

he added illustrations in the margins of the text. These often portrayed constructions that might be usefully adapted to Finnish conditions, such as when he described a contraption for capturing fish in the river which he observed on this way between Trois-Rivières and Québec.

People and settlements also elicited comments. He wrote descriptions of farming practices, fences, the French spoken in the New World, the form of government and religious practices. He frequently commented on the existence of convents, remarking on the practices of several different orders, and expressed admiration for the Ursulines. Every now and then the systematic observer allowed himself a personal comment on his experiences. He noted the first time he tasted beaver, a delicacy he was unable to appreciate. He commented that women in Canada often spoke disparagingly of visitors who did not dress or behave in the manner they considered fashionable and proper. They, he wrote, adhere to what they think is the highest French fashion, but because of the great distance to Paris, they often lag behind. Yet, he described Canadians in general as civilized and well-mannered, treating guests royally.



Pehr Kalm (1716-1779), by Johann Georg Geitel (believed to be image of Kalm). Photo: Wikipedia.

Indigenous people received a different treatment in his journal. On the day Kalm's company crossed over into Canada, he reported a frightening near-encounter. "Wild Americans who belong to the French" traversed the region in search of revenge on the British for a recent killing, and had preceded them on the path only hours before. Kalm thanked God that his group had been spared certain death. Throughout his travels Kalm inserted information regarding the indigenous peoples of Canada, almost always second-hand accounts emphasizing what the narrator viewed as their strangeness and brutal nature. His first actual encounter with Canada's indigenous people occurred in the vicinity of Fort Saint-Frédéric, which prompted Kalm to describe a man who had painted his face half black and half red, with silver earrings and hair shaved off the head. As they camped along Lake Champlain, they now and then observed Abenakis fishing from their birch bark canoes. Kalm remarked that the Abenakis subsisted seasonally on the harvest from corn, bean, and squash plantations, from fishing, and from meat from deer which they hunted. They "live long, have strong health, can withstand more difficulties and fatigue than others [...] and far from wish to change their way of living to that of the most comfortable European." In general, Kalm regarded European settlers with interest and often interacted with them, but maintained a distance, both physically and intellectually, to the First Nations. He primarily relayed ethnographic observations of Canada's indigenous peoples, but did not relate directly to any of them. His journals contain no conversations with named members of First Nations, in sharp contrast to his interactions with Europeans, whom he frequently identified with both name and position. Language barriers hindered him from direct contact with indigenous Canadians, but more so did the fear that enveloped him and his white guides. "Wild Americans" appeared hostile and threatening. Linnaeus urged him in letters to go further north and west, but Kalm declined out of fear for his own security to venture that far into indigenous country.

Instead, returning from Québec, Kalm visited the Niagara Falls and braved travelling through