

# A Real Death. A True Resurrection.



## Chapter Three

### The Suffering of Jesus Christ

From the Arrest to the Crucifixion at Golgotha

Your soul is grief unbounded,  
Your head with thorns surrounded,  
You died to ransom me,  
The cross for me enduring,  
The crown for me receiving,  
You bled my wounds  
and set me free.

Quintus depicts the betrayal of Christ with power and pathos. The faces of the participants reveal their thoughts and words. Carrying out the temple priests' will, the men surround Jesus with violence. Feeling guilty, Judas Iscariot has betrayed and drinks from Jesus' disappointment, moving away from the light emanating from Christ. The soldiers pull and push at Jesus, who seems calm and at ease.

#### The Trials of Jesus

Jesus' hour was at hand, the hour of His deliverance into the hands of sinners, death, and, to all appearances, the power of the devil. Jesus' betrayal and deliverance into the chains of the kingdom of evil was essential to His arrest, trial, scourging, and bearing of the cross. Here the Son of God was truly seen as the Son of Man, whose surrender to His Father and to humanity in suffering shows the very heart and nature of God. In Jesus, the Suffering Servant, humanity finds God most deeply condescended in the flesh to remove humanity to God's life for His creature.

Following His arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus was taken before the Jewish Sanhedrin and accused of crimes against Jewish law. According to scripture and Jewish historians, during His trials before the Sanhedrin and while being searched to the Roman authorities, Jesus was beaten on the head and lashed with rods, though Jesus' skin probably was swollen and sensitive from the beatings. And during His trials, the Sanhedrin's ruler and Pilate's handmaid. And during His trials, the Sanhedrin's ruler and Pilate's handmaid. And during His trials, the Sanhedrin's ruler and Pilate's handmaid.

The very heart of God revealed His resurrection is reflected in the incarnation of His Son and extended to His creature through Jesus' death and resurrection. Through His prayer, His true eyes on God's Son in Jesus, faithful and everlasting God, You did not spare Your only Son but delivered Him up for us all.

To hear our sins in the cross, Christ that our hearts may be no bond with sinners but to Him that we free are the power of His death, and the death through the same Jesus Christ, our Lord, who lives and reigns with You and the Holy Spirit, one God, now and forever. Amen.

## He Was Crucified: Reflections on the Passion of Christ

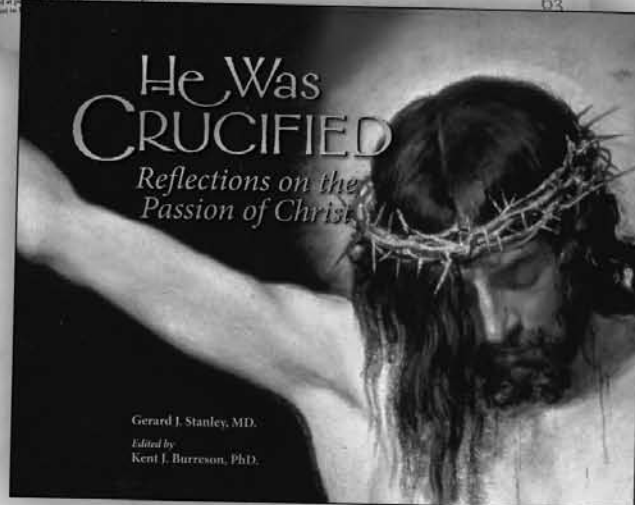
By Gerald Joseph Stanley Sr., MD.;  
edited by Kent J. Burreson, PhD.

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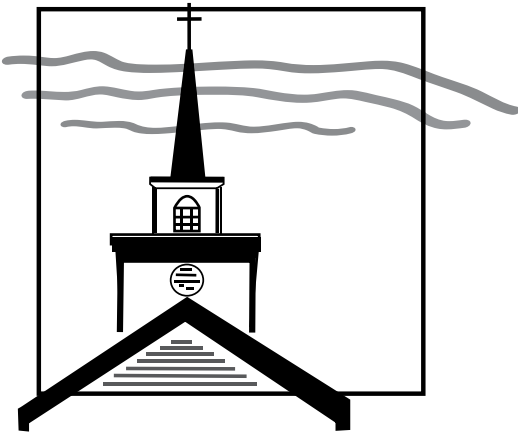
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## LAUGHING WITH THE LENAPE

*Kim-Eric Williams*

In 1647 a Huron and convert to Roman Catholicism by the name of Charles Ondaaiandient visited New Sweden in the Delaware Valley. He was astounded to observe “acts of levity” between Swedish men and Susquehannock women. He reproached the Swedes for their indifference to the salvation of these people and for being only interested in the fur trade.<sup>1</sup> The observer does not say that they were laughing *at* each other, but *with* each other. This was the interior tribe, often called the Minquas, with whom the Swedes had their most developed trading relationship. Of course they could communicate, seemed to acknowledge their differences, and even were relaxed together.

Yet the relationship between New Sweden and the Indians<sup>2</sup> is unique in the annals of European colonization of the Americas. Unlike New Netherland, Virginia, and New England, where wars were waged against the Indians and massacres occurred on both sides, only eight Swedes were killed by the Indians and no records exist of Indians being killed by the Swedes. In the isolated cases of violence against the Swedes, the Swedish governors used local Lenape law to restore order and restitution was quickly produced.<sup>3</sup> The Swedes were *Koores* to the Lenape, while the English, Germans, and Dutch were together classified as *Senoares*.

From the beginning of the American colonial venture, there were crosscultural challenges. When the Netherlanders Samuel Blommert, Peter Spiring, and Peter Minit approached the Swedish court in 1636, the model of the Dutch West India Company was foremost in their minds. They were also mindful of the 1632 disaster on the Delaware Bay when all of the inhabitants of Swanendael were massacred by the Indians. They felt that they could do better, and Chancellor Oxenstierna was convinced that they were correct.

The first voyage to the Delaware Valley was in a Dutch-built pinnace, the *Kalmar Nyckel*, and a smaller Swedish vessel, the *Fogel Grip*, with a mostly Dutch crew and all of the supplies bought in Amsterdam. The charter and the land treaties with the Indians were written in Dutch. Dutch merchants shared 50% in the venture at the beginning but were bought out in 1642 when profits seemed ephemeral.

The purpose of the venture was to make money from

trade in furs and tobacco but not to settle the area permanently, except as was needed for agricultural supplies. Minit knew the area well, having been director of the West India Company for six years at New Amsterdam. He must have known about the war between the Susquehannocks and the Lenape in 1634 that left the Delaware Valley sparsely inhabited. He also knew that the Great Minquas Path ended in what was to become Ft. Christina on a tributary to the Delaware River. It was not the local Lenape who would be the major source of income for the New Sweden Company but their Susquehannock and Minquas rivals to the west who were allied with the Iroquois.

The River Indians or Lenape numbered eight to twelve thousand in 1638. Those north of the Raritan River spoke Munsee and those south spoke Unami, two dissimilar but related dialects. They were part of the large group of six Algonquin nations. Their name means literally “real people,” “our men,” or “ordinary person.” (Since the word “Lenni” also means “real,” the older term “Lenni-Lenape” is redundant and no longer in use.<sup>4</sup>) By 1700 their numbers were reduced to about three thousand.<sup>5</sup> Diseases to which the natives had no immunity such as typhus, dysentery, measles, and especially smallpox ravaged their villages in 1663, 1677, and 1694. Luckily they were immune to syphilis, though the Europeans were not.<sup>6</sup>

The Europeans at first had no understanding of the differences between various groups. Only gradually did they come to distinguish them. Even today there are 143 native languages in use in America, including Lenape still living in Oklahoma, Ontario, Canada, and a few spots in their original area. Archeological evidence indicates that they have been inhabiting the Delaware Valley since at least 10,000 BC.<sup>7</sup> Two or more clans usually lived together in a band of no more than two hundred individuals along the inland banks of the rivers and creeks. They lived in bark homes (wigwams) that were scattered about, not in fortified villages like the Susquehannocks. These differences were not obvious to Thomas Campanius Holm, whose engravings in his 1702 *Kort Beskrifning om Provincken Nya Sverige uti America* are fallacious in almost all of their details.

In each of the thirty to forty villages of Lenapehoking,

the Unami area of New Sweden, there was a *sachem* or chieftain. This man was chosen by a wise woman in the village, the so-called “chiefmaker.” The society was matrilineal and women were very highly valued. Thus the murder of a woman was considered to require twice the reparation of that of a man. Women tilled the soil, making sure that there was enough maize, beans, and squash to eat. They were potters and tanned hides and made clothing. They were in charge of child-rearing. The men built the wigwams, did the hunting and fishing, and made their own bows, arrows, canoes, and tools. A council of elders ruled with the chief but always in consort with the village’s matron. Each village was independent. A communal hunt in the spring and fall brought the community together. There were herbalists who were highly esteemed by the Swedes but who refused to share their ingredients. A shaman who could perform powwow was called when severe illness struck.

While it is estimated that their lifespan was short, usually about thirty-five years, they were unusually healthy and vigorous according to European reports. Thus Per Lindeström, the chronicler who wrote the most about these Indians, and who was excessively quoted by Thomas Campanius Holm, has this to say:

These wild people in New Sweden, they are not called wild because we believe them to be mad and insane, but on account of their idolatry and error in religion. They are a kind of people of brownish color, quite skillful in working with their hands, willing, clever, and ready to learn and grasp a thing... A well-proportioned people, slender and straight as a candle... It is a brave people, daring, revengeful; are eager for war, fearless, heroic, strong in their arms, but very weak across the back, very agile, and limber, running like horses and have the scent of

animals like dogs; have a good memory, are intimate in conversation, industrious, and diligent, clever, charitable, wide awake, bold, inquisitive, patient and hardened to much hardship.<sup>8</sup>

How nice if he had stopped there. But he continues: “On the other hand, they are also very mischievous, haughty, are eager for praise, wanton, bestial, mistrustful, untruthful and thievish, dishonorable, coarse in their affections, shameless and unchaste.”<sup>9</sup>

The cultural divide was indeed wide. The Indians had no concept of private property but believed that everything was for the use of everyone. The creator had given the land to all the people and it could not be sold. It would be like selling the air. Thus the land deeds were mainly of use against other Europeans; they had no meaning for the Indians who just wanted to have traders close at hand and who expected that in return for the use of the land the Europeans would continue to make regular payments to them.

Because of their low population, the Lenape made little demands on the land, and saw themselves as living in harmony with it. Their language had no way to differentiate male and female but only animate and inanimate. Thus people, animals, fish, and large trees were animate, while stones, grass, and annual plants were inanimate.<sup>10</sup> Humans were not thought more important than the flora and fauna, which had a place in the afterlife too. Being animists, religion was part of all of their life, and even a hunt was considered a religious act. There was a creator, *Kishëlemukòng*, who dwelt in the twelfth heaven and sent his spirits to assist and protect people. There was also a belief in wood dwarves and guardian spirits.<sup>11</sup>

They had no metallurgy and had never seen either alcohol or guns and gunpowder. Thus metal kettles, axes, hoes, and glass beads were of immense interest to them, as well as the weapons and intoxicants. On the other

hand, the furs of the wild animals had little value to them and they felt that they made out well in their trade with the Europeans. While there are stories of the Indians often being cheated, it could also work the other way, such as when an Indian presented an eagle to a newly arrived German who had ordered a turkey. When the German complained and told him about the characteristics of an eagle versus a turkey, the Indian replied to a nearby Swede that he did not think that such a high German would already know the birds of this country.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to the English and Dutch who were urbanized and merchants, the Swedes and Finns who came to America between 1638 and 1664 were rural people who lived in the forests. Among these, the immigrants from Finnskogan in Värmland had an especially adapted arboreal culture that was remarkably similar to the Lenape. Both used slash and burn (*svedjebruk, huuhta*) techniques that gave remarkable yields, were skilled in hunting and fishing, used a sauna, *bastu*, or sweat lodge, took little cognizance of property boundaries, and were expert handcrafters. One also wonders if the strictures in the Archbishop Swebelius Catechism of 1689 against the worship of the sun, moon, and mythical creatures in the forest does not indicate a practical Swedish religiosity that was parallel to many features of Lenape religion.<sup>13</sup>

By far the most important consideration for the Lenape was that there were not many Swedes and Finns in New Sweden. For most of its brief history, the number was around two hundred. The last voyage in 1654, with *Örnan* and the last governor, brought two hundred fifty immigrants to a colony which had no more than seventy-five survivors. These small numbers were an advantage for the Lenape. They knew the Swedes were weak and posed no military threat. The lack of supply ships meant fewer foreign diseases to combat. The Swedes were also conveniently located between the larger and stronger English in Vir-

ginia and Maryland and the Dutch in New Amsterdam. Being in the middle allowed New Sweden to trade with the other European colonies and with the local Lenape and the Susquehannock from the interior with their plentiful fur supplies.<sup>14</sup> With almost no support from the homeland, the Swedes had to trade to survive and navigated many of the rivers, learning the Lenape tongue along the way. They became multilingual from necessity.

The Indians controlled the means of barter, insisting on the use of *sewant* or wampum to control the prices. This did not exist locally but had to come from the Narragansett Bay area to the north.<sup>15</sup> It was crafted of beads made from clam shells and was thought to have supernatural powers, protecting those who used it from evil. When the Dutch tried to replicate it, the imitation was immediately noticed and rejected.<sup>16</sup>

A major difficulty in assessing the relationship between the Swedes and the Lenape is the absence of Lenape documentation. They were a narrative rather than a literary culture. For much of their viewpoint we are dependent on Moravian sources, who had a major and successful mission with them in the eighteenth century. They of course had their own Germanic, European limitations. Governmental records are also scanty, mostly nonexistent until the eighteenth century. Thus we do not know from the records how intimate were the relationships between Indian women and Swedish men. Only one official record of marriage exists. The Lenape themselves had no concept of adultery. Their analogous word *kimiwipensen* means to “sleep secretly” with someone. Since their society was matrilineal there were no illegitimate births. Lenape society was not nearly so monogamous as the official European ideal. There is one record of Lenape suspicion that Europeans wanted Lenape women to till the soil, as the Lenape watched the Swedes plough and sow, doing “women’s work.”<sup>17</sup> Yet food customs, and the Lenape habit of being always

smearred with bear fat, reminded each other of their differences.

Neither the Dutch nor the English evinced any missionary interest in the Indians. The famous Puritan minister Cotton Mather of Massachusetts declared that “we must either convert these tawny serpents or annihilate them.”<sup>18</sup> Worse yet were the *domines* (Reformed ministers) of New Netherland where in 1628 John Michälius

*Campanius’s translation  
of the Small Catechism  
was the first book  
published in an  
Algonquin language  
and valued the Native  
Americans as equal  
members of the church.*

exclaimed: “As to the natives of this country, I find them savage and wild, strangers to all decency, yea uncivil and stupid as garden poles, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness; devilish men, who serve nobody but the Devil.”<sup>19</sup> He said about their speech, “In truth it is a made-up childish language so that even those who can best of all speak with the savages, and get along well in trade, are nevertheless wholly in the dark and bewildered when they hear the savages talking among themselves.”<sup>20</sup>

No attempts to bring Christianity to the Indians occurred in New Netherland and it was not until 1663 that John Eliot translated the Bible into Algonquian and established his “praying villages” in Massachusetts. In Virginia, disease reduced the population from about twenty-five thousand in 1607 to two thousand in 1700, while the non-Indians increased to a hundred thousand.<sup>21</sup> To the north, Roman Catholic missionaries had great success, seeing a church grow from three

thousand in 1650 to seventy-five thousand by 1763.<sup>22</sup>

When the most famous of the New Sweden governors, Johan Printz, arrived in 1643 he brought with him specific instructions from Queen Christina. In a much-quoted passage, this former Thirty Years’ War officer and theological student was admonished to deal fairly with the Indians, give them better prices than the Dutch and English, and convert them to Christianity.

The wild nations, bordering upon all other sides, the governor shall know how to treat with all humanity and respect, that no violence or wrong be done to them by the people of Her Royal Majesty... but shall rather at every opportunity exert himself that the same wild people may gradually be instructed in the true Christian religion and worship.<sup>23</sup>

Of course Printz was a hardened soldier, nicknamed Big Belly (*Stora Buken*) by the Indians, who had never encountered someone of his girth. At over six feet and four hundred pounds, he seemed a sort of mythic figure. He saw the situation from a military standpoint and would have exterminated the Lenape if he had the strength, as a 1644 letter affirms:

The savages here in the West Indies set themselves up against the Christians, in one place after another... yet they do not trust us and we trust them less. Nothing would be better than to send over here a couple hundred soldiers, until we broke the necks of all of them in this river... they are a lot of poor rogues.<sup>24</sup>

He never got the soldiers and got no trade goods from Sweden for six and a half years, either, putting the whole colony in peril since there was then no way to reaffirm their use of the land. Only the force of his personality, his ability to withhold force, and the existing friendships made it possible

for the colony to survive. He felt that the Lenape were poor since the local fur-bearing animals had been hunted to extinction. But if the truth be told, he was dependent on them for maize. There was no time in which the New Sweden colony was self-sufficient in food; the residents preferred to trade in furs and tobacco and buy maize from the Lenape. Sensing a business opportunity, the Lenape accordingly expanded their maize production to deal with higher demands.<sup>25</sup> Learning to make splint wood baskets, they also found a ready market in selling them back to the Swedes.

Despite the 1643 advice of Per Brahe to Printz that “[a]ll rivers and streams, as well as herbs and woods should be called with old Swedish names; abolish all expressions from the Dutch,”<sup>26</sup> most of the names continued to be Lenape, such as the current anglicized geographical names with extraneous vowels removed: Wicacá, Manayunk, Passajunk, Neshaminy, Cinnaminson, Wissahickan, Tulpehocken, Shackamaxon, Rancocas, Appoquinimink, Juniata, Kingessing, and Lehigh. The only three places names left from Swedish are the village of Batsto (*bastu*) in New Jersey, the Christina River, and the Christina’s small and beautiful tributary, the Brandywine (*brännvinskíhl*).

At this time the most famous of the Swedish Lutheran priests, Johan Campanius (1601–1683), arrived with Governor Printz in 1643. He served for five years, built the first church at Tinicum, adjacent to Printz’s home and appropriately called the Printzhof, and learned the Lenape language well enough to teach the natives the fundamentals of Christianity. For this purpose he translated Martin Luther’s Small Catechism into Lenape. When he returned to Sweden, he corrected his manuscript and had it ready for printing when the colony surrendered to the Dutch in 1655. It lay in manuscript until 1696 when his grandson, Thomas Campanius Holm, had it published and sent along with the three priests who renewed the mis-

sion of the Church of Sweden on the Delaware in 1697. Historically it is the first book published in an Algonquin language and displays an attitude that valued the Native Americans as equal members of the church. The first printing of five hundred copies was followed by a hundred more. While the printed copies were used for instruction by famed layman Carl Springer, the books came too late. The kairos had passed and many Lenape had already moved west on a journey that took some of them to Canada and others to the midwest.

It was standard missionary procedure to translate this basic primer of Christianity into the language of the people. Martin Luther had himself emphasized this, so translations of the *Small Catechism* had been made in Stockholm into Russian in 1628 and Finnish in 1644, in an attempt to draw diverse people into the unity of the church as well as the Swedish empire. The preface written by Liljeblad, the royal secretary and censor, is of particular interest in revealing Campanius’s motivation.

Although Nature has not gifted the unbelieving heathen with any especially deep-minded understanding so as to be able to understand the basics of all sorts of subtle scientific knowledge, experience gives testimony to their ability to learn and that they are quite inclined to be instructed in the major portions of the true faith, if they are treated in a peaceful and loving way.<sup>27</sup>

Quoting Campanius, Liljeblad underlines the readiness of the Lenape to become Christians.

I often saw their good inclination in our congregations during divine services. But now it is hidden from their eyes since they know no other language than their native tongue... for this will redound to the noticeable planting and improvement

in God’s congregation, especially in America together with a widespread and discernable increase.<sup>28</sup>

In the text itself, printed in octavo, the Lenape portions are printed in Latin letters and the Swedish portions in Gothic print. He also adds his own “Versio” to each section. Here we see Campanius’s attempt to inculturate the gospel message. Thus after Luther’s explanation to the third commandment, he adds: “Six days you shall plant, cut wood, hunt, fish and such other work. But the seventh day you shall not perform any work but with seriousness and diligence honor

*The fourth petition means  
“everything that our bodies  
desire, such as in eating,  
drinking, clothes, house,  
home, places to plant,  
deer and moose.”*

the divine service.”<sup>29</sup> And to the explanation of the third petition of the Lord’s Prayer, he asks “that the good God’s kingdom may have many people, and that many more may yet daily receive it.”<sup>30</sup> The fourth petition about daily bread means “[e]verything that our bodies desire, so that they shall not suffer any want, such as in eating, drinking, clothes, house, and home, places to plant, deer and moose, and what belongs to the house... along with a pious wife, pious children, and pious servants.”<sup>31</sup> He does not seem to notice that there were no servants in Indian villages and that terms like “male and female servants” were puzzling to the Lenape.

Campanius shared the belief of others that the Lenape and the Susquehannocks were the descendants of the ten lost tribes of ancient Israel. He noted their similar lunar calculations and felt that Hebrew had some

linguistic similarities to the native languages. While far-fetched, this was at least a more progressive anthropology than that of Carl av Linné, who one hundred years later would not even admit American Indians into his system as *Homo sapiens*: all *wildar* were placed into another category.

As a matter of fact, Campanius and most Europeans had not progressed very far in their study of Indian languages. William Penn spoke for many when he said their languages lacked in vocabulary. Per Lindeström said that “it is a poor language... one word having many meanings.”<sup>32</sup> The Campanius Catechism itself is written not in literary Lenape but in a trade jargon or pidgin Lenape that had been developed for trading purposes.<sup>33</sup> Hardly any European had been able to figure out the Lenape compound verbs, where two or more verbs could be combined with adjectives or its eight conjugations and many irregularities. While the catechism is a testimony to the Christian faith, the devotion of Campanius and his love for the Lenape, it cannot be considered a sophisticated Lenape treatise. A more accurate estimate of Lenape was provided by the French-American philologist, Peter S. De Ponceau, when in 1827 he said that “Indian languages are rich in words and grammatical forms, and their general structure displays as much order and method as that of any of those that exist on the face of the earth.”<sup>34</sup>

Already Governor Printz noted that while the Lenape enjoyed the Lutheran liturgy and loved hearing biblical narratives, they were not very willing to be baptized. “[W]hen we speak to them about God, they pay no attention, but they will let it be understood that they are a free people and subject to no one.”<sup>35</sup> A most discerning commentary on the project of bringing Christianity to the Lenape was written by Erik Björck, one of the three priests who arrived in 1697 to renew the mission of the Church of Sweden, serving at Christina (now Wilmington) until 1713. He writes after his return

to Sweden as dean and senior pastor in Falun in 1714:

Here it occurs to me to explain a little about the Indians... They are heathens. They know nothing there of the God whom we invoke and certainly know little more as well about nature. They are themselves content with few and base things. They are satisfied to live far and wide even among many Christians. Their houses are but huts of posts clad with bark. They neither plow nor sow. Their women only plant a little maize, after which they have nothing special to do. They put nothing aside, especially for the winter or for other times, but take each day as it comes. When he needs food, he goes into the forest and shoots a deer or something else. He has drink in every creek or from many nice cold liquors. And he doesn't worry about tomorrow... So the heathens over there without faith live more content and with less perplexity than we with our faith.

And more, what shames us and will condemn all too many Christians is that the gross sins are never found; adultery, murder, thievery, lack of mercy, or even swearing, etc... They are almost all knowledgeable about all sorts of herbs and roots. The forests and swamps are full of those which are healthful. They recognize well the power and usefulness of most of them to heal all types of sickness. Yes, they do that often when they hear that a Christian is sick. They run immediately to him with their herbs and such things to help him.

[W]hen someone speaks to them that they should become Christians, they answer, “If the Christians lived better than we live because of their religion, we would become Christians. But

we are not able to discern that. For we see and hear them drink, fight, commit adultery, murder, steal, lie, defraud, etc. We have never known such things. Thus we would rather remain as we are.”<sup>36</sup>

Björck's comrade Andreas Rudman, who came with him in 1697 and served in Philadelphia, apparently did learn some Lenape since he wrote an eight-line poem in Lenape in 1700 at the matriculation of Magnus Aurivilius.<sup>37</sup> His successor, Andreas Sandel (1702–1719), had a lower opinion of them when he described them to Bishop Jesper Svedberg as “*barbarorum barbarissimi*” in 1714, partly because of their public torture of their enemies. He considered it more humane to torture enemies in private as was the custom in Europe rather than see torture as the prolongation of a battle.<sup>38</sup>

The cultures remained distinct throughout the seventeenth century. The only word from Swedish that came into Lenape was *apel*, one of the things that most impressed the Lenape. In fact during the “Linneaus year” of 2007, a Swedish apple variety called the Rambo apple, which had died out in the homeland in 1708, was brought back to Sweden through the efforts of the Swedish Colonial Society. The Swedes on their side also adopted only one word, *espann*, the Lenape word for raccoon.<sup>39</sup>

Signs of the special relationship between the two peoples remain despite the lack of mass conversions. In 1655 Governor Risingh had through the reports of two Lenape two weeks' notice of the secret Dutch plan to capture the colony. While Peter Stuyvesant was attacking New Sweden, the local Indians, provoked by the Susquehannocks (as it was later thought), attacked Manhattan in the so-called “Peach War.” Seven hundred Indians united in the attack. Twenty-eight farms were destroyed. Fifty Europeans were killed and one hundred women and children were taken captive.<sup>40</sup> Was this revenge


for the Swedes? Or an expression of hatred for the Dutch at a time when they had few military resources? Or both?

Certainly there was the memory of the three Swedes who had agreed to train the Minquas to use arms against other Indians in 1641.<sup>41</sup> And the same tribe had invited the Swedes to move their boundaries west in 1654 when Governor Rising had arrived with plans to stabilize and expand the colony. The Indians wanted the Swedes to settle closer to them for trading purposes and to have the services of a blacksmith.<sup>42</sup>

Soon after the capture of the colony, a new supply ship from Göteborg, the *Mercurius*, arrived on the Delaware. It was March of 1656 but word of the end of the colony had not reached Sweden in time to stop the voyage. On board were a hundred and ten additional settlers. Stuyvesant at first prohibited it from landing and ordered it to New Amsterdam. Then a large party of Lenape warriors surrounded the ship in their canoes and boarded it. They insisted that the people be allowed to stay and that they be allowed to trade for the goods on board or they would kill all of the Dutch and Swedes in the valley. The settlers were landed at Tinicum, the Indians got their trade goods, and Stuyvesant relented.<sup>43</sup>

One of the original three priests to arrive in 1697, Jonas Aurén, had no specific assignment and was sent on missionary journeys with the newly printed catechisms. We have a record of one meeting with the Minquas at Conestoga in 1700 where the chief asked that the Swedes specifically “prohibit drunkenness, enmity, mingling with the wives of others, and other vices.” It became clear that in such an open country no one was able to do much to enforce any sort of discipline, but the chief’s complaints are noteworthy for showing what was going on. This same priest founded a church, St. Mary’s, in what is now North East, Maryland in 1702. When a new vestry house was built in 1970 some graves had to be moved that were marked

with rough fieldstones. The bodies were authenticated as being those of Indians. Was Aurén able to baptize some Indians? So it seems, since they were buried in a churchyard and not in usual distributed manner that was traditional for the Lenape.<sup>44</sup>

We do know exactly how two Lenape *sachems* looked, thanks to the Swedish artist Gustaf Hesselius. In 1735 he painted Lapowinsa and Tishcohan, who had participated in a conference that led up to the notorious “walking purchase.”<sup>45</sup> Here is a nobility of presence and an absence of pretense that shows intense admiration for these tribal leaders. These are the only portraits of Indians from the period that have such evident human character and dignity. Perhaps it was because the painter knew the subjects not as exotic *wildar* but as the Lenape called the Swedes: brothers. 

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#### Notes

1. Ginlög M. Fur, *Cultural Confrontation on Two Fronts: Swedes meet Lenapes and Saamis in the Seventeenth Century*. Unpublished doctoral thesis at the University of Oklahoma (1993), 188.
2. The term “Indian” is used here following the convention of the period about which this article is written.
3. *Ibid.*, 168.
4. Herbert C. Kraft, *The Lenape-Delaware Indian Heritage* (Newark, New Jersey: Lenape, 2001), 7.
5. *Ibid.*, 216.
6. *Ibid.*, 216, 431.
7. Kraft, 14.
8. Peter Lindeström, *Geographica Americae* (1691), trans. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 1925), 191–192.
9. *Ibid.*, 192.
10. David Zeisberger, *Grammar of the Leni [sic] Lenape or Delaware Indians*, trans. Peter S. De Ponceau (Philadelphia: American Philological Society, 1827).
11. Kraft, 16ff.
12. Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort Beskrivning om provinsen Nya Sverige uti America* (Stockholm: Sal. Wankijfs, 1702), 121.
13. Fur, 178.
14. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, “Scandinavian Colonists Confront the New World,” in

*New Sweden in America*, ed. Carol E. Hefecker, et al. (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 94.

15. *Ibid.*, 103.
16. Fur, 157.
17. *Ibid.*, 195.
18. Kraft, 14.
19. *Ibid.*, 14.
20. Fur, 369.
21. *Ibid.*, 216.
22. James A. DeJong, “Expansion World-Wide,” in *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, ed. Tim Dowley (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 473.
23. *The Instruction for Johan Printz*, ed. & trans. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 1930), 78, 80.
24. *Ibid.*, 116–117.
25. Fur, 157.
26. Johnson, 156.
27. *Lutheri Catechismus, Översätt på American-Virginiske Språket*, facsimile of 1696 edition (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1937), a (a) 3. My translation here and in all subsequent quotations.
28. *Ibid.*, a (a) 3.
29. *Ibid.*, 6.
30. *Ibid.*, 49.
31. *Ibid.*, 52.
32. Lindeström, 203.
33. Ives Goddard, “The Delaware Jar-gon,” in *New Sweden in America*, 137ff.
34. Zeisberger, 32.
35. *New Sweden in America*, 96.
36. “Dean Biörck’s Description of the Christians and Heathens in America, 1714,” in *Colonial Records of Swedish Churches in Pennsylvania*, ed. Peter S. Craig, trans. Kim-Eric Williams, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 2006).
37. Isak Collijn, “Notes,” in *Lutheri Catechismus Översätt på American-Virginiske Språket*, 20.
38. Jesper Svedberg, *America Illuminata* (1732) (Stockholm: Peopius Förlag, 1985), 98.
39. I found this in a list of furs that were sent to Bishop Jesper Svedberg in 1714, during my translation of Swedish manuscripts for Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia.
40. C. A. Weslager, *New Sweden on the Delaware, 1638–1655* (Wilmington: Middle Atlantic, 1988), 173.
41. Fur, 178.
42. *Ibid.*, 233.
43. Weslager, 182–187.
44. Kim-Eric Williams, *The Eight Old Swedes’ Churches of New Sweden* (Wilmington: Kalmar Nyckel Museum Institute, 1999), 11.
45. In this plan, Europeans were promised whatever land could be walked around in one day. They posted runners around a huge parcel of Pennsylvania and had them tag each other, since it was not exactly said that only one man could do the running or walking.