

Swedish Missionary Work among the Sami, Eastern Orthodox Christians and Native Americans in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

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The seventeenth century was a period of absolutism in the Swedish realm. From the monarchy's point of view, it was very important to keep the whole realm unanimous, because a common religion provided stability and safety to the kingdom. To fulfil this aim, all ecclesiastical books were harmonised, and all confessions were prohibited apart from Lutheranism. Only the Reformed Walloons had a specific permission to have services of their own, but they were not allowed to spread their religion.¹

After the Peace of Stolbovo (1617) between Sweden and Russia, ambitions to expand Lutheranism were mostly targeted at newly conquered areas of Ingria and Karelia, which were mainly inhabited by Eastern Orthodox Christians, and the Sami people in Lapland, who still had also their own native religions in spite of the efforts to make the area Lutheran. The third group of non-Lutherans were the Native Americans in the Delaware region, an area which belonged to the Swedish Realm in 1638–55. They had their own form of worship. The Sami people and Native American tribes were both seen as 'sinful heathens' and exemplary 'noble savages' in mission descriptions, and at the same time they were considered to be suitable subjects for Christian conversion. In addition, the religious habits of Native Americans and Sami people were very different compared with Christian customs, and evoked fear and experiences of otherness among the Lutherans.²

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- 1 *Kircko-Laki Ja Ordningi 1686. Näköispainos ja uudelleen ladottu laitos vuoden 1686 kirkkolain suomennoksesta*, eds. Lahja-Irene Hellemaa, Anja Jussila, and Martti Parvio (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1986), 1. Lucu § IV–V; Esko M. Laine, *Yksimielisyyys – sota – pietismi. Tutkimuksia suomalaisesta papistosta ja yhteiskunnasta kolmikymmenvuotisesta sodasta pikkuvihaan*, doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki, 1996, pp. 16–18; Ingun Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 4: Enhetskyrkans tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), pp. 156–66.
 - 2 Bill Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning och nomadliv. Studier i den kyrkliga verksamheten i Lappmarkerna 1740–1809* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1964), p. 16; Daniel Lindmark, 'Syndiga hedningar och ädla vildar. Synen på samer och indianer i tidigmoderna svenska missionsskildringar', in Hanne Sanders (ed.), *Mellem Gud och Djævelen. Religiøse og magiske verdensbilleder i*

During the period of absolutism, all the subjects of the Swedish king had to be baptised and had to confess the Lutheran faith. Before baptism people had to learn about Christianity, or the Lutheran faith, if they were already Christians, such as the Eastern Orthodox Christians. Catechetical knowledge was required for marriage, attending the eucharist and for becoming a godparent. For teaching and learning, books, especially catechisms, were needed. Knowing Christian teachings was one of the main ideas of the Reformation and this knowledge was realised through learning to read the Catechism.³

I shall introduce the basic religious literature, especially catechisms written for these various groups in Lapland, Karelia and Delaware. I discuss the circumstances under which they were written and published, the kind of catechisms they represented and how they were used in this missionary work. The last question is probably the most difficult to answer as there is little available information, but some indications of plans and expectations can be drawn from the texts of publications.

1 The Catechism and Its Importance in Lutheranism

The Reformation highlighted the individual's capacity to learn Christian teachings and, hence, the foundations of his or her own salvation. This necessitated the production of vernacular Christian literature since only the learned mastered Latin. The Reformation led to the writing and publishing of vernacular literature across Europe. The first vernacular books were mostly Bibles, catechisms and primers that often contained catechetical texts teaching the basics of the Christian faith.⁴

In Lutheran regions, catechisms were even more significant than the Bible for teaching Christianity. Martin Luther wrote the *Large Catechism* with

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- Norden 1500–1800, Nord* (København) 2001: 19, (Copenhagen: Nordiska Ministerrådet, 2001), p. 203; Jyrki Paaskoski, 'Inkerin kirkko Venäjän keisarikunnassa Suuresta Pohjan sodasta 1800-luvun alkuun', in Jouko Sihvo and Jyrki Paaskoski (eds.), *Inkerin kirkon neljä vuosisataa. Kansa, kulttuuri, identiteetti* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015), p. 21.
- 3 Simo Heininen, 'Vanha Viipurin hiippakunta 1554–1711', in Simo Heininen etc., *Viipurin – Porvoon – Tampereen hiippakunnan historia 1554–2004* (Helsinki: Edita, 2005), p. 59; Daniel Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda. Swedishness in Colonial America* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2005), pp. 141–2; Esko M. Laine and Tuija Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', in Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (eds.), *Huoneentaulun maailma. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 258–60.
- 4 Tuija Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta itsenäiseen lukemiseen. Rahvaan lukukulttuurin kehitys varhaismodernina aikana* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), pp. 32, 36–7.

extensive commentaries and explanations for the clergy, and the more concise *Small Catechism* for the use of laymen, which was widely translated and used as a model for other catechisms. The *Small Catechism* consisted of central Christian texts with explanations: the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, words of institution for the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, prayers before and after eating, and morning and evening prayers. Luther's Catechism also included the introduction to confession even though, unlike in the Catholic church, it was not considered as a sacrament.⁵

Luther's Large and Small Catechisms were both translated into Swedish and Finnish. Probably the earliest Finnish translation of the *Small Catechism* was printed in 1607 in Rostock at the request of the crown prince Gustav Adolf (1594–1632).⁶ It was translated by Simon Johannis Carelius, who was born in Vyborg (Viipuri) and studied at Rostock. The *Large Catechism* was translated by the vicar of Pirkkala parish Jacobus Pauli Raumannus in 1674. Both Finnish and Swedish *Small Catechisms* were reprinted several times by several editors. They were both used in the Swedish realm's eastern province, in Finland, as the majority of the population in the coastal areas was Swedish-speaking, while in inland areas Finnish was spoken.⁷

Luther's work had already inspired new catechetical explanations, published under the names of the respective authors. In Finnish, the first of these was the catechism of Jacobus Petri Finno in the 1580s (with a second edition in 1615). The most popular were the *Small Catechisms* by the Bishop of Turku (Åbo in Swedish) Ericus Erii Sorolainen (the first known edition in 1629) and the *Catechism Yxi lasten paras tawara / Ett rätt barna-klenodium* in 1666 by the bishop of Turku, Johannes Gezelius the Elder, published in Turku in both Finnish and Swedish. By the first years of the nineteenth century, the latter book had been reprinted over sixty times in Finnish and more than ten times in Swedish. Immediately after its publication in 1696, the *Catechism of Olaus Svebilus* was established as the official catechism of the whole Swedish realm,

5 Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta*, pp. 36–7.

6 See Chapter 4 by Suvi-Päivi Koskinen in this volume.

7 *Catechimus* [!] *Se on christilisen opin pääcappaleet, d. Martinus Lutherin vlostoimituxen cansa, soomen kielen tulkitut. Lyhykäisen esipuheen cansa, iosa yxikertaisesta tiettäväxi tehdän, quinga itze cukin christitty, hänens swren hödytyxen cansa ioca päivä Catechismuxessa hari-oitta machta. Simonis Iohannis Carelij culutuxel vlos käynyt ...* (Rostock: Stefan Möllemann, 1607), USTC 209273; Martin Luther, *D. Martinus Lutheruxen Catechismus se suurembi hänen cuningallisen Majj:tins cuningas Carlein, sen XI. Ruotzin, Göthein, ja Wendein, etc. etc. suurwoimallisimman cuningan ja herran armollisimman käskystä, ja culutuxella. Suomexi kääty ä Jacobo Raumanno pastore & praeposito in Birkkala* (Turku: Johan Winter, 1674), USTC 268953; Tuija Laine and Rita Nyqvist (eds.), *Suomen kansallisbibliografia. Finlands nationalbibliografi. Finnische Nationalbibliographie 1488–1827* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1996).

as one way to reinforce unanimity of the kingdom with uniform religious literature. However, only in 1746 did the Finnish translation of Svebilus' Catechism displace Gezelius' Catechism (1666).⁸

Notwithstanding the various authors involved, the structures of all the seventeenth-century catechisms were very faithful to the model of Luther's *Small Catechism*. There was some variation in parts of the explanations but, naturally, they all agreed with the lines of Lutheran theology. Adults and children read the same catechisms. In the mid-eighteenth century a new catechetical genre, composed primarily to teach children, appeared alongside the older catechisms. By then, adult catechetical literacy was already more common, and hence attention was given to teaching minors. Simultaneously, the notion of childhood changed, and new genres meant for children saw the light of day all over Europe. At the same time, Pietists began to work on their own catechisms, emphasising the views of the revivalists.⁹

2 The Sami

Lapland was geographically distant and hard to access, and as a result the powers interested in exploiting the resources of Lapland were first content to collect the so-called Lapland tax in furs from the Sami people. But little by little Denmark, Sweden and Russia (Novgorod) started to incorporate the region more systematically and solidify and institutionalise their presence. For the Swedish part of Lapland, the royal politics meant that the Sami people would honour Swedish law, religion and taxation, and in return the crown would protect the people in this area. Taxation, education and conversion were the crucial points in this policy. It was, however, very challenging to organise any ecclesiastical activity or to teach Christianity to the Sami people. Settlement was geographically scattered and long distances were involved. In addition, there were several Sami languages, a fact that the administration was slow to

8 Tuija Laine, 'Johannes Gezelius vanhemman katekismus ja sen lähteet', in *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 98/5 (1993), pp. 398–9; Tuija Laine and Rita Nyqvist (eds.), *Suomen kansallislisbibliografia*, nos. 1054–67, 113–14, 1452–7, 1423–34, 2497, 2499–2504; Tuija Laine, 'Ericus Erici Sorolaisen Wähä catechismus ja vuoden 1657 katekismuspainoksen synty', in Tuija Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), p. 86; Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta*, pp. 128–9; Tuija Laine, 'Viipurin kirjallinen kulttuuri vuoteen 1710', in Petri Karonen (ed.), *Arki, kirkko, artefakti. Viipurin kulttuurihistoriaa Ruotsin ajalla (n. 1300–1700)* (Helsinki: Viipurin suomalainen kirjallisuusseura, 2017), p. 128.

9 Tuija Laine, 'Lapsille tarkoitettut uskonnolliset kirjat' in Esko M. Laine and Minna Ahokas (eds.), *Hyödyllisen tiedon piirit. Tutkimuksia papistosta, rahvaasta ja tiedon rakentumisesta 1700-luvulla* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2018), pp. 189–91, 198–9.

understand. (See Map 7.1. and Map 7.2. in the next chapter for the Lappmarks and towns of Northern Scandinavia.)

Christian influences had already reached Lapland in the Middle Ages, both from east and west, but the conversion of the Sami truly started only after the Reformation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were several royal orders and attempts to found parishes and build churches in Lapland, the intention being to establish Swedish power in the area. The first parishes in what is today the Swedish part of Lapland were founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the eastern (present-day Finnish) parts of Lapland, the so-called Kemi Lapland, the first churches were built in 1648. However, the 1673 decree concerning the settlement of Lapland made legal the moving of Swedish and Finnish people to Lapland, and Lycksele, Jokkmokk, Jukkasjärvi, Kautokeino and Kuusamo were separated into independent ecclesiastical areas and provided with ministers. The whole of Lapland was divided into independent church parishes.¹⁰

In 1596 it was decreed that all the inhabitants in the Swedish archdiocese had to be examined in Christianity, namely the main articles of the Catechism. The same order naturally concerned the Sami people as well, the Swedish government's interest in the Sami at this time being both religious and economic. The productivity of the area was to be strengthened and trade, taxation and natural resources were considered to be very important. The teaching of Christianity required catechisms as well as teachers who had knowledge of the local language. The first clergy in the area were mainly Swedish and had little if any knowledge of Sami, though they did have translators to help them. Not many of the clergy were interested in settling in Lapland, in view of the difficult and isolated circumstances they had to live in. The best way to get teachers able to use the Sami language in the area was to educate Sami children in Lapland. Even this proved challenging, because at least some Sami people who studied in southern Sweden were no longer interested in moving back to their native area. On the other hand, some did not get on in the south, and fled back to their home region.¹¹

10 K. B. Wiklund., 'De första lappska böckerna', in *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 9 (1922), p. 13; Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning*, p. 21; Sten Henrysson, 'Samernas kristnande och undervisning', in Sten Henrysson etc. (eds.), *Samerna, präster och skolmästare. Ett kulturellt perspektiv på samernas och Övre Norrlands historia* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1993), p. 4; Gunlög Maria Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins: Cultural Encounters in New Sweden and Lapland* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 247–8; Juha Pentikäinen and Risto Pulkkinen, *Saamelainen mytologia* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2018), pp. 69–77, 79–81.

11 Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning*, p. 22; Henrysson, 'Samernas kristnande', p. 4.

The first printed book in Sami (*En lijten Sångebook, huruledes Messan skal hållas, läsas eller siungas, på Lappesko*, Stockholm, 1619) was written by Nicolaus Andreae Rehn, who was the pastor in Piteå. It was a missal which helped priests conduct the service and take care of sacraments and funerals in Lapland. The main texts were written in Sami, but all the instructions were printed in Swedish, and without knowledge of Sami it was difficult to use the missal. In his dedication letter to King Gustav II Adolf, Nicolaus Andreae made it clear that mission work targeted all people throughout the Swedish realm. According to him, the Sami people had been taught with Swedish books before and some of them had even understood some Swedish. But mostly people understood only their own language and therefore texts in Sami were needed. He also states that in addition to his missal he had also published a primer in Sami, which was printed in Stockholm. The king permitted Nicolaus Andreae to have some kind of grammar school in Piteå for six Sami boys and to teach them to read, not only in Sami, but in Swedish and Latin as well.¹²

Although Nicolaus Andreae boasted about his translations, they were far from excellent. They included so many Finnish words that researchers are convinced that the translator had Finnish as a mother tongue. Nicolaus Andreae's father was for some time a priest in Torneå (Tornio in Finnish) and it is possible that he was born in Finland. So he and his son probably spoke Finnish as their native tongue. On account of the poor level of the translations, the Sami people must have understood little from either the books or Nicolaus Andreae's words.¹³

In 1619, the same year as he prepared his missal, Nicolaus Andreae published an alphabet book. It was a typical 'Catechism primer' (*Katechismus Fibel* in German) with the alphabet and Catechism given without explanations and some prayers at the end of the book. The second edition was published in 1632, and possibly even the 1638 and 1640 primers are primarily based upon the 1619 primer. In 1633 the pastor of Umeå, Olaus Petri Niurenus, published a proper catechism, the *Same nolmay catechesis*. An indication of its overall incomprehensibility is suggested by the fact that even its title is incorrect: *Same nolmay* should be *Samen olmay*, 'of people of Sami'. We do not know if the mistake was made by Olaus Petri Niurenus or by the compositor at the printing press.

12 Nicolaus Andreae Rehn, *En lijten Sångebook, huruledes Messan skal hållas, läsas eller siungas, på Lappesko. Stält och sammansatt Aff Nicolao Andreae Pastore in Pitha* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1619), USTC 251342; Wiklund, 'Första lappska böckerna', p. 18; Sven Ingemar Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Carl IX och Gustaf II Adolf', in Gunnar Westin, Sven Ingemar Olofsson, and Åke Stille (eds.), *Övre Norrlands historia, 11: Tiden till 1600–1721* (Umeå: Norrbottens och Västerbottens läns landsting, 1965), pp. 279–80.

13 Wiklund, 'Första lappska böckerna', pp. 24–7.

Whoever the translator was, it is evident that he knew little or no Sami. The possible method had been to let a Sami speaker orally improvise upon the text of the Swedish catechism and the 'translator' had written down what he had heard. When the task became too hard, the parts which had already been published in Nicolaus Andreae's primer were used. The result is that there are two inconsistent texts: one poor and the second even poorer.¹⁴

In 1648 a Sami handbook, *Manuale Lapponicum*, was published in Stockholm. It was translated by Johannes Tornaues, a clergyman in Nedertorneå (in Swedish, Alatornio in Finnish). In his dedication to Queen Kristina, he followed the ideas of Nicolaus Andreae: the word of God belongs to everybody. Tornaues mentions the difficulties in teaching Christianity to Sami people and hopes that this manual might help in eradicating all superstition and idolatry from the area. Tornaues confessed that the Sami language was totally unknown to him when he first took up his position. He was aware, however, that there were many Sami dialects and used several native speakers as translators to make the book understandable for everybody. *Manuale Lapponicum* was translated from *Manuale Svecicum*, its larger version (1639), because, according to Tornaues, it was more suitable for the Sami circumstances. Researchers have considered the language of the book to be quite stiff, no doubt the result of Tornaues trying to combine all the languages together. It was, however, understandable to speakers of different Sami languages.¹⁵

From 1619 to 1648, eight books written in Sami, either educational works or church rituals, were published. Four of them were primers, two catechisms and manuals of two different kinds. Several of them were published in both Swedish and Sami. There are, however, no books in Finnish intended for Sami use, or in Finnish and Sami, although some Finnish-speaking pastors did

14 *Same nolmay [sic] catechesis, thet är, vår christeligha hufwud stycken, eller troos articklar medh s.d. Luth. förklarning vppå lappespråk förwendt och aff then edle och wälborne herre, her Johan Skytte, frijherre til Duderoff, herre til Grönsö, Strömsrum och Elffwesiö, riddare, Sweriges rijkes råd och general gubernator i Liffland och Ingermanneland, laghman öffuer Norre Finland, samt Vbsala Academiae cantzler, etc. Bestelt til at tryckias medh eghen omkostnadt. Procurante, O. P. N.* (Stockholm; Ignatius Meurer, 1633), USTC 252402; Wiklund, 'Första lappska böckerna', pp. 20–2; Tuuli Forsgren, 'Böcker och språk i sameundervisningen före 1850. Med facit i hand ...', in Sten Henrysson etc. (eds.), *Samer, präster och skolmästare. Ett kulturellt perspektiv på samernas och Övre Norrlands historia* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1993), p. 37.

15 Johannes Tornaues, *Manuale Lapponicum. Tat lie: braude-kiefe-kirieg joite mij adnestop, nabmatom: ...* (Stockholm: Henric Keyser, 1648), a1–a7, USTC 252444; Just Knud Qvigstad and Karl Bernhard Wiklund, *Bibliographie der Lappischen Litteratur* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1899; repr. Stockholm: Björck & Börjesson, 1978), p. 5; Forsgren, 'Böcker och språk', p. 37.

officiate in Lapland. The books were printed in Stockholm and transported to the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia in order to be sent north to Lapland. Their language was mostly South Sami and Ume Sami spoken in the Umeå district, but *Manuale Lapponicum* can be characterised as mainly North Sami and was therefore only useful in the Torneå area.¹⁶

3 Eastern Orthodox Christians

During the Middle Ages Ingria belonged to Russia, first to Novgorod, then to Moscow. Therefore, the population were mostly Eastern Orthodox Christians by denomination. Lutheranism started to have an influence in Ingria in the 1580s, when the Lutheran preacher of the fortress of Kaprio (in Finnish and Ingrian, Koporje in Russian), Olaus Georgii, worked as a spiritual counsellor. Sweden was interested in acquiring areas from Ingria at the turn of the seventeenth century in the wars between Sweden and Russia, and there were Swedish troops in the area. They were placed not only in the countryside, but in towns as well. The army chaplains were Lutheran and this helped Lutheranism to emerge in the area.¹⁷

After the Peace of Stolbovo in 1617 between Sweden and Russia, Ingria and the Karelian province of Kexholm (Käkisalmi in Finnish and Karelian) were ceded to Sweden. The inhabitants of the newly conquered provinces, the Ingrians and the Karelians, were mainly Eastern Orthodox Christians. The Swedish king allowed them freedom of religion and did not require them to convert to Lutheranism, but from the point of view of the Church, it was very important to teach them the Lutheran religion. The solution was to send Lutheran priests to the area and replace the Eastern Orthodox bishop with a Lutheran one. Moreover, new Eastern Orthodox priests were not allowed to

16 Leonard Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne. Bidrag till kännedomen om prästerskap och kyrkliga förhållanden till tiden omkring Luleå stifts utbrytning* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1923–6), pp. 128–9; Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning*, pp. 22–4; Qvigstad and Wiklund, *Bibliographie*, pp. 9–23; Henrysson, ‘Samernas kristnande’, p. 6. Forsgren, ‘Böcker och språk’, pp. 34, 36–8. The preparing of the religious literature in Sami languages continued still in later part of the seventeenth century. For example, Olaus Sirma translated the catechism by Johannes Gezelius the Elder, although the manuscript was published only in 1913 by Wiklund. See the Chapter 7 by Taarna Valtonen and Kati Kallio in this volume.

17 Mika Sivonen, ‘Inkerin luterilainen kirkko Ruotsin vallan kautena 1611–1702’, in Jouko Sihvo and Jyrki Paaskoski (eds.), *Inkerin kirkon neljä vuosisataa. Kansa, kulttuuri, identiteetti* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015), pp. 18–23.

come from Russia and Eastern Orthodox Christians were told that Lutheranism was not very different from Eastern Orthodox faith.¹⁸

Petrus Bjugg, who was nominated as bishop of Vyborg in 1642, received an order from the Swedish government to direct Eastern Orthodox Christians towards Lutheranism with the help of suitable catechisms. In fact, two catechisms were published. The first was printed in Finnish using Cyrillic script and the other was printed in Russian using Latin script. The first Cyrillic printing no longer exists but a new edition, published in 1644, is still extant.¹⁹ The catechism is known as Selow's Catechism, because it was printed by the Dutch type founder Peter van Selow, who in 1625 had established in Stockholm a printing press which included Cyrillic type. Transliteration into Cyrillic was by the translator Johannes Roselin. The model for the catechism was a Swedish catechism printed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but besides the Swedish texts, the translator used the texts of several Finnish catechisms in constructing the work.²⁰

The people of Ingria and the province of Kexholm spoke the closely related Finnic languages: Ingrian (Izhorian), Votic and Karelian. These languages contained many indigenous and Russian features, but in the seventeenth century, people thought they were closer to Finnish than was actually the case. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, the superintendent (bishop) of Ingria, Johannes Gezelius the Younger (1681–1689), thought that the Ingrian people were in fact Finnish in origin, and had only moved to Russia. During the Ingrian war (1610–17), many Ingrian people had died or fled to Russia. After the Peace of Stolbovo many Finnish people, especially from the eastern parts

18 Martti Parvio, 'Suomalainen katekismus kyrillisin kirjaimin (1644) eli ns. van Selowin katekismus', in *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja*, 75 (1985), pp. 43, 55; Kyösti Väänänen, *Herdamine för Ingermanland, 1: Lutherska stiftsstyrelsen, församlingarnas prästerskap och skollärare i Ingermanland under svenska tiden* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1987), p. 17; Veijo Saloheimo, 'Inkerinmaan asutus ja väestö 1618–1700', in Pekka Nevalainen and Hannes Sihvo (eds.), *Inkeri. Historia, kansa, kulttuuri* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1991), p. 71; Sivonen, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko', p. 23.

19 *Katechismus, eli se christillinen oppi meiden uskon päe kappalegista nuorel ja yxikertaisel kansal sängen tarpellinen. Prentetty somenkelen* (Stockholm: Peter van Selow, 1644), USTC 252400; *Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets protokoll och meddelanden, Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran pöytäkirjat lütiteineen, 1: 1892–1897* (Helsinki: Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundet, 1898), pp. 82–3; K. G. Leinberg, *Handlingar rörande Finska kyrkan och presterskapet 7 vols.* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1898–1907), II, pp. 227, 229, 232; *Suomen kansallisbibliografia*, nos. 2053–5.

20 Parvio, 'Suomalainen katekismus', pp. 45–60; Mika Sivonen, 'Me inkerikot, vatjalaiset ja karjalaiset'. *Uskonnollinen integrointi ja ortodoksisen vähemmistön identiteetin rakentuminen Ruotsin Inkerissä 1680–1702* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007), p. 78.

of Finland, settled in Ingria and the province of Kexholm. These people were Lutheran by denomination.²¹

It is known that the Cyrillic Finnish catechism was much used in Ingria. The work was targeted at Eastern Orthodox priests, who were supposed to use it to teach Lutheranism to Eastern Orthodox Ingrians. In 1644, the same year as Selow's Catechism was published, the first superintendent of Ingria, Heinrich Stahl, reported that even in Eastern Orthodox parishes people knew the whole of Luther's Catechism and understood its contents. However, this is possibly too positive a statement about the knowledge of the common people. Certainly not all of them were willing to give up the Eastern Orthodox faith and resisted when Stahl confiscated their religious books. According to a royal recommendation, Eastern Orthodox priests were to be paid for preaching and giving teaching in Christianity. The idea was to keep Lutherans as well as Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Swedish realm in a state where Eastern Orthodox Christians were willing to flee to Russia and even Lutherans were interested in the Eastern Orthodox religion because Eastern Orthodox priests did not require as much knowledge of the Christian faith as Lutheran clergy did. The fear of flight was real – for example, almost 220 people fled to Russia in the year 1643 alone.²²

4 Native Americans

During the seventeenth century, Sweden was one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, and engaged in colonial expansion. Sweden founded its own colony in North America, New Sweden, in Delaware, the first settlers reaching the mouth of the Delaware River in 1638. The colony was founded for the interests of the state as well as to conduct missionary work among Native

21 Saloheimo, 'Inkerinmaan asutus', pp. 68–71; Kyösti Väänänen, 'Kirkko Inkerinmaalla Ruotsin vallan aikana (n. 1581–1704)', in Pekka Nevalainen and Hannes Sihvo (eds.), *Inkeri. Historia, kansa, kulttuuri* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1991), p. 86; Sivonen, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko', pp. 21–2; Manja Lehto, 'Uhanalainen inkeroinen', *UHLCS* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1998), <http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/uhlcs/projects/databank/lehto/uhanalainen-inkeroinen.htm>, accessed 1 August 2018.

22 Veijo Saloheimo, *Inkerinmaalta ja Käkisalmen läänistä paenneita vuosina 1618–1655* (Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto, 1999), pp. 4, 6–11. Pentti Laasonen, 'Bjugg, Petrus (1587–1655)' (18 July 2000), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), <http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/478>, accessed 3 December 2015; Heininen, 'Vanha Viipurin hiippakunta', pp. 59–61; Laasonen, *Novgorodin imu*, pp. 21–2, 41, 52, 61; Sivonen, *Uskonnollinen integrointi*, p. 78; Sivonen, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko', pp. 21, 34, 38.

Americans. Although the colony was taken over by the Dutch in 1655, Swedish and Finnish people still inhabited the area and were granted permission to have their own government and Lutheran faith. Even after the English took over the colony in 1664, religious freedom was still extended to them.²³

The relationships between the Swedes and the Lenape tribe who lived in the area of New Sweden were mostly friendly. At first, the tribe wanted to kill the Swedish newcomers, but when they found Swedish guns powerful, they changed the strategy and wished to be their friends. The Lenape were also interested in things the Swedish brought with them. Pastors tried to get them interested in the Lutheran faith as well, but without success. Several missionaries from different nations noted that a crucial reason for this unwillingness was the unchristian behaviour presented by Western people, especially the colonists. The Europeans did not live according to their own rules and regulations and this had an adverse effect on missionary work. Besides this, some missionaries merely tried to exploit the natives. They educated and prayed with them as long as the Native Americans had pelts to give them but when this ceased they lost interest. This change did not greatly bother the Swedes, however.²⁴

The first Swedish missionary in the area was Johannes Jonae Holmiensis Campanius (1601–83), who came to New Sweden in 1642 and stayed there for six years. Although there were other priests, Campanius was the one who was most interested in learning the Lenape language and teach Christianity to the tribe. He prepared a manuscript for what became known as the Indian Catechism. It included Luther's *Small Catechism* with an introduction to the language of the Lenape tribe. The catechism manuscript, which was completed in 1646, was aimed at teaching Christianity to the Lenape. After that, Campanius began an evangelical tour in the towns of Native Americans, calling them to listen to the Gospel. Campanius was well-versed in languages, as many Swedish people in Virginia were at that time. He also knew other native languages spoken farther away from the colony. At the end of the Catechism proper and the Lord's Prayer, sections were attached in Native American and Carib languages taken from the Bibles and catechism published earlier. The introduction printed along with the catechism included many useful words,

23 Daniel Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda. Swedishness in Colonial America* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2005), pp. 11, 142–3; Fur, *Colonialism*, pp. 88, 92–3.

24 Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort Beskrifning Om Provincien Nya Sverige uti America, Som nu förtiden af the Engelske kallas Pensylvania. Af lärde och trowärdige Mäns skrifter och berättelser ihopaletad och sammanskrefwen, samt med åthskillige Figurere utzirat af Thomas Campanius Holm.* (Stockholm: Nils Wankijff (widow of), 1702; facs. edn, Stockholm: Rediviva, 1988), pp. 62–6, 124–5; Lindmark, 'Syndiga hedningar', pp. 211–13; Fur, *Colonialism*, p. 259.

for example God, heaven, time, weather, anatomical words, clothes, animals and plants. Besides these, there are phrases and very short discussions to help communication with the local people. These discussions handle daily things like coming and going, trade, fishing and hunting.²⁵

The Indian Catechism was published in 1696 in Stockholm by the grandson of this missionary, Thomas Campanius Holm. It was published in two languages, Swedish and 'American', as Holm labelled it. 'American' means probably the language of the Lenape tribe. Thomas Campanius Holm never visited Pennsylvania himself, but uncovered his grandfather's notes and diaries and was interested in his father's and grandfather's history in America. He even published his grandfather's notes, adding facts taken from the later history of America. This book, entitled *Kort beskrifning om provincien Nya Swerige uti America* ('A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden in America'), was published in Stockholm in 1702.²⁶

During the English rule there were two congregations, Christina in the south and Wicaco in the north. They had their own churches built in 1667 and 1677. In the beginning, the Swedish people did not have a priest of their own, and they depended on a German Lutheran minister for some years. Thereafter the Swede Jacob Young served in Wicaco as a parish clerk until 1686 and Lars Lokenius as a pastor in the southern congregation. However, Lokenius died in 1688. When even the German minister, Jacobus Fabritius, succumbed to blindness, the Swedish parishioners had to rely on lay priests, who could not service them with the sacraments. In the last years of the 1690s two Swedish ministers, Eric Biörck and Andreas Rudman, were appointed missionaries in the area by Archbishop Olaus Svebilius. They also brought a large amount of religious literature with them. Several new churches were built and religious literature was spread among the parishioners.²⁷

When the American Swedes had a large number of basic religious literature in Swedish imported from Sweden, there were also 500 copies of the printed Swedish-Lenape catechism. The total print run of the edition had been

25 Martin Luther, *Lutheri Catechismus, Öfversatt på American-Virginiske Språket* (Stockholm: Georg Gottlieb Burchardi, 1696), pp. 130–53, USTC 262337–262338; Teddy Brunius, 'Efterskrift', in Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort Beskrifning Om Provincien Nya Swerige uti America* (Stockholm: Rediviva, 1988), p. 142; C. A. Weslager, *New Sweden on the Delaware: 1638–1655. A Special Edition for the Swedish-American Celebration* (Wilmington: The Middle Atlantic Press, 1988), p. 104; Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda*, p. 143.

26 Brunius, 'Efterskrift', pp. 142–3.

27 Daniel Lindmark, *Reading, Writing and Schooling. Swedish Practices of Education and Literacy, 1650–1880* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2004), p. 124; Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda*, pp. 11–12.

900 copies. There were two additional book shipments in 1697 and 1699. The Lenape catechism was included in both of them; in 1699 a hundred copies of it were sent to America, and most likely it was distributed among the Swedes.²⁸

The catechism was targeted at the Swedes and Lenape tribe alike, but probably it was used mostly among the Swedes. As a bilingual book it was useful in the religious education of the Swedes, but it also had a great symbolic value. In a long preface, Sweden's presence in America was validated and the book consisted of many printed symbols, which told the American Swedes about their former homeland and the care shown by the Swedish king towards his American subjects. The Lenape tribe mostly left the area at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the linguistic value of the book was smaller than planned during the publication process.²⁹

5 The Significance of the Catechisms for Sami, Orthodox Christians and Native Americans

The motivation for the mission to America was twofold – the Swedish realm was to be united and in this respect a common faith and confession were important. For the Lutheran church, a common faith was even more important, and as a consequence the Church emphasised the meaning of the Lutheran confession even more than the notion of secular power. For Lutherans, the catechism was the most important means to teach Christianity and was consequently among the first books printed for nations who did not yet follow the Lutheran faith. All the catechisms as well as the primers mentioned above were published in order to teach Christianity, but how might they have been used and for whom were they primarily published?

It is most likely that all the texts were written for priests and clergy, for in general, the common people were at that time largely illiterate. But additionally, these books were the first attempts to create a written form of Sami and the Native American languages spoken in the Swedish colony. Moreover, if they had been written for the common people, they would very likely have included the alphabet, but they did not. Only the Sami primers had an alphabet. Sami primers and the Lenape Catechism were printed in two languages, as were the Sami manuals. They were obviously designed for Swedish clergy who did not know Sami or Native American languages, but could read the texts with the help of the accompanying Swedish text. They could learn the languages

²⁸ Lindmark, *Reading, Writing and Schooling*, pp. 126–9.

²⁹ Lindmark, *Reading, Writing and Schooling*, pp. 134–5.

from the catechisms as well. The bilingual vocabulary at the end of the Indian Catechism supports this view, and of course the printed language has the effect of regularising the linguistic forms of these languages.

Vocabulary helped the Swedish people to communicate with the Lenape tribe over daily issues. However, the delay in the publication process changed the original target of the catechism. It was published only at the end of the seventeenth century, when almost all the Lenape were leaving or had already left the area and the Swedish congregation suffered from the lack of catechisms. The catechism became more a symbol of the Swedish crown and faith and an aid for teaching Christianity to the Swedes than a tool for communication and conversion of the Lenape tribe.

There was no Swedish text in the first Sami catechism from 1633; using it also required the officiating clergyman to know at least some Sami. But even this was not of great help, however, because the language of the catechism was so poor that the Sami people themselves did not understand it and a clergyman who knew Sami would probably not have used it because of its incomprehensibility.

Selow's Catechism was in Finnish in Cyrillic script. It is unlikely, however, that the Swedish or Finnish clergy sent to Ingria could read Cyrillic. The catechism must therefore have been primarily intended for Eastern Orthodox priests to teach the Lutheran faith, and they were indeed paid to teach this catechism to Eastern Orthodox Ingrians. How eager they were to do this, we do not know. According to contemporary sources, even Eastern Orthodox observers knew Luther's Catechism at that time and Selow's Catechism was frequently used in Ingria. This is, however, quite difficult to believe. Eastern Orthodox priests generally knew little Finnish and without the knowledge of the language, it was hard to use Selow's Catechism in teaching with any great success. It is possible that superintendents Heinrich Stahl and Johannes Gezelius the Younger wanted to stress the results of making the Ingrian people Lutheran and consequently gave exaggeratedly positive reports on the confessional state and knowledge of Lutheran Christianity in the area.

In the missionary work of the Swedish church in the seventeenth century, many challenges came together at the same time. One of the hardest was difference in languages, which made it difficult to communicate with the local people directly. As we have seen above, several attempts were made to make communication easier by publishing catechisms in local languages. Unfortunately, though, many of the publications were of poor quality, owing to translations that were not comprehensible to the local people. The other challenge was to make the Lutheran faith so inviting that the indigenous population would adopt it in place of their own rituals and habits. Here too the level of success was far from satisfactory.

Appendix 6.1. Catechisms and Publications with Catechetical Texts Mentioned in This Chapter

Ericus Erici Sorolainen

Wähä catechismus, erinomaisten kysymisten ja wastausten cansa, vlgoswedety Suomen kielen catechismuxesta, ensistä oppiwaisten tähden. Ericus Erici episc. Aboënsis. – Präntätty Stockholmis: Ignatius Meurerildä, anno 1629 – [120] p.; 12:0.

A–E12. – In Finnish. – The first edition was published probably in 1614.

Finno, Jacobus Petri

Catechismus eli sen christilisen opin pää cappalet, lyhykäisen vluos [!] toimittuxen cansa, yxikertaisil inhimisil sangen tarpelinen. Mutta nytt toisen kerran wastwdest. – Stockholmin caupungis präntätty: Christ: Reusnerildä, sinä 1615 wuona, jälken Christuxen syndymän. – [72] p.; 8:0.

A–D8 E 4. – In Finnish.

Gezelius, Johannes the Elder

Ett rätt barna-klenodium är I. ABC-boken. II. Catechismus. III. Spörmålen. IV. Skrifftenes språk. – Åbo: tryckt aff Peter Hansson, år 1666. – [104] p.; 8:0.

π1, A7 B–F8 G4. – In Swedish.

Gezelius, Johannes the Elder

Yxi lasten paras tavara on I. ABC kirja. II. Catechismus. III. Kysymyxyet. IV. P. Raamatun erinomaiset opetus sanat. – Turusa: präntätty Petar Hannuxen pojalda, wuona 1666. – [96] p.; 8:0.

A–F8. – In Finnish.

Katechismus, eli se christillinen oppi meiden uskon päe kappalegista nuorel ja yxikertaisel kansal sangen tarpellinen. Prentetty somenkelen. – Stukkolmis: Peter Fanselaulda, 1644 wuona jälken Chirstuxen syndimen. – [88] p.; 8:0.

A–E8 F4. – *Text in Finnish with Slavonic script. 2. edition?*

Luther, Martin

Catechimus [!] Se on christilisen opin pääcappaleet, d. Martinus Lutherin vlostomituxen cansa, soomen kielen tulkitut. Lyhykäisen esipuheen cansa, iosa yxikertaisesta tietäväxi tehdän, quinga itze cukin christitty, hänens swren hödytyxen cansa ioca päivä Catechismuxessa harioitta machta. Simonis Iohannis Carelij culutuxel vlos käynyt, ia – Prentätty Rostokissa: Staffan Mylly mieheldä, Vääna Christuxen syndymän jälkeen, 1607. – [72] p.; 12:0.

A–C12. – In Finnish. – Printing year in Roman numerals.

Luther, Martin

D. Martinus Lutheruxen Catechismus se suurembi hänen cuningallisen Majj:tins cuningas Carlein, sen XI. Ruotzin, Göthein, ja Wendein, etc. etc. suurwoimallissimman cuningan ja herran armollisimman käskystä, ja culutuxella. Suomexi käätyt Jacobo Raumanno pastore & praeposito in Birckala. – Turusa: Prändäty Johann Winterildä, anno 1674. – [16], 240 p.; 4:0.

a–b4, A–2G4. – In Finnish.

Luther, Martin

Lutheri Catechismus, Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket. – Stockholm: tryckt vthi thet af Kongl. Maytz. privileg. Burchardi tryckeri, af J. J. Genath, f. anno M DC XCVI (1696). – 16, [160] p; 8:0.

1 leaf, a8, A–K8. – Instructions in Swedish, the catechetical texts in ‘American’ (probably the language of Lenape tribe).

Luther, Martin

Same nolmay [sic] catechesis, thet är, vår christeligha hufwud stycken, eller troos articklar medh s.d. Luth. förklarning vppå lappespråk förwendt och aff then edle och wälborne herre, her Johan Skytte, frijherre til Duderoff, herre til Grönsöö, Strömsrum och Elffwesjö, riddare, Sweriges rikkes rådth och general gubernator i Liffland och Ingermanneland, laghman öffuer Norre Finland, sampt Vbsala Academiae cantzler, etc. Bestelt til at tryckias medh eghen omkostnadt. Procurante, O. P. N.

– Stockholm: [Ignatius Meurer], anno M DC XXX III (1633). – [40] p.; 8:0.

A–B8 C4. – In Sami. – Printer from the database Libris.

Rehn, Nicolaus Andreae

ABCbook på lappesko tungomål, / stält och reformerat aff Nicolao Andreae. – Stockholm: [Ignatius Meurer], 1619.

Rehn, Nicolaus Andreae

En lijten sångebook, huruledes messan skal hållas, läsas, eller siungas, på lappesko, stält och sammansatt aff Nicolao Andreae pastore in Pitha. – Tryckt i Stockholm: hoos Ignatium Meurer, år 1619. – 20, [76] p.; 4:0.

a–b4 c2, A–I4 K2. – Texts in Sami, instructions in Swedish.

Svebilus, Olaus

Enfaldig förklaring öfwer Lutheri lilla catechismum, stält genom spörsmåhl och swar. – Upsala: Tryckt af Henrich Keyser, Kongl. M. och Acad. boktr., år 1689. – (1) 2–104 p.; 12:0.

(1) leaf, (2, a12 b6.

Tornaeus, Johannes

Manuale Lapponicum. Tat lie: braude-kiefe-kirieg joite mij adnestop, nabmatom: I. Konuk Dawidin psaltar. II. Salomoni pakowaijase. III. Salomoni sarnotee. IV. Jesus Syrachin kirie. v. Catechesis D. M. L. tain kåte-pakatusin. VI. Ahte utza kircko-ordnik. VII. Ewangelia ia epistoleg, collectae ia rockolwasa färte sodnopäiwin ia passe päiwin pirra jäge. VIII. Christusen pijdnen historia. IX. Jerusalemi häwätemen pirra. X. Ahte utza psalm-kirie. XI. Ahte utza råckolwas-kirie. Mijen armokas rättik buda manga, tackatom same-kiel, ja sinun Maijestetin rudoin trycketom. – Stockholmis: Henrich Keyser ludni, tan jägen 1648. – (32), 1–259 p.; 1–62 p.; 1–22 (1) p.; 1–112 p.; (3) 4–52 p.; (2) 3–192 (eg: 214) p.; (1) 2–41 (1) p.; (1) 2–131 (9) p.; (1) 2–48 p.; 8:o.

a–b8, A–2Y8 Z4 3A–3D4 E2, A–L8 M6. – In Sami.