

was to gather plants and knowledge that could be put to use in Nordic farming and manufacture, and Kalm diligently collected potentially useful material and meticulously noted its characteristics. He had hoped to collect his material into a *Flora Canadensis* but never managed to complete this work. Instead, his greatest scholarly achievement is preserved in his journal in four volumes from his travels to North America. The first was published already in 1753, the second followed in 1756, and the third in 1761. However, when Kalm had finished the fourth volume in 1777, public interest in his journeys had waned and he could no longer find a publisher. He donated the unpublished manuscript and the diaries to the library of Åbo Academy, where they burned up in the great city fire in 1827. The printed volumes, plus copies of the manuscript of volume four remained and have since been reprinted and translated. The first three volumes are generally chronological while the fourth has a thematic character. In his journal, Kalm shows himself to be a faithful Linnaean disciple. He observes from a distance and classifies all that he sees. He brings along a mental grid based on the scientific methods Linnaeus had developed that structures his observations. Because of this there is an enormous amount of valuable information to be gathered from his journal regarding outer form, characteristics, and uses of rocks, plants, and animals in the New World.

Kalm's detailed, meticulous account ensures him a place among the most useful sources for Northeastern woodlands indigenous culture during the eighteenth century. The descriptive meth-

od he brought to America shows both strengths and weaknesses in his contribution to knowledge about non-white cultures. It produced a wealth of detail regarding clothes, adornments, dances, and trade items but rarely afforded any glimpses

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of indigenous peoples' thoughts or gave reasons for their actions. His notes convey a great deal of information on material objects, but not on the meanings they carried. Kalm described and organized categories, but did not identify individuals. He based his descriptions on his own observations in combination with references to European authorities in the American colonies. In this way, indigenous people appear as ethnographic objects, not as part of history or participants in contemporary society.

Pehr Kalm was the first Finnish scholar and naturalist to visit Canada. His keen eye and practised skills of observation preserved in his travel journals provide a unique and valuable account of European habitation in eastern Canada and the natural environment of that settlement. He laid the foundation for natural history in both Canada and Finland, and his work greatly aids the study of the changes brought by European colonization. He and his family forged a link between the first Finnish and Swedish settlement in the New World and later waves of migration. Through him, *Norra Amerika* became a tangible and relevant reference for Nordic scholars and naturalists.

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