension, the early weeks of April, 1988 served as a loose kind of deadline for serious preparatory work by historians, librarians, curators, builders of exhibits, editors and publishers of books. It was assumed (and, I am sorry to report, the assumption was correct) that the crowds and the media attention associated with the visit of their majesties would offer the best opportunity to reach the public with a New Sweden message.

Some few of us wanted that message to teach history. Our resources included artifacts, pictures and words. The primary task was to generate, among the rather poorly informed Delaware Valley public, feelings and memories that might improve their knowledge of, and attitude toward, the first European colonists of their area. We hoped to, we attempted to, and in some degree we actually did, teach those festive and momentary audiences something positive about the seventeenth century settlement of America by Swedes and Finns.

So it was that the period of greatest activity in New Sweden research during my lifetime came to be viewed, by several groups and institutions I was assisting, as a kind of "Royal First Aid: or, what to do 'til the King comes". We did what we could; and he came; and he went. Then there was the rest of 1988, and now we must face the future.

As an American speaking in Finland I can't help mentioning that both of our

Richard H. Hulan, Ph.D., History Consultant of the 350th jubilee of the early Delaware settlement

countries have forgotten more or less used to getting along, somehow, after the King leaves. We are fond of the kings of other countries; and we are likely to turn out for a royal parade, as long as that parade ends back in England, or Sweden, or somewhere. Our feeling of loss is tempered by our feeling of liberation, or at least of detachment.

A similar kind of liberated detachment goes with the career mistake specializing in a field of study – in this case, New Sweden – that lies well off the beaten paths of academe. I should like very much to be chairman of the department of New Sweden Studies at a large university. But, alas, there is no such department; no such research institute; nor even a course taught with such an emphasis. The good side of this is that no academic monarch may tell me to drop my important work, in order to do those things that increase and celebrate his magnificence. The bad side is that I don't make any money.

Nevertheless, New Sweden remains on our side of the Atlantic a fruitful area for further study, so long as the fruits are not measured by economic terms. I am not ashamed to say that I have been a leader in the effort to get the seventeenth and eighteenth century source documents out of the archives; into English; and into print if they deserve it. It is especially important to get the evidence into the hands of a wider variety of users, because they will naturally use the sources in different ways. Even if Amandus Johnson had by 1911 learned everything there was to know about these records – and, clearly, he had not – it would be a serious mistake to go on forever taking his unsupported word for what the records contain, what they mean, why it matters, and so on.

This work is very far from complete. Much of the new scholarship that was actually finished before the royal visit of 1988 has yet to reach the public in printed form. It is still too early to say what permanent impact these studies will have. I am among those who remain hopeful; and I shall have a good bit to say about unfulfilled hopes, unwritten books, untold tales, unmade movies, and that sort of things. The optimistic heading for such projects is "Works in Progress".

Many of you in this audience have not visited New Sweden since the King did so last April. I want to begin, therefore, with a review of some of the milestones we have passed during that intervening year. Most of these milestones came on the shape of books, sometimes in the company of a visible but more transitory phenomenon, such as a temporary museum exhibition.

Because their largest audiences, in the spring of 1988, were so very short-lived, a handful of early books came to be perceived in the New Sweden region as the cream of the crop. Some of you who were over for the celebration may have purchased them. There were two new paperback books by C.A. Weslager: *The Swedes and Dutch at New Castle*, published in 1987, and *New Sweden on the Delaware, 1638–1655*. The latter book, which hit the market during the first week of March, 1988, was commissioned by the history subcommittee of the Kalmar Nyckel Commemorative Committee in Wilmington. Another popular (but more expensive) item was the profusely illustrated English edition of Algot Mattsson's book, *New Sweden: the Dream of an Empire*. Alf Åberg was a bit late in reaching the American market; but his little book, titled *The People of New Sweden* in its English version, appears to have been especially popular with recent immigrants from Sweden. I noticed several people buying multiple copies of the Weslager and Åberg books, in order to give them away.

Without intending to detract from the works of these three authors, I must point out that in the early spring of 1988, much of the crop had yet to reach the barn. Among the high-quality publications in English that have come out since then, one should mention Hans Norman and Stellan Dahlgren's bilingual edition of Governor Johan Rising's journal, published as *The Rise and Fall of New Sweden*. I myself was a major contributor to a special New Sweden issue of *The Church in New Sweden*. Another very good book is the beautiful anthology from the Swedish publisher Wiken, edited by Rune Ruhnbro; its English version, titled *New Sweden in the New World*, was intended for the American market but not sold as well as the edition in Swedish.

Useful catalogs of exhibitions were produced by the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia; two years by the New Jersey State Museum in Trenton; and one by the University of Delaware Library in Newark. The Swedish Council of America produced a traveling exhibition that was relatively light on New Sweden and heavy on the later migration; its title was "Sweden and America 1638–1988; A History Celebrated". Its Minnesota provenance was evident; and the catalog, such as it was, was a "special" issue of the Council's quarterly magazine, *Sweden and America*. Here at the Institute of Migration an exellent exhibition and catalog were produced, with substantial input from our side of the ocean, for extensive circulation in both Finland and America.

Quite a number of exhibitions were produced in Sweden for export to us, but only two of them emphasized the colony of New Sweden. The more scholarly one was from the Jönköping County Museum, and had very limited circulation. It contrasts in almost every way with "The Fabric of a Friendship", an expensive but superficial advertisement for the Swedish Tobacco Company. This traveling exhibition comes with a video movie, and large dioramas of pioneer and Indian life; it is still in circulation among museums, shopping malls and other large spaces. Incidentally, I only learned last month (while reading a fairly strange novel by Lars Gustafsson) that there is a "Calmar Nyckel" brand of pipe tobacco. I don't believe this fact was mentioned in "The Fabric of a Friendship".

I should also say, parenthetically, that the New Sweden documentary exhibition at Riksarkivet, prepared in large part by the previous speaker, must have been exellent and certainly was about the colony. Furthermore, his catalog is available in English. However, that exhibition did not travel, and my talk is about what could be seen on our side of the Atlantic.

We were also treated, or subjected, to a variety of more or less historical Swedish traveling exhibitions of portraits, pottery, silver, glass, and the loot captured by the Finnish cavalry during the Thirty Years' War. Most of this antique grandeur had little or nothing to do with New Sweden, and was either ignored or actively resented by the Swedish American community. The best of the lot was a fine display of artifacts from the seventeenth century warship *Kronan*. This major effort from the Kalmar County Museum came with a small catalog in English, a large one in Swedish, and a variety of supplementary monographs in one or both languages.

Incidentally, the *Kronan* wreck yielded a virtually intact trumpet, made in Nuremberg in 1654. Several replicas of this instrument were built, by a Swiss craftsman, and a seventeenth century military brass ensemble was recreated for the occasion of the King's American tour. The guiding

spirit behind this ensemble, the "Johan Printz Trumpeters", was Hans Åstrand, of the Royal Musical Academy.

This was one of a surprisingly large number of musical organizations from Sweden and Finland that toured and performed in America during the past couple of years. Of all these groups, so far as I know, only the two supervised by Åstrand (the Johan Printz Trumpeters, and an associated reconstruction of a 1699 worship service) emphasized the seventeenth century, or tried in any meaningful way to relate their performances to the people whose 350th anniversary was being observed: namely, the colonists of New Sweden. Wherever the trumpeters performed for a seated, indoor audience, or the church service was held, a factual but quite modest publication in English was available.

From Finland we got one spectacularly good maritime exhibition, "Sea Finland". This important aspect of Finnish culture actually has some bearing upon the New Sweden colony and, by extension, the curators of "Sea Finland" were (and still are) unaware of these facts; and the exhibition was presented in a large hall in Philadelphia that has no American maritime specialists on its staff. So, there is another area in which further international collaboration ought to bear fruit.

Another fine exhibition from Finland dealt with the career of Pehr Kalm. Several years and important aspects of that career transpired in the former New Sweden colony. Kalm's wide-ranging interviews with children and grandchildren of the colonists are our best source of information about the acculturation process, as this group interacted with later English and other settlers. The Kalm exhibition had a small catalog in English; I have seen a much larger one from Helsinki, in Swedish and Finnish.

This brings me, at last, to the part of my paper that looks forward. The forthcoming volume of proceedings from the March, 1988 New Sweden conference at the University of Delaware promises to be quite substantial. I have some hope that the volume will be published before the end of 1989. Some of the papers have been substantially rewritten; and, with a couple of exceptions, the material from the conference will now for the first time be available for interdepartmental of international debate.

Several of the two dozen papers presented there by Swedish, Finnish and American scholars have the potential to open new doors into the past shared by Americans and northern Europeans. I think this potential is especially strong in the footnotes, which were not available even to the few hundred people who had the good fortune to attend that conference. My own paper dealt with the documentary record of maritime trades practiced by the Nordic colonists, their immediate descendants, and their neighbors of Dutch and English background. Good and original studies were presented in aspects of both aboriginal and Nordic ethnology. There were substantive contributions also in the areas of cultural geography, family history, linguistics, and other fields that our colonial historians have investigated only casually, if at all.

I want especially to call your attention to the work of one of these conference speakers, Terry G. Jordan. His recent publications in cultural geography have been weighted strongly on the side of the Finnish element in the population of New Sweden. Before the conference, and with no particular reference to the 350th jubilee, Jordan authored or coauthored several articles and a book titled *American Log Buildings: An Old World Heritage*, in which he argued that Nordic or "Fenno-

Scandian" traditions from New Sweden came to dominate American frontier architecture. That is, in his view at least, they eclipsed in significance the building practices brought to our shores by the numerically dominant British and German colonists, not to mention those of French, Spanish, African or aboriginal American derivation. Early this year another major book by Terry Jordan and Matti Kaups was published by Johns Hopkins University Press; its title is the *The American Backwoods Frontier*.

A number of other American scholars have significant works still in progress or in press. I am sure there are some that I haven't heard about, but I try to keep in touch with the worthwhile people and I can tell you about a few.

A cultural geographer who works independently of Jordan and Kaups, and has the advantage of living in the Delaware Valley, is Peter S. Wacker of Rutgers, the state university of New Jersey. Much of Wacker's most recent work has focused upon the southern counties – which used to be called West Jersey – encompassing the early Swedish and Finnish enclaves. He has done interesting analytical work, strongly grounded in the occupational data available in eighteenth century documents. These include wills and inventories; tax assessments; newspaper advertisements; damage claims against England after the Revolutionary War; and the Swedish church censuses of household examinations, which I translated a few years ago. To my knowledge Wacker's reports on this research are not yet in print.

Michael Metcalf at the University of Minnesota has published translations of a few old Swedish manuscripts. If he retains any interest in New Sweden after 1988, he is one of several Americans capable of useful contributions in that field. Metcalf's academic field is Swedish economic history, but his translations were of letters written by Swedish priests who served in Wilmington and Philadelphia at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Marshall Becker, an archaeologist at West Chester College in Pennsylvania, may keep getting grants to dig until there is no soil left on Tinicum Island. More serious work will be done by Ron Thomas' firm, Mid-Atlantic Archaeological Research (MAAR), or by the academic group under David Custer at the University of Delaware. Both are based in Newark, Delaware, and have demonstrated their competence as well as their interest in New Sweden. However, the latter groups are more likely to work on severely threatened sites; for example, if a Federal highway is being cut through an early settlement. In such cases the funding is guaranteed, and is more likely to be adequate to the task.

I shall finish this litany of works in progress with those being done by C.A. Weslager, Peter Craig, and myself. I have, among other projects, several translations in different stages of completion. Two examples are the records of the voyage of *Kattan* in 1649, and the first volume of the Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) church book from Wilmington, Delaware. The shipwreck of *Kattan*, and the rather terrible fate of her Swedish and Finnish passengers in the West Indies, has been explored by historians in these countries much more than by those in the States. That is because our historians are so dependent upon Amandus Johnson; if he didn't translate and publish the source, nobody else did either. When he wrote his major study, the Virgin Islands still belonged to Denmark; Puerto Ricans were unknown in New York; and the island of Culebra – perhaps the actual site of the shipwreck – was a naval artillery

range. As the twentieth century winds down, the *Kattan* story appears to be another missing link in the history of our country that can only be replaced from the records of ours. Karl-Gustav Olin will scoop me on this one, because he leaves next week for the Virgin Islands, but I have been collecting the documents, and working on the background.

Some of you may know that the records of Holy Trinity church were already published in English, in 1890. Since 1983 it has become increasingly clear, to those of us who use the records, that Horace Burr's nineteenth century translation was incomplete, inaccurate, rearranged, creatively spelled, and so on. A few weeks ago I was approached about doing a new translation of Book I, the part kept by Pastor Eric Björk through 1714. That project is fairly likely to happen.

A version of the daybook of Pastor Anders Sandel, rather heavily edited by Frank Blomfelt, was published last year in Sweden. (Sandel served the Philadelphia Swedish congregation between 1702 and 1717.) I translated this, but many alterations are necessary now that I have had access to the original text. A reliable English text will be published, probably this fall, in the monograph series of the *Swedish American Genealogist*. Nils William Olsson, who edits that quarterly, is personally interested in New Sweden topics and has already published several good articles.

Two or three contributors in Sweden have sent him material, and so have I. But his busiest and most prolific author on New Sweden families has been, and will be for some time, Peter S. Craig. An article that is currently in press, for instance, presents for the first time an accurate transcription of the very important list of parishioners of the Swedish Church, in former New Sweden, compiled in 1693 and sent to the postmaster of Gothenburg along with the people's request for clergymen. This list is very well known, and often published. However, it happens that every version printed so far has relied on a rather poor copy of the original, made in Stockholm by Pastor Anders Rudman and taken back to America in 1697. Israel Acrelius, Pehr kalm, Jehu C. Clay and others copied Rudman's version from the records at his church, Gloria Dei, in Philadelphia.

I think Olavi Koivukangas was the first to reproduce the original list. Peter Craig and I noticed how many mistakes there were in Kalm's transcription (also reproduced in the *Delaware 350*; and Craig deducted the fact that most of the errors could be traced to Rudman. So I did a new transcription, and Craig annotated it. The article will give the modern American form of these old family names, as well as that found on the original document. By the way, this list is in the handwriting of Carl Springer, a literate native of Stockholm who came to Delaware in the 1680s.

Peter Craig has a number of other works in progress. All of them cater in some degree to the widespread interest in genealogy and family history. This is a sword that cuts two ways: on the one hand, there is a steady and growing popular demand for his research; on the other, there is virtually no support from major funding sources. These sources, governmental or private, require the applicant to demonstrate some academic blessing; and academe does not bless genealogy, however well it may be disguised. Fortunately, both of Peter and for the public that waits for the publication of his research, he is retiring in less than two weeks.

Another April event of some interest in these circles is the eightieth birthday of our colleague C.A. Weslager, who was

cutting his teeth as a Delaware historian and archaeologist when New Sweden's 300th jubilee was celebrated, in 1938. My first argument with him was in 1975. It had to do with New Sweden. Like most of our debates since then, it took place by mail; neither of us conceded the other's point; and we both learned something. I am happy to report that this relationship continues to thrive; Weslager's forthcoming book, on *Peter Minuit and the Kalmar Nyckel*, will contain several documents I found or translated for him.

Early in this paper I mentioned, under the general heading of works in progress, that there are movies yet to be made. That was an allusion to a little saga from my personal life. Four years ago it appeared that Finnish TV 2 was going to make a documentary about New Sweden, directed by Heikki Ritavuori (then of Tampere), and starring me. The preliminary treatment, which I had no hand in writing, included a story line about some attractive, intelligent young American scholar looking for his roots in various archives, first in the Delaware Valley and later over here, in Sweden and Finland. A friend of mine at the Finnish Embassy suggested me the role, and Heikki agreed with him. He said, among other things, that there was no way a Nordic TV audience would associate my way of speaking with that of an actor, so I would sound authentic.

Mr. Malcolm McKenzie from the American-Swedish Kalmar Nyckel Foundation with a flag from the Delaware 300th Anniversary. Photo: Ismo Söderling (SIIVA 3014/USA)

Well, several things went wrong with the plan. The American TV station that was supposed to put up matching funds for some location shooting on our side of the ocean, didn't. Heikki Ritavuori decided to become a farmer. The cost of such a program became higher, as the time for screening it grew closer. Perhaps the deadline would not have been the King's visit last April, but it certainly was to be on the air during 1988. The opportunity passed, to make matters worse, I am daily becoming less young. Nevertheless, I have long felt that it was basically a good idea, so I bought a video camera last month, and I am making the film myself.

Karl–Gustav Olin

Delaware 350 – A Finnish View

"Let us make the whole of America Christian – and Swedish." The mind behind this magnificent vision was no less than Per Brahe, who about 350 years ago, in his capacity as Governor–General more or less saved Finland at the last minute.

Count Brahe was no doubt a great gain to Finland, but on the other side of the Atlantic his visions came to nothing. New Sweden, as our American 17th–century colony was called, turned out a major economic and to some extent political failure. During the 17 years when the Swedish flag fluttered over the small settlement in the Delaware region, 12 expeditions made their journey over the Atlantic. None of these were able even to cover their own costs, and it is no surprise that the investors and the rulers of Sweden–Finland started to tire of their project.

New Sweden was however far from being Sweden–Finland's only attempt to establish itself as a colonial power. Finland itself could in some ways be considered as a colony, and on the south side of the Baltic Sweden–Finland had by means of war captured an important part of Europe. At the same time as New Sweden, we also had a colony in Africa, Cabo Corso, in what today is Ghana. There were even plans to make the pirate islands of Madagascar and St. Marie a Swedish possession.

Nor did the dream of capturing a part of America die with the fall of New Sweden. There is evidence that there was a Swedish attempt to establish a colony on the island of Tobago in the West Indies; and apparently an expedition also tried to buy land from the Indians living on the Barima River in South America. These attempts have provoked speculations whether Sweden–Finland was planning to use Tobago as a bridgehead for much larger–scale establishments on the South American continent. Out of all this came nothing. The only colony Sweden–Finland obtained in the Americas was the tiny island of St. Barth, ceded by the French in 1784.

When St. Barth became a possession of Sweden–Finland, something strange happened in the Finnish part of the kingdom. Thousands of peasants left their homes and went down to the ports, hoping to obtain a passage by sea to the new colony the king had obtained. This, inevitably, led to a great many tragedies, as no attempt had been made to organize a mass emigration.

In order to trace the origins of this rumour about a paradise in the sun – or the St. Barth's fever as the phenomenon was called – we have to go back to the times of New Sweden.

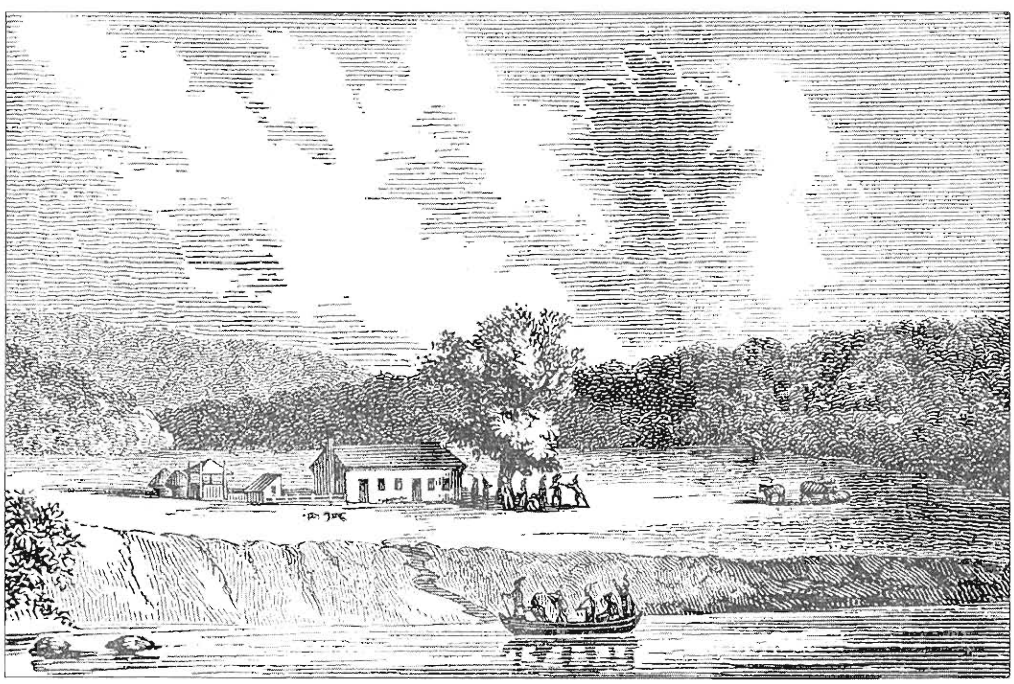
Karl–Gustav Olin, Journalist, Author
Jakobstad, Finland

Traditionally it has been claimed that most of the Finlanders in New Sweden were burn-beaters, who had become an undesirable element in the forests of Sweden. It has also been clear, however, that many settlers came directly from Finland. Myself I have taken an interest in the people coming from the Swedish-speaking coastal area of Finland. In my book *Våra första amerikafarare* 40 names are listed which can be linked with both this area and New Sweden. The identification of half of these names can be considered positive, while the other half are less certain.

One of the most famous in this group is Lieutenant Sven Skute, who appararently came from the parish of Kronoby in northern Ostrobothnia. Skute was second-in-command during most of the period of the colony. He was also sent back to make an oral report of the Queen and the Council of State, and played a key role when the colony fell into the hands of the Dutch in 1655.

Skute had served for many years on the battlefields in Europe under Major Johan Printz, and it is no surprise that Skute followed his master when Printz was appointed Governor of the colony. Printz had also tried to recruit emigrants from Ostrobothnia, as he lived on an estate in Korsholm near Wasa.

An other important person in the history of New Sweden who also recruited people in Finland was Admiral Claes Fleming. Fleming, who had been born near Turku, was the head of the New Sweden Company and a large personal shareholder.



An old drawing of the Delaware River Valley. Photo: Peura Museum, Rautalampi. (SI/VA 3014/USA)

It was Fleming who signed the instruction for the first Governor of the colony, Peter Holländer Ridder, who came from Ekenäs (Tammisaari) in southern Finland. Fleming also obviously recruited his nephew Christer Boije, from Pernå, for the dangerous journey over the Atlantic. One other emigrant who can be linked with Fleming is Matts Hansson of Borgå (Porvoo), who was deported for a minor crime. The persons listed above thus include a soldier, a Governor (even if he did not have that title), a noble, and a criminal, who all went to New Sweden.

There were also emigrants from Finland with other backgrounds, however: for example, sailors, craftsmen, officials, shipbuilders, captains etc. In fact it is noticeable that almost every grouping in society and every coastal region in Finland was represented in the colony.

We know that initially the authorities had great trouble in recruiting people to make the dangerous journey across the Atlantic. Special agents were appointed to recruit emigrants, but they were not very successful, and many emigrants were sent to New Sweden by force. The most striking case is that of the soldier who was sentenced to death, but who was given the opportunity to choose between that fate and being sent to New Sweden: not a difficult decision to make.

Little by little, knowledge about life in New Sweden spread, and when the two last expeditions were about to leave, there was not enough room for everyone onboard the ships.

After the Dutch took over the colony, the new masters quickly recognized the Finn's ability to survive in the wilderness. Some evidence also suggests that the Dutch even took active measures to entice Finns to come to America, and in this way at least one, perhaps even two or three groups of Finns came to join their fellow–countrymen in the Delaware region. This was looked upon with great irritation by the Swedish authorities, and led them to forbid emigration from the kingdom.

There was also a stream of people going in the other direction, however, as many of the colonist, officials and soldiers returned to their old country. The people returning must have brought with them many stories about life in America. As we know from a later date, the stories as a rule were exaggerated; and as the common people of this time had no sources of written information, they could only trust the oral tradition, which must have been passed from generation to generation, on the basis of which they formed a picture of the good life in America – or the West Indies as the whole New World was called at time.

So, when towards the end of the 18th century it became known that the king had obtained a new colony in this wonderful part of the world, people naturally wanted to go there. This could perhaps be the explanation for the phenomenon called St. Barth's fever. This happened more than one century after the fall of New Sweden; and one more century onwards in time, we have the next epidemic of America–fever ravaging the country, especially Ostrobothnia.

Out of the more than 300 000 Finlanders who emigrated before World War I, more than half came from the province of Wasa, and most of these emigrants came from the countryside. Could it be that the many connections between New Sweden and Ostrobothnia were one of the causes for this extremely high number of emigrants from the western part of Finland?

Dr. Hulan has explored the influences Finland may have had on early American history. Working on my own book, to my surprise I also found some influences in

the other direction. For example the pietist pioneer Peter Schaefer spent a short time in the Delaware region before returning to Turku to take up his fight againts the oppressive church of that time. In America Schaefer became a personal friend of the famous Quaker leader William Penn, and after Schaefer's return to Sweden–Finland the two of them corresponded in Latin.

Schaefer is today known as one of the founders of the pietistic movement that took root amongst the freedom–loving peasants of Ostrobothnia and later became one of the most important revivalist movements in the Finnish church. One other example was Anders Chydenius, the famous politician, writer, economist and priest from northern Ostrobothnia. Chydenius was clearly influenced in his work by liberal American ideals, implanted by his teacher Per Kalm. Kalm, who also came from Ostrobothnia, became famous all over the world for his travels in and description of North America in the 18th century.

In parenthesis, it could be mentioned that Anders Chydenius also tried to introduce the Indian canoe into Finland. Canoes made from birch bark could become an important mean of transportation in the land of the thousand lakes, suggested Chydenius and other enthusiasts. The innovation did not become popular amongst the country people, however, when Chydenius tried to introduce canoes in his own parish, he was laughed to scorn by the parishioners. He was even given the nickname Näver–Ant, i.e. Birch–Ant, a name that has survived to the present day; for instance when the mayor of my hometown, Mr. Nicke Andersson, started his former job as the head of the Chydenius Institute in Karleby, he was asked by an elderly lady if he was going to organize Näver–Ant's paper.

It has been said of Anders Chydenius that if he had written his works in another language, it might have been he, and not Adam Smith, who would have received the credit for the foundation of modern political economy. It is indeed amazing that the new political and economic order which had been created in America, was set down in words not on that side of the Atlantic but in a small out–of–the–way vicarage in northern Ostrobothnia.

The reason for these references to Ostrobothnia is not, however, local patriotism, but that is that I would like to have a hypothesis tested. The hypothesis is that the emigrants returning from New Sweden planted an oral tradition in Finland about America or the West Indies. This tradition could later have been one of the causes for the St. Barth's fever, and also for the concentration of mass emigration in Ostrobothnia in the 19th century.

I would also like to suggest that New Sweden had an influence on the political and religious life of 18th–century Finland, especially through Anders Chydenius and Peter Schaefer. These two contacts I found after only a brief study of the subject; more extensive research would no doubt reveal other interesting aspects in this field.

Although Per Brahe's dream of an America entirely Christian and Swedish did not come true today we can at least say that we have a claim in the earliest American history, though this is perhaps of more importance to us than to the Americans.

Michael Berry

Delaware 350: Some Observations

I would like to begin my comments by thanking the speakers for their interesting presentations. They have raised a number of important questions. My task, as I understand it, is to contribute to the discussion of the historical significance of events leading up to and evolving out of the settlement of New Sweden. I would like to focus on three aspects of this development as they relate to the topics in the papers and to the larger issue of different ways to approach the study of New Sweden.

First of all, I hope that we will have time to discuss the assumptions underlying the research done by the speakers and the sources that they have used. Secondly, I would like to emphasize the necessity of placing research on the New Sweden settlement in an overall interpretive framework – not because I believe that the speakers have overlooked this point, but because it is essential to any discussion of New Sweden. We cannot afford to lose sight of the connection between the local and the specific, on the one hand, and a larger interpretive context, on the other hand, even if that relationship often remains exclusive. Thirdly, I would like to suggest that we move beyond a national or ethnic point of departure in our examination of New Sweden and add an ecological perspective to the Finnish, Swedish, and American perspectives in the literature on New Sweden.

Michael Berry, Ph.D., Adjunct Associate Professor of Political History, University of Turku, Finland

Assumptions and Sources

Mr. Olin introduced two themes that deserve further elaboration: To what extent did an oral history tradition about the Finnish experience in Delaware influence the emigration of Finns from Ostrobothnia in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, and what might further research tell us about the flow of ideas from North America, not necessarily from Delaware, to Finland? As is so often the case in the history of New Sweden, we are blessed with many interesting questions but cursed with limited sources. What sources are available to throw additional light on these problems?

Dr. Hulan's presentation leaves no doubt that there has been and continues to be considerable American interest in historical aspects of the founding of New Sweden. The historian Robin Collingwood emphasized that every statement is an answer to a question. With the exception of the research by Jordan and Kaups, I remain uncertain about the questions that American researchers are trying to answer. Is the emphasis on genealogical research a goal in itself or a means to another goal?

To what extent is the activity in the United States, which seems to focus on local history and genealogy, primarily translation into English of documents already known or primarily investigation of sources previously been unknown to historians?

Put another way, to what extent are the researchers and authors to whom Dr. Hulan referred seeking a better understanding of ethnic roots, local history, religious history, colonial American history, etc., and to what extent are they making explicit the questions that they are attempting to answer? We will inevitably tend to read history backwards through the prism of our contemporary interests. Making explicit the questions we hope the answer will go a long way, however, to giving meaning and balance to our study of New Sweden. Dr. Hulan's own interest in New Sweden represents a combination of interest in family history, folklore, and colonial history. I hope that he will be able to tell us more about his approach to New Sweden during the discussion.

I am intrigued by Dr. Tarkiainen's reference to the survival of bilingualism among the Savo–Karelians in Värmland and wonder whether there is any way to follow up on this insight or whether there are studies of the survival of bilingualism under similar circumstances. I am also curious about his views on how many generations of residence in Sweden it takes to turn a Finn into a Swede – both 350 years ago and today. A related question is the use of the word "finne". Swedes used the term, but did they always place both the burnbeaters from Savo–Karelia in Värmland and the Swedish–speaking population of Ostrobothnia together in the "finne" category? Apparently the burnbeaters and the Ostrobothnians did not use the term themselves, and it is even more unlikely that they went to North America with a shared sense of being Finns.

I agree with Dr. Tarkiainen's conclusions about finding any significant new sources on the burnbeaters. I wonder if he is equally pessimistic about other sources related to New Sweden. I suspect that the next task is to ask new questions.

These are but a few questions that one could ask the speakers. I hope that the audience will raise other questions during the discussion session.

A Larger Interpretive Context

But before we move on to the discussion I would like to suggest an overall interpretive framework for our discussion today.

Any examination of Finns in Delaware naturally focuses on the Finns but the context should be Finland as a part of Sweden, Sweden as a part of Europe, Europe and North America as a part of an Atlantic region, and the interaction between Europe and colonial America.

Peripheral America and Peripheral Finland

Both North America and Finland were on the periphery of the western European–centered core in the 17th century. The historical forces that permitted this usual link – first between periphery and periphery and later between core and periphery – have not been adequately studied, but they remain an important aspect of any discussion of Finnish–American relations during the past 350 years. The key link has been Finland's relationship vis–a–vis the western European–centered core until the 20th century and the changing American relationship with Europe over the past 350 years. The periphery to periphery relationship of the 17th century also helps to explain why the Nordic log cabin served

as a prototype for American frontier architecture. Logically the Finns and Swedes who left the forests of the periphery in Europe were best equipped to adapt to the forests of the periphery in North America.

The Setting in Sweden

Three hundred and fifty years ago Sweden was a small great power, and expansion was an important feature of European mercantilism. Sweden was expanding southward and westward and building an infrastructure with Finland: Finnish soldiers by the thousands fought under the Swedish flag on the continent, a colony was established in North America, and the introduction of regular mail service between Stockholm and Finland constituted an important symbolic and concrete element in Swedish efforts to develop an infrastructure between the metropolis and the hinterland.

In this era of state building and mercantilistic expansion settlers went to North America in the service of European states that were competing for a piece of North America. There was, however, cultural diversity within the states of Europe that sent settlers across the Atlantic. As Michael Kammen has pointed out in another context "colonials didn't come from Europe. They came from East Anglia, Bristol,... Nantes". He could have also added, from Savo–Karelia via Sweden. Too often the research on New Sweden and the funding for such research has been preoccupied more with contemporary concerns of national identity and a confused sense of ethnic roots than with the realities of national or cultural identity 350 years ago. Consequently, Finns tend to write about the Finns in Delaware rather than about the Swedes, the Savo–Karelians or the Ostrobothnians in Delaware, and the Swedes tend to write about the Swedes.

The Setting in North America

Delaware had its drawbacks from the start. The Delaware Bay was full of shoals and the waterway did not lead into the hinterlands. The French were gaining a foothold in the far north, the English were taking control of regions to the north and south of Delaware, and the Dutch considered the New York region their first priority in North America.

Just as in the case in the late 19th century when Finnish migrants arrived in the Great Lake Region after all the good farm land had been taken, the Finns arrived when the best had been taken. In both cases, however, the significance is that Finns were in some ways the last of the first, a role determined by the peripheral position of the Finnish part of Sweden in Europe.

The Significance of New Sweden for Finland

When I was doing research on Finns in Wisconsin in the 1970s, I discovered Bohemians in the rural, cut–over region of that state. Was it an accident of history that the bulk of immigrants from Europe at the turn of the century were catholics or Jews who settled in urban areas, but that the Bohemians and Finns were protestants, many of whom eventually settled in rural areas? Was it an accident of history that the early stages of Finnish migration overlap with the late stages of Swedish migration? Was it an accident of history that Finland's periphery–core relationship affected Finland differently from the way it affected other countries along the Russian border? And was it an accident of history that Czechoslovakia and Finland were the

only two Soviet neighbors to remain outside the Soviet bloc up to 1948 and that Finland remains the only Soviet neighbor to escape the dire consequences of the postwar division of Europe?

If we take the concept of Finland's peripheral position in western Europe and examine that it from the perspective of being the "last of the first", we can ask ourselves whether there has been an historical link between Finnish participation in the settlement in Delaware, the timing and nature of industrialization in Finland, the timing of early stages of Finnish immigration to North America, and Finland's exceptional position on the interface periphery between Western and Eastern Europe.

Finland has long been geopolitically important to Russia/Soviet Union, but it has participated in and been affected by the great waves of European commercial expansion, industrialization, overseas migration, and nation building in ways that set it apart from other states located geographically in eastern Europe. In the larger context, perhaps this is the significance of the arrival of the offspring of Savo–Karelians in North American in the mid–17th century. Rather than trying to demonstrate that the Finns somehow played an important role in the founding and development of the United States, we might be on safer ground if we ask how the emigration of Swedes of Finnish origins throws light on Finnish and Swedish history. I would argue that the presence of settlers of Finnish origins among the first emigrants to North America is historically significant in and of itself.

Delaware 350 – An Ecological View

I would like to build on Dr. Tarkiainen's presentation about Swedish–Finnish burnbeaters. First, I want to thank him for refraining from contributing to one of the great myths of the Delaware celebration – that somehow the settlement of North America would have been different had there been no Finns in New Sweden 350 years ago. And secondly, I would like to turn the glorification of the burnbeaters as pioneer heros on its head and suggest that we also apply an ecological perspective to our analysis of the historical significance of New Sweden.

We know that many of those who left Sweden to settle in North America were part of a migration and settlement pattern with roots going back to Savo–Karelia. Why this interest in migration? An important explanation for the burnbeaters' willingness to move to Delaware was the efforts of the Swedish government to limit and eventually to prohibit the practice of burnbeating when it began to threaten the interests of new forms of agriculture and, in the case of Värmland, the emerging interests of the mining industry. In short, the Savo-Karelians moved from the Finnish part of Sweden to Delaware via Värmland because of push and pull factors – limited forest areas to burn and official encouragement to move to and develop an other region where they could continue their traditional way of life.

Seen from the perspective of the relationship between man and his physical environment, this pioneer spirit is not entirely positive. Perhaps these people, whom many celebrate because of their ability to adapt to a wilderness environment, were also individuals who were unwilling to adjust to a new relationship between society and natural resources. Rather than changing their way of life, they choose to move on to an unknown world. As such, they resemble somewhat Aleksis Kivi's seven brothers who tried to escape the control of society, but unlike the seven brothers these burnbeaters

never returned to come to grips with society and the implications of limited resources. If the burnbeaters represent the frontier spirit of American society, they also represent a way of life based on waste of abundant natural resources.

That side of American society appears to be incapable of recognizing limits and operating within them. Kivi's seven brothers returned home over a century ago. Today Americans are still looking for new frontiers unaware of how close they might be to burning down the pirtti. There is perhaps a time and place for everything. What happens when that time and place are no longer appropriate? Put another way, what is the relationship between the way we celebrate the past and our perceptions of the requirements of the future?

The setting in Sweden – migration patterns, military and economic imperialism on the European continent and in North America, and the gradual integration of the Finnish province into Sweden proper – and the setting in colonial America – rich natural resources and local tribes incapable of effective resistance to European penetration – lends itself to an interesting case study over time and across space. This study could focus on the relationship between man and his physical environment against a backdrop of the rise of international trade, urbanization, and industrialization. A comparative, multi–disciplinary history of the conflict between burnbeating agriculture and the assumptions underpinning that way of life in these three countries and the responses in these three countries to assumptions about abundance could help explain how different societies react when practices based on abundance and territorial expansion come into conflict with obstacles to those practices. This approach would place the Savo–Karelians in a meaningful historical context and would address itself to contemporary problems that we all face.

Timo Orta

The Present and Future Culture of the Australian Finns

Before tackling the subject of Finnish Culture in Australia, I must insert a caveat. This has to do with the fact that I make no claims of basing this paper on any hard established facts, but am rather expressing personal views. And these views are by necessity based on observations gleaned in a most unscientific manner. If we keep this in mind, I don't think I'll be short-changing you too much.

A long-serving pastor at the Finnish Church in Stockholm once remarked: "The Finns did not migrate to Sweden for worship reasons." This observation he made after the low attendance rate in his church had been criticized. I think we could adapt this view to cover cultural aspirations as well. Consequently we can say that the Finns did not migrate to Australia for cultural reasons. Neither did they base their decision to leave Finland on religious, political or idealistic considerations. I'm not excluding these cases completely, but it is my feeling that they would form a minuscule portion of the migrants.

The Finns migrated for very materialistic reasons, indeed, although they were many and varied. Some went in the hope that they would find the Economic Promised Land, others went in the hope that they would be able to earn enough money to return "in style" to Finland plagued by unemployment. And then there were those who went purely "for the hell of it".

No matter what the original reason, there are now 9000 – 14000 Finns in Australia. And it doesn't seem very likely that this number will appreciably increase in the near future. The last large wave of Finnish migrants arrived in 1968–70. This means that even the newest Australo–Finn is an Ozzie of 20 years' standing. Age-wise this means that there are very few people under 40, who have experienced life in Finland as an adult. Married migrants, who had young families when arriving, would be in their fifties. When we add to these people the earlier wave of migrants from the mid–1950's, we are looking at a relatively aged population. I think this is a very important factor to consider when looking at the kinds of cultural activities the Australo–Finns engage in.

The Finns have often been compared with other nationalities from Northern Europe. Because of cultural, linguistic and geopolitical reasons the Estonians and Latvians have often been used as comparison. In so doing, however, an important fact has been overlooked. Because of the political reasons for the Baltic "migra-

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tion", i.e. the Estonians and Latvians were not voluntary migrants, but rather displaced political refugees, the Baltic communities in Australia (and elsewhere) can be said to represent a reasonable cross-section of those peoples. As a visible result, all social classes and practically every educational stratum are represented. This cannot be said about the Finns, among whom university, or even high-school graduates are rare. This is another factor we need to consider when viewing Finnish cultural endeavours in Australia.

Judging from the above it would be fair to say that cultural endeavours did not rank very high on the Australo-Finn's list of priorities. But somehow cultural activities did nevertheless emerge and develop. I think we can thank two agencies for that: the Lutheran Church and the Finnish Societies. These two have in the main been responsible for the preservation and propagation of Finnish culture in Australia. And at times this has happened in spite of their efforts, because very often time and energy has been misspent on the most typical of Finnish passtimes: petty and useless bickering. And this has taken place both between the various groups as well as inside them. Often it seems that the Finns are hell-bent on realising the maxim: "Wherever there are three Finns living in the same town, they have at least two Finnish societies".

Quite often, however, various groups have been able to rally around the same banner, and then the results have been impressive. A good example outside the cultural field is the Finnish Resthome in Queensland. But there are cases of fruitful co-operation in the cultural field, as well. In Adelaide the Lutheran and Pentecostal churches have combined with the local Finnish society to form a Radio Committee which runs a very professional Finnish hour on Radio 5EBI-FM. Unfortunately this is not the case in all capital cities, where the local Finnish hour has become a very controversial and hotly debated issue.

The groups engaged in cultural activities today are: 1) Finnish Lutheran congregations, 2) Finnish societies, 3) Finnish radio programmes, 4) Finnish "Saturday Schools", and 5) Finnish newspapers.

The Lutheran congregations as a group (and organized into the Suomi Conference) are the oldest agency engaged in the propagation of Finnish culture. They are the legatees of the Finnish Seamens' Mission which assumed since its inception in the 1920's a much broader cultural profile than of simply providing spiritual care for seafarers. One result is that the congregations' activities have always included music – both sacred and temporal – performed by choirs, soloists and instrumental groups. Other activities have included drama, poetry readings, showing of Finnish films and videos, promotion of Finnish decorative and culinary arts, etc. In these latter activities there has been considerable overlapping with the Finnish Societies, and on many an occasion there have been joint ventures.

The activities of the Finnish societies have usually centered around a "Suomi-talo". This focal point of the local club is usually the fruit of years and years of hard and unstinting voluntary labour – and considerable financial outlays. They are the venues for most activities of the local clubs: concerts, dinner-dances, folk dancing, lending libraries, and other social functions. The local clubs also have their own Finnish baseball teams. Due to the peculiar Finnish nature of this game, it may even be called a cultural activity.

The Finnish radio programmes are usually joint ventures betweeen the various Finnish groups. The Finnish hour

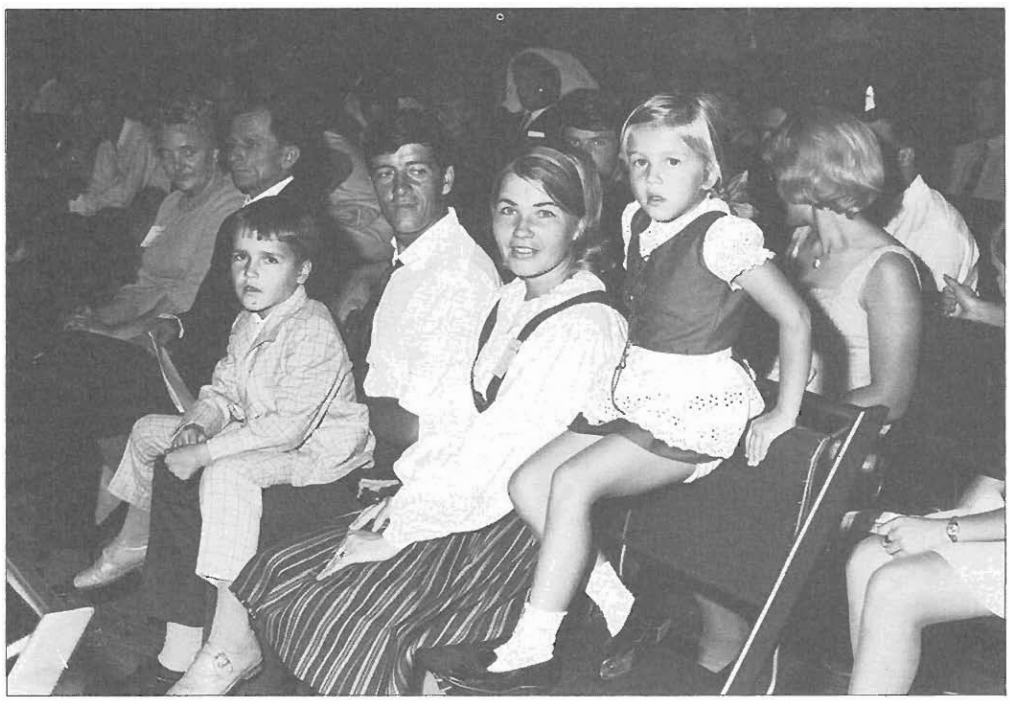
can be heard in all capital cities and some provincial centres. In Melbourne and Sydney they are part of the government–owned Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) and the programme–makers are paid honoraria for their work. Elswhere the programmes are produced by local Radio committees who often have to pay for the required air time. Lately much criticism has been levelled against the SBS programmes, as the listeners have felt that they do not have adequate input in programming decisions.

A second type of joint venture between the Lutheran Church and the local Finnish clubs are the Finnish Ethnic Saturday Schools. Here these two bodies took the initiative in organising local so–called Ethnic Education Authorities to run language and culture courses for children of Finnish origin as well as interested adults. These schools which operate only a few hours a week, are financed by student fees and government grants. The first schools were started 7–8 years ago, and the initial enthusiasm was truly promising. In most capital cities the first term enrollments varied between 50 and 80 pupils. But after it became clear to the parents that no great or dramatic results would be forthcoming without active parental involvement, enrollment numbers dropped radically. They now hover around the dozen–mark in those few schools still operating.

The most active and visible signs of Finnish culture in Australia are without doubt the two bi–monthly newspapers: *Suomi–Newspaper* and *Finlandia–News*. The former has been operating since 1926, when it was founded in Melbourne as the newsletter of the Finnish Seamen's Mission. Thus Suomi–Newspaper is the second–oldest non–English newspaper in Australia. It is now fully owned by the Lutheran Church of Australia and is run by a Board and an Editor elected by the Suomi Conference of the LCA. It is now published in Melbourne. Finlandia News was founded as the result of a typically Finnish, bitter and unforgiving argument, and operates as a privately–owned company. Although the *FN* presents itself as the "non–religious" alternative to *Suomi*, it has close ties with the Pentecostal movement. *FN* is published in Brisbane. Both newspapers have recently begun to print up to two pages out of 16 per issue in English in order to reach those people, who are interested in Finnish culture, but lack sufficient Finnish language skills. There have been some very tentative attempts at disscussing a merger, but these have foundered on the different outlooks between a non–profit idealistic paper and a paper run purely for commercial profit reasons. At present both papers receive operating grants from the Finnish government and Suomi–Seura. It is doubtful either paper could continue without these grants.

If we were to draw up an organisational chart of the various providers of Finnish culture in Australia, we would get a most impressive picture. We would see congregations, clubs, language schools, radio programmes. And we would see two long–established newspapers with their own loyal readerships. But when we would scratch the surface of this picture, we would find the paint very thin, indeed. We would find a very small nucleus of people shouldering most of the responsibility. And we would find that those same people are getting older. Why is this so? What has happened to the generation, who came to Australia as children, or were born there? When we try to answer these question, we stumble on perhaps the saddest fact of Finnish cultural endeavours in Australia. I'm referring to the lack of continuity. Again we might ask: "Why is this so?" The

answer, I think, lies in the pig-headed insistence on the use of Finnish as the sole means of communication. The introduction of English has been resisted to the bitter end. Somehow the Australo–Finns have come to equate culture with the ability to speak and understand Finnish. This language–skill has been made the sole pass–word for cultural participation. It has effectively removed all those of Finnish decent, but without a working knowledge of the language, as well as those of other ethnic origins, who have married into Finnish families or have some other reason for being interested in matters Finnish. This development has taken place both in the congregations as well as in the clubs. There are very few exceptions. A good (or should we say bad?) example of this cultural tunnel–vision was the initial strong outcry against the English pages in the Finnish newspapers, when these pages were first introduced. Some cancellations of long–held subscriptions even resulted.



Fortunately, attitudes seem to be changing. And this is witnessed by the growing numbers of young adults with families which take part in the two main annual events: Suomi–Päivät and Suvi–Päivät. But in both these events parallel youth and children's programmes are run in English. This may be the way to turn around this negative trend and foster a renewed interest in the Finnish culture among Australo–Finns. We may be able to reach those landsmen we have not yet completely lost track of, but I'm not so optimistic about reaching those Australo–Finns, who have already lost contact with their cultural heritage.

Olavi Koivukangas

Delaware 350 Jubileum & Australian Bicentenary

Importance to the Future Migration Research

Anniversaries of historical events can be important and useful in promoting research. E.g. the preparations to celebrate in 1992 the 500th anniversary of the landing of C. Columbus in America have started for a long time ago on the both sides of the Atlantic. The work to celebrate the first landing of the Delaware Finns started in Finland only a couple of years before the anniversary. Australia began to prepare its bicentenary already 10 years earlier, especially by an extensive historical research and publishing.

The Finnish Government appointed a Delaware 350 anniversary committee led by Mr. Matti Ahde, the Speaker of the Parliament, with two aims: 1) to commemorate the role of the Finnish immigrants in the development of the United States, and 2) to make the modern Finland better known in the U.S.A. A good starting point was President Reagan's decision to proclaim the year 1988 as National Year of Friendship with Finland.

Point 1, to honour the history and achievements of the Finnish immigrants and their children, is closely related to the migration research. The importance of the Finns in the history of the early Delaware River valley settlement is derived from many factors, such as:

- According to many scholars the Finns comprised the majority of the permanent settlers of the New Sweden colony.
- The most important Governor of New Sweden, Johan Printz, lived in Finland before his departure for Delaware in 1642 and recruited quite a number of settlers from Ostrobothnia.
- The role of John Morton as a signer of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. His great grandfather was born in Finland in 1606.
- The famous diary of Prof. Pehr Kalm, from the University of Turku, of his visit to North America in 1748 – 51. Fortunately this remarkable document happened to be out on loan during the big fire of Turku in 1827. Kalm copied old records and interviewed old settlers in Delaware.

Research on the Delaware Settlement

In the 17th century the Finnish presence in Delaware was well recognized, but then, until the 20th century the Finns were more or less "forgotten". Even the great Amandus Johnson in his *Magnum opus* [1] from 1911 did not give the Finns their fair treatment. As Dr. Richard H. Hulan has pointed out Johnson was not especially in-

Olavi Koivukangas, Ph.D., FT, Director of the Institute of Migration

terested in the Finns although evidence of their numerical significance can be found in the lists he published [2]. In a way it is a pity that Johnson immediately became such an authority, and this has perhaps discouraged later scholars from taking an interest in the topic and tackling the laborious archival sources of the Delaware migration.

Similarly, only a few American historians of Finnish origin have studied the Delaware Finns. The Rev. S. Ilmonen studied for years the history of Finns in North America, and published a book on the Finns in Delaware, in 1916 in the USA and in 1938 in Finland [3]. Ilmonen does not give detailed information about his sources. He is rather concentrated on finding as many Finns as possible, not having set up properly the historical context of international commercial developments etc.

Then, in 1925, E.A. Louhi published in English an extremely Finnish nationalistic book on the Finns in Pennsylvania and adjoining colonies [4]. In conjunction with the tercentenary of the New Sweden colony in 1938, Prof. John H. Wuorinen wrote a small book which, however, to a great extent based on the work of A. Johnson [5].

In addition to the "histories" mentioned above there have been a few literature works such as Akseli Järnefelt–Rauanheimo's novel *Before William Penn*, published in 1921 in Finnish and 1929 in English.

As a vintage of the 350 Delaware Anniversary in 1988 there appeared a few studies on the both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. In the United States the most significant work was written by Terry Jordan and Matti Kaups claiming that the seventieth–hundred century Delaware Finns were a major shaper of the frontier culture [6]. More credit should be given to the scattered settlements, log-cabins, worm fence, etc.., but a statement by Matti Kaups that the fact that the present United States stretches from one ocean to the other is the real contribution of the Finns to the American pioneer culture (Suomen Silta 4/88), is an obvious exaggeration. Also C.A. Weslager, *New Sweden on the Delaware: 1638-1655*, (Delaware 1988) should be mentioned, as well as the work done by Dr. R.H. Hulan, especially a new map on the Delaware settlement.

In Sweden there appeared quite a few popular books on the Delaware enterprise in 1638[7]. From the scholarly point of view the most important was, however, the diary of the last Governor Johan Rising by Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman [8]. In Finland there were only two major publications: Olavi Koivukangas: *Delaware 350*, an exhibition catalog, and Karl-Gustav Olins book on Ostrobothnians to Delaware [9].

As appears from the above historiography there is no systematic and methodologically sound investigation of the Nordic Delaware immigration from the Finnish perspective. On the other hand, one could well argue that there is no need for such an approach as in the period of the colonization of Delaware in 1638 – 55 Finland was an integral part of Sweden, administered from Stockholm.

Many Delaware Conferences – Little New Information

To commemorate the 350th anniversary of the Delaware settlement quite a number of conferences were arranged in the U.S.A., Sweden and Finland. The following list covers the conferences of historical research:

- February 27, 1988; The Swedes and the Finns in the New World 1638-1988, New Jersey Historical Commission,

Mr. Rockwell A. Schnabel, Ambassador of the United States, presents Dr. Olavi Koivukangas a Certificate of Recognition for his contribution to the work of the Finnish Delaware 350 Anniversary Committee.

Trenton, New Jersey, (300 participants).
- March 3–5, 1988; New Sweden in America, University of Delaware, Clayton Hall, Newark, (300 participants). The Delaware exhibition of the Institute of Migration in Clayton Hall was an object of lively interest.
- September 23, 1988; Suomalaisuus Amerikassa (Finnishness in America), Department of History, University of Turku, (100 participants).
- October 4, 1988; Nya Sverige (New Sweden) Symposium, The House of Emigrants, Växjö, Sweden, (50 participants).
- October 14, 1988; Uusi Ruotsi (New Sweden) Seminar, Finnish–Swedish Cultural Fund, Hanasaari, Espoo, (150 participants).

As a conclusion of these five Delaware conferences is the following statement: Although quite stimulating with an opportunity to meet new people *not much new information or source material was presented. The most promising research had been done in the USA*, mainly with genealogical methods tracing the pioneer families, notably by Peter S. Craig. In Sweden the best contribution is the diary of Governor Johan Rising edited and analysed by Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman. In Finland there has not been any serious primary research with a slight exception by an author Karl-Gustav Olin of Pietarsaari.

Future Research

A major conclusion about the above discussion could be that a comprehensive history of the Finn factor in the immigration and settlement in the Delaware River valley should be written. Naturally this study should be placed in the right historical and international context and it should take place as a joint project with Finnish, American and Swedish scholars. Simultaneously it could also be the beginning of a comprehensive history of Finnish emigration. This ambitious study based on original documents in Europe and America should be both part of the history of Finnish people and at the same time a significant part of the world history of the redistribution of European population to the overseas continents, i.e. a part of the colonial history of the future United States.

Also closely related to research and as a result of the Delaware 350 celebrations there is the plan to establish a chair of Finnish studies at the University of Minnesota based on funds half from Finland and half from the United States. Let us hope that this plan could be realized.

Another important result is to set up at the Institute of Migration in Turku a computer–based register of Finnish emigrants based on detailed information from passport and passenger lists and other sources. The register will serve as a databank for the study of later Finnish emigration. The data will also serve the descendants of Finnish emigrants trying to find their roots and to locate their relatives in Finland.

To promote the Delaware research the following proposals:

- An up–to–date Bibliography, on Swedish–Finnish immigration and settlement in the Delaware River Valley should be compiled and co–ordinated. This bibliography should also include information on research–in–progress.
- A List of Original Material in various archives and libraries in Europe and America would be the major finding aid and the basis for plans to have the major sources translated from Swedish and Dutch to English. A co–operation with a project, operated already 10 years in New York on the early Dutch presence in North America, would be most useful.
- The Research Needed:
  a) Genealogical research; only 1/3 has been identified, 2/3 left (Peter S. Craig)
  b) Historical research as a part of the Finnish overseas emigration
  c) Ethnological, folklore, etc. studies including international collaboration in research projects.
- The next *Conference on the Delaware 350* project should be held after four years, in 1993. If resources available meanwhile a *Delaware 350 Newsletter* would be most useful, but also other journals can be utilized.
- Finance : Academy of Finland, Ministry of Education, 75th Anniversary of the Independance of Finland Funds, etc.; International financing.

Australia 200

James Cook claimed the eastern part of Australia to the English Crown in 1770, but not until 1788 did permanent European settlement start at the site of present Sydney. In Finland the Bicentenary of European Australia was naturally not as conspicious as the Delaware celebrations, mainly owing to the distance and the small number of Finns settled in Australia.

Former Activities

From the point of view of migration research a major contribution was Olavi Koivukangas's dissertation: *Sea, Gold and Sugarcane; Finns in Australia 1851–1947*,

Turku 1986. Based on this research an exhibition was also made about the Finns in Australia, one copy was sent to Australia while the otherone is still going around Finland.

Since 1978 the Scandinavian and Australian scholars interested in migration research have had a joint project to promote study on Nordic emigration to Australia and New Zealand. The first symposium was held in Växjö in 1978, the second in Turku in 1982 and the third symposium in Melbourne in 1988. The project is a good example of international co-operation in the field of migration research. From the Swedish side should be mentioned Allan T. Nilsons book *Nordbor i Australien* (1988). In 1988 Dr. Andrew Trlin, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand, joined the projct as the coordinator for New Zealand.

The Melbourne Symposium

The major event of the anniversary from our research point of view was the Third International Symposium on Scandinavian Migration to Australia at the University of Melbourne on August 29th – September 2nd, 1988. From Finland the following papers were presented:

- Hannele Hentula: "The Finnish Language Spoken by the First and Second Generation Finns in Australia"
- Olavi Koivukangas: "Finns in Australia and New Zealand"
- Juha Pentikäinen: "Ethnicity of Finnish Immigrants in Australia, the USA and Elsewhere".

The historical exhibition on the Finns in Australia was opened by the Ambassador of Finland Mr. Ulf–Erik Slotte. This exhibition was first time opened at the Easter Festival in Sydney by Mr. Kalevi Sorsa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland and the exhibit has has been touring round the Finnish settlements in Australia.

Future Research and Co–Operation

The project on the Nordic emigration to Australia and New Zealand will continue and the next symposium is planned to take place in Aalborg, Danmark, in 1992.

Concerning the collection of research material in Australia I have made an initiative that the Finns in Australia and New Zealand should have a Historical Society but obviously members and interest there are not big enough. Simultaneously the National Museum in Australia located in Canberra is collecting material on ethnic minorities in Australia and e.g. the exhibition on the Finns in Australia will finally be on display and deposited there according to the proposal of Prof. Jerzy Zubrzycki. He visited Finland last year as a guest speaker of the Australian Bicentenary and is planning to make another lecture and co–operation visit to Finland in autumn 1989.

Another major co–operator in Australia will be the Center for Immigration and Multicultural Studies established in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University in Canberra. In August 1988 I had the opportunity to be a visiting fellow at the Australian National University for two weeks and to participate the big Terra Australis Conference in August 21–26, 1988.

In the future Olavi Koivukangas's major research targets would be to write a detailed history of the Finns in Australia 1948–88 as well as a monograph of the Finns in New Zealand. These projects would demand some field work in Australia and New Zealand. For the Finnish side should also be mentioned Hannele Hentula's study on the language of

the Australian Finns. There are also some other persons interested in Australian immigration and ethnicity.

The Australian corner in the Finnish migration research is relatively well-covered compared with other destinations. But there are gaps to be studied, e.g. the culturel activities of the Finnish immigrants and their general adaptation – as well as the second and the third generation. Similarly to the proposals made in the connection of the Delaware studies also here *A Bibliography and a List of Holdings* of the original material in various archives and institutions in Australia, Finland and other countries should be produced either separately for the Finns or as a part of the joint Scandinavian project.

The final aim of the Delaware 350 and Australia 200 studies should be a comprehensive account and history of the Finnish migration movements all over the world through the centuries.

Notes

1) **Johnson, Amandus**: The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, their History and Relations to the Indians, Dutch and English 1638–1664, New York 1911.
2) **Hulan, Richard H.**: New Sweden Bibliography, a manuscript, 1985.
3) **Ilmonen, S.**: Amerikan ensimmäiset suomalaiset eli Delawaren siirtokunnan historia (The First Finns in America or the History of the Delaware Colony), Hancock, Michigan, 1916; and **S.Ilmonen**: Delawaren suomalaiset (Finns in Delaware), Hämeenlinna 1938.
4) **Louhi, E.A.**: The Delaware Finns, or the First Permanent Settlements in Pennsylvania, Delaware, West New Jersey and the Eastern Part of Maryland, New York 1925.
5) **Wuorinen, John H.**: The Finns on the Delaware, New York 1938.
6) **Jordan, Terry G. & Kaups, Matti**: The American Backwoods Frontier; An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation, Baltimore 1989.
7) **Mattsson, Algot**: New Sweden – The Dream of an Empire, Gothenburg 1987.

Åberg, Alf: Folket i Nya Sverige; vår koloni vid Delawarefloden 1638–1655, Uddevalla 1987.
Blomfelt, Frank (ed.): Andreas Sandels Dagbok 1701–1743, Stockholm 1988.
Carlsson, Sten: Swedes in North America 1638–1988; Technical, Cultural, and Political Achievements, Örebro 1988.
Ruhnbro, Rune (ed.): New Sweden in the New World 1638–1655; Visions of Greatness, Italy 1988.
Tigerström, Harald: Nya Sveriges siste guvernör och hans landsmän i Amerika; till den svenska Delawarekolonins minne 1638–1988, Klockrrike 1988.

8) **Dahlgren, Stellan & Norman, Hans**: The Rise and Fall of New Sweden; Governor John Rising's Journal 1654–1655 in its historical context, Uppsala 1988.
9) **Koivukangas, Olavi**: Delaware 350; The Beginning of Finnish Migration to the New World, Turku 1988, and **Karl-Gustav Olin**: Våra första amerikafarare; Historien om finlandssvenskarna i Nya Sverige, Jakobstad 1988.

Tom Sandlund

Concluding Remarks

This seminar concludes a series of seminars held during the last year, in which the Institute of Migration has been involved in various ways, concerning both Delaware and Australia.

Let me thank all the speakers today for their contribution and the stimulating discussion these led to. It is not my task here to comment on the papers, perhaps more to draw some conclusions concerning the research and the Institute's role here.

Not being a historian myself, I can only notice with great interest that the history of the colony of Delaware has been fruitful ground for research co–operation between scholars from the U.S.A., Sweden and Finland. Many speakers here are living examples of ties between these countries – and Australia, which we have dealt with to a somewhat lesser degree today as the focus has been on common Swedish/Finnish history.

As some speakers pointed out, today's interpretations are always seen through today's spectacles and perspective, perspectives that have been formed and have been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes more rapidly, during the intervening years, in the case of Delaware 350 years.

Tom Sandlund, Assistant Professor, Chairman of the Administrative Board of the Institute of Migration

There are at least three perspectives that influence the stimulating, interesting and sometimes somewhat heated debate on Delaware concerning the origins of the individual settler, and the importance of the colony of Delaware for further American history. These three perspectives are often held in various combinations by the same researcher so we cannot easily classify individual researchers according to these perspectives.

The first perspective is what I would call the scientific one. This perspective starts from a search for the truth but it comes in various forms. One starts from theories that can explain in general terms what was happening at a certain period. In describing and explaining a particular phenomenon this phenomenon is put into a wider frame and a certain detachment from the phenomenon in considered a hallmark of science. Another perspective is a less academic one, often held by people who are looking for their history, their origin and have a less detached attitude towards their subject. This second approach, a "dig where you are" –approach, often gives us insights that are impossible to reach through "ordinary" academic approaches and when the main driving force here is looking for truth I would not deem it less scientific as long as a rigorous methodology is employed, which, in parenthesis, certainly is the case

as far as the research in this seminar is concerned.

The second perspective is the national perspective formed by history, the intervening history between the event under study and the time at which certain study is carried out. Today's perspective on Delaware is different from that which prevailed in e.g. the 1930's. The intervening 350 years of history has meant that opinions and positions of researchers in Finland and Sweden have perhaps somewhat differed from each other and different schools might have envolved. Some of these schools are perhaps tied to national or ethnic perspectives particular to one country, others to school of history that might unite researchers from different countries.

The third perspective is that of national interest today. To my mind there is a clear distinction between the second perspective and this third perspective in that in the third perspective the interest in the phenomena itself is very small. The question is rather how it can be used to "sell Finland", "sell Sweden", or "sell U.S.A.". I am not denying that such sales campaigns may as a result bind the concerned countries closer together and, skilfully employed, also further international cooperation in research as a side effect. But it is clear that that is not the main aim nor is it the main aim to look for truth, rather – in a market economy world – to cut as big a slice of the cake with advertisements where the truth behind the argument is not always of formost importance, to say the least.

The Institute of Migration has many functions. To a certain extent one can say that it is influenced by all these three perspectives. It has a scientific orientation, its researchers are certainly influenced by national history, various schools and scientific traditions and to a certain extent it has also been involved in "selling Finland" to U.S.A. and Australia by participating in and arranging or co–arranging seminars, but above all, in building two exhibitions, one for the Delaware anniversary and one for the Australian anniversary. This "selling" has, however, been motivated by the idea of revealing the events and importance of those events. Thus the first and the second perspectives are reflected in these exhibitions but the third is not. In this matter the Institute of Migration has a scientific orientation as it at the same time is trying to enlarge the knowledge of history and show the contribution Finns have made abroad. In these efforts the Institute draws on both traditional academic research and the interest of scholars not tied to academic institutions in order to be able to present a fuller picture of the history and life of earlier generations. Our seminar today has been an example of this approach, a successful example. Thank you all.

Kaarle Hjalmar Lehtisen rahaston apurahat vuonna 1989

Kaarle Hjalmar Lehtisen rahastolle saapui määräajan kuluessa yhteensä 19 hakemusta. Siirtolaisuusinstituutin hallitus on kokouksessaan 2.6.1989 myöntänyt seuraavat apurahat:

Hentula, Hannele	Amerikan- ja australiansuomen tutkimushanke	5 000,–
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Pennanen, Helena	Suomalaisten siirtolaisten sopeutuminen Hollantiin	5 000,–
Puromies, Meri	Amerikansuomen sanakirjan (prof. Pertti Virtaranta) painokuntoon saattaminen	9 000,–
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Virtanen, Keijo	Suomalaisperäisen etnisen yhteisön muuttuminen Yhdysvalloissa 1900-luvun kuluessa	4 000,–
	Yhteensä	40 000,–

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