Norwegian-American Essays 2025

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NAHA-Norway

Novus Press – Oslo, 2025

CROSSINGS
NORGE & NORD-AMERIKA
1825 · 2025

Det norsk-amerikanske historielaget, Norge

Vol. XVII

ISBN (Open Access) 978-82-8390-176-4
ISBN (Print) 978-82-8390-168-9

Published by

NAHA-Norway

Published with the financial support of

Norwegian Emigrant Museum
ANNO Museums in Hedmark

Cover photo: The arrival of President Calvin Coolidge at the Norse-American Centennial for Norwegian immigration to America on June 6, 1925. The centennial commemoration was heldt at theTwin Cities Fairgrounds, Minnesota June 6-9, 1925. Courtesy of the Norwegian Emigrant Museum.

Copies of this book may be purchased from Novus forlag, www.novus.no

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Introduction

Terje Mikael Hasle Joranger

In July of 1825 a crew and passengers of fifty-two individuals left Stavanger harbor on the sloop *Restauration* destined for the United States. A child was born on the way, and the party, later referred to as the *Sloopers*, arrived in New York harbor on October 9 after 98 days at sea. The passengers on the *Restauration* were pioneers in more than one sense. Firstly, they constituted the first company in modern times to cross the dangers of the Atlantic Ocean on their way to America. *Restauration* has been referred to as "the Norwegian *Mayflower,*" alluding to the comparison with the voyage of the "Pilgrim Fathers" in 1620[1] and the Pilgrims' role in the founding of the British colonies in North America.[2] Secondly, the voyage of the Sloopers in 1825 was a prelude to an organized mass emigration from Norway in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All told, about 900,000 emigrants left Norway between 1825 and about 1980. Norway had the largest number of emigrants in Europe in the nineteenth century in proportion to its population, second only after Ireland.[3]

In 2025 we observe Crossings 200, the bicentennial anniversary and commemoration of the first organized and direct emigration from Norway to North America in 1825. However, Norwegians on both sides of the Atlantic have commemorated the iconic voyage of the *Restauration* at various intervals as public celebrations since the second part of the nineteenth century.

Commemorations of the sailing of the *Restauration*

On July 5, 1875, Norwegians in Chicago commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the sailing of the *Restauration*. According to historian Odd S. Lovoll, their commemoration with a parade and a large open-air folk festival was an occasion where they could display the pride of their place in American society.[4] Fifty years later,

the activities that were launched in conjunction with the Norse-American Centennial represented a spectacular occasion to Norwegian Americans to interpret their position in American society. It also was an occasion where they could present the group's contributions to their new home. A four-day anniversary celebration at the State Fairgrounds in the Twin Cities commemorated the "first Norse Immigration to the United States in 1825 with the Sloop Restaurationen [sic!]." The festival program included a wide variety of cultural events, speeches, concerts, hymns, prayers, and exhibitions. A pageant portrayed the life of Civil War hero Colonel Hans Christian Heg, and several references were made in the centennial program that symbolized the accomplishments of Norwegians following their immigration to America.[5] The highlight of the celebration in the Twin Cities was President Calvin Coolidge's address to a large audience from the Grand Stand in which he endorsed Leif Erikson as the first European discoverer of America.[6] President Coolidge also acknowledged the contributions of Norwegian Americans to American institutions, as well as upholding constitutional rights and promoting "the integrity of the law."[7] According to Norwegian-born author and editor, Waldemar Ager, the centennial was an occasion in which Norwegian Americans could acquire citizenship and the right to participate as an American. It also meant that they could" claim America as their homeland "more on par with descendants of Anglo-Saxon immigrants, who, in general and in a different manner from others, are regarded as rightful Americans."[8] The centennial celebration also was a response to assimilative forces in American society and the preservation of ethnic traits among Norwegian Americans. The traits of preservation and accommodation among Norwegian Americans during the centennial may be regarded as components in a creative and dynamic process in which Norwegian Americans negotiated their position in American society.[9]

The fiftieth and the centennial commemorations of the arrival of the *Restauration* to America were primarily events where Norwegian Americans focused on self-perception and the rightful home of the group in America. On the other hand, the sesquicen-

tennial commemorative events in October, 1975 in America were more focused on the portrayal of Norwegian Americans as a successful immigrant group that was well situated and assimilated but still proud of its Norwegian roots. The 1975 commemorations also focused more on the Norwegian homeland. According to Lovoll, the various commemorative events in America were elitist, among others due to the presence of King Olav V at receptions held at institutions of Norwegian origin in the United States.[10]

The fiftieth and centennial commemorations of the arrival of the *Restauration* in America were not mirrored in Norway. Many Norwegian Americans had visited Norway in 1914, which marked the centennial celebration of the signing of the Eidsvoll constitution and the recent Norwegian independence from Sweden. Norway's 1914 Jubilee Exhibition at the Frogner estate in Kristiania hosted many Norwegian-American visitors. The exhibition portrayed Norway as a modern industrial nation.[11] At the time Norway was still heavily affected by emigration, and Norwegian authorities regarded the emigrant movement as a negative element that was incompatible with the growth of the new nation.[12] In 1975, on the other hand, Norway had become a wealthy nation, and the sesquicentennial commemorations of Norwegian emigration took place in many Norwegian communities. In Stavanger, for example, King Olav participated in a festive dinner, and a celebratory service in the Stavanger Cathedral. US Senators Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale, and Warren Magnuson, and US Representative Al Quie visited the commemorations in Norway.[13] All men represented states with a large Norwegian-American population; Humphrey, Mondale, and Quie represented Minnesota, whereas Magnuson represented Washington state. A Norwegian stamp and a memorial coin were published as a contribution to the commemorations in 1975, and authorities and professionals on various levels in society took part in activities throughout the country.[14]

As in 1975, the 175th anniversary for the first organized emigration from Norway to America in 2000 saw the organization of many commemorative events in Norway and in the United States. Several tours were organized between the Upper Midwest

and Norway, as in 1975, and local celebrations were held across the nation. The city of Stavanger has been the center of the larger activities that have been held. It is also important to mention the existence and establishment of personal ties between individuals in communities on both sides of the Atlantic during the time periods between the larger commemoration years.[15]

Crossings 200

The bicentennial commemoration of Norwegian emigration to North America, named *Crossings 200*, includes actors and events in the United States, Canada, and Norway. Both the United States and Canada are regarded as destinations for Norwegian emigrants. This perspective is a break with earlier commemorations which have focused on the transatlantic connection between Norway and the United States. Crossings 200 serves as a good opportunity to take into account new and under-communicated perspectives on Norwegian emigrant history. Canada has not been a formal part of earlier commemorations on Norwegian transatlantic emigration, and this is probably tied to the centrality of the United States as a recipient of the large bulk of Norwegian emigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, Canada played an integral part of the Norwegian transatlantic migratory movement in two various settings. Firstly, between 1851 and 1865, the majority of Norwegian emigrants followed sailing ships that sailed through Quebec and the St. Lawrence waterway to the Great Lakes bound for the Upper Midwest. Secondly, the exhaustion of agricultural lands in the region and an economic depression from 1893 coincided with an aggressive immigration policy from 1896 to attract American and European agricultural settlers to Canada. The result was the migration of farmers, tenant farmers and farm laborers from the Upper Midwest, including many Norwegian Americans, to western Canada. These included the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, as well as British Columbia. Immigration to Canada directly from Norway started after 1900.[16]

In Norway around 170 public, private, and volunteer organizations make part of a jubilee network and organize projects and ac-

tivities throughout the year. An executive committee is leading the work and serves as a source of inspiration for the large number of events that are planned in the anniversary year. Anno Norwegian Emigrant Museum, supported by the mother organization, Anno museum, is hosting the secretariat and is responsible for the Crossings 200 website. The jubilee will be marked by a range of events and projects organized by participating partners. More information about the various initiatives and events can be found at crossings200.no.

The main objectives of Crossings 200 in Norway are, firstly, to raise awareness of Norwegian emigration, particularly to North America. A second objective is to use knowledge of past emigration to better understand contemporary immigration processes and integration into Norwegian society. The third objective is to foster transatlantic collaboration between Norwegians in Norway and abroad, based on a shared cultural heritage and cooperation. Our shared goal is to celebrate and strengthen connections between Norway and relevant communities, organizations, and institutions in culture, education, tourism, business, and research in North America. Two large events will take place in conjunction with the bicentennial commemoration in 2025, both tied to the sailing of the *Restauration*. On July 4, Stavanger and neighboring municipalities in Rogaland County will organize various events. A large program is being planned in Stavanger in which King Harald and Queen Sonja will take part and will include the sailing of the replica of the *Restauration* built at Finnøy in 2010. The Friends of the Restauration group is planning the sailing of the replica of the *Restauration* with a crew across the Atlantic to New York City along the same route as the original in 1825. The planned arrival of the replica on the historical date of arrival of the original sloop on October 9, 2025, represents the second large event tied to the bicentennial commemoration in 2025. An official program and cultural events hosted by Norwegian cultural actors is being planned to take place on lower Manhattan in conjunction with the arrival of the replica on and around its historical arrival date.

As already noted, the bicentennial commemoration in 2025 involves the participation of networks in Canada and the United

States, respectively, the main destinations for Norwegian mass emigration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The year-long celebration will observe and honor the strong ties between the nations across the Atlantic and encourage reflection on migration, past and present. Just as Norwegians once emigrated to America and other destinations in search of a better life, people now immigrate to Norway in pursuit of freedom, safety, and new opportunities. The anniversary aims to inspire reflection and engagement on the significance of migration, both in the past and today.

Nordic Identity Formation in a Transnational Context

The seventeenth volume of Norwegian-American Essays is published in the commemorative year marking the bicentennial of Norwegian emigration to North America. The theme and content of this volume, "Nordic Identity Formation in a Transnational Context," relates well to the main objectives of Crossings 200. It is based on the topic of the seminar hosted by the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Norway Chapter (NAHA-Norge) in Ottestad and Hamar June 15-18, 2022. The theme of the seminar addresses a neglected field in Norwegian American studies. Traditionally, Norwegian historiography has treated the development of Norwegian immigrants and their descendants in their own right, and the group has only to a limited degree been studied in their encounters with other cultural groups. Counter this traditional focus on Norwegian emigrant history, the topic of the seminar and, consequently, this publication, focus on identity formation among Norwegian immigrants and immigrant groups from other Nordic countries in America from the period of immigration until present. The anthology is peer-reviewed and published by NAHA-Norway.

The first essay in this volume, "Who Sailed on the *Restauration*?" by Knut Djupedal ties Norwegian-American Essays directly to the bicentennial commemoration of Norwegian emigration in 2025. According to Djupedal, the fifty-three individuals who stepped ashore in New York in 1825 and their vessel constitute the onset in the construction and maintenance of a Norwegian-Amer-

ican ethnic identity. The voyage of the *Restauration* has often been referred to as the first organized emigration of Norwegians to the United States despite the fact that there were Norwegians in America long before 1825. Those who sailed in her symbolize the pioneers of an organized beginning to the Norwegian mass migration of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In his essay Djupedal has suggested a list of names both for the crew and passengers on the *Restauration*.

Jørn Brøndal's essay, *Between Pluralism and the Melting Pot: Identity Formation among Danish Immigrants in the United States in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* constitutes one of the keynote lectures at the NAHA-Norway conference in 2022. In his essay, Brøndal discusses the interplay between the development of cultural pluralism among Danes on the one hand and the Americanization of Danes according to the concept of the melting pot on the other hand. Although about 330,000 Danes emigrated to America between 1860 and 1930, they gained a reputation for being good at "Americanizing" or "assimilating," but still formed a Danish-American culture that thrived between the 1870s and World War I. Danish Americans continually negotiated and renegotiated through the migratory experience in an attempt to construct a separate Danish-American identity.

Language and culture retention in Norwegian-American communities are central concepts in Joe Salmons' essay. His study was the basis for the second keynote lecture at the NAHA-Norway conference. It is about how and why Norwegian-American communities shifted to English with few heritage speakers born in any of these communities after the 1940s. By drawing on a model of shift in American society from the mid-nineteenth to the twentieth century based on connections between institutions within or beyond the local community, Salmons has gained insight about the Norwegian-Americans' negotiation of lingual and cultural skills in multicultural communities in the Upper Midwest. Through his analysis of basic data, the author studies how Norwegians acquired English and later shifted to English monolingualism in comparison to other immigrant groups.

Miranda Moen's essay is about material culture, a field which is rarely studied in *Norwegian-American Essays* specifically, and in Norwegian-American studies in general. More specifically, she examines to what extent regional building customs and socio-economic backgrounds among individuals from the Numedal and Valdres regions in Norway impacted Norwegian traditions in second-generation immigrant-built houses in Spring Grove in Minnesota. Norwegian influences found in Norwegian-American houses vary in representation due to many factors, resulting in a hybrid portrayal of cultural heritage. Through her knowledge of historical conditions in sending societies in Norway and the receiving society in America, Moen calls for an understanding of elements that shaped immigrant-built architecture into a hybrid architecture.

In his comparative study, Daron W. Olson focuses on the two competing journals of the *Nordmanns-Forbundet* that were published during World War II. One version issued by the *Nasjonal Samling* (NS) in Norway represented an image of Norway as a partner in a Greater Germanic confederation against Russian Bolshevism. The American free version of the journal, on the other hand, favored symbols tied to Norway's love of democracy, freedom, and a proclivity for a progressive society. The two versions reveal contrasting ideologies, variations in how the publications treated the war, the symbols they utilized, and their respective long-term objectives. According to Olson, the symbols employed by *Nordmanns-Forbundet*'s American version laid the foundations for significant features of Norway's postwar identity connected to the *Storting*, May 17, and King Haakon, in addition to a strong anti-German sentiment.

In the next essay, "It's hard to stop a Trane," Ann Marie Legreid studies identity retention across several generations in two entrepreneurial families in La Crosse, Wisconsin with Norwegian roots. Whereas the Trane family became well known through their enterprise in heating and cooling technologies, the Adolf Gundersen family pioneered group medical practice in the U.S. and provided medical services with special importance to the Norwegian-American community in the Upper Midwest. Both families established

methods and technologies that impacted communities across ethnic and national boundaries. However, Legreid's study raises more complex questions about how the ethnic identities of the two families represented social constructs that were the result of the families' negotiation with the surrounding multi-cultural society, contextual factors and acculturation.

Trond Espen Teigen Bjoland examines May 17 celebrations among Norwegian Americans in Whitewater, Wisconsin, between 1880 and 1940. Whitewater's celebrations incorporated both Norwegian and American cultural symbols and the English language throughout the selected time period, but they never evolved into city-wide festivals that included residents beyond those of Norwegian birth or ancestry. Instead, they were largely confined to spaces such as churches or private homes. While earlier research on Norway's Constitution Day in America has focused on communities with significant Norwegian-American populations, this study calls for an analysis of ethnic celebrations in various types of communities. The study of a variety of locales may indicate how both local conditions and broader societal trends could shape cultural practices in immigrant communities.

A comparative study of religious beliefs across religions, cultures, continents, and time is the focus of Kari G. Hempel's essay. As people migrate, their religious beliefs accompany the migrants. Yet a significant question tied to migration processes is the role of religion as a help or a hindrance to integration. In her essay, Hempel compares two religious congregations. One is the Trinity Lutheran Congregation, a Christian Norwegian immigrant church in Minneapolis, founded in 1870. The second congregation is the Islamic Cultural Center located in the Sunni Islamic Mosque in Oslo, from 1970. In her exploration of the function of religion in the integration processes, she employs American sociologist Charles Hirschman's three Rs, namely Refuge, Resources, and Respect. In spite of the fact that the two congregations differ in terms of spatial and temporal contexts, Hempel's study displays clear similarities in the respective members' adaptation to the majority society.

Co-publishers

In 2023, NAHA-Norway and Anno Norwegian Emigrant Museum entered into a partnership as co-publishers of *Norwegian-American Essays*. Anno museum, a consolidated museum which was established in 2009 and in which Anno Norwegian Emigrant Museum makes up one of its museums, is interested in supporting *Norwegian-American Essays*. By contributing economically, Anno museum will participate in supporting the anthology on a regular basis during its years of publication. In average, the publication has been issued every three years following NAHA-Norway's conferences. Since the first issue published in 1986, *Norwegian-American Essays* has been a paper publication. The cooperation between NAHA-Norway and the Norwegian Emigrant Museum will also result in that *Norwegian-American Essays* becomes an Open Access publication, granting free and open online access to its academic information. This will enable all readers, Norwegian or non-Norwegian, to read, download, copy, distribute, print, and use the material in education within existing legal agreements. This is a positive development, especially for American authors whose work will be accessible online.

The Norwegian Emigrant Museum and NAHA-Norway have co-published *Norwegian-American Essays* between 1993 and 2008. The two partners, NAHA-Norway and the Norwegian Emigrant Museum, resume cooperation in order to display their shared and strong interest in disseminating Norwegian history and culture. Teaching positions at Norwegian universities and university colleges are becoming fewer, mirroring the situation both in Canada and in the United States. In these times of reduced visibility in Norwegian-American studies, it is significant to strengthen cooperation between relevant partners.

Acknowledgements

I wish to extend my thanks to the Board of the Norwegian-American Historical Association-Norway Chapter (NAHA-Norway) for their support and for giving me the privilege to work with so many fine authors of this seventeenth volume of *Norwegian-American*

Essays. Most of the essays in this volume are based on presentations that were held at the NAHA-Norway seminar in Ottestad and Hamar in 2022. NAHA-Norway extends its thanks to the following institutions and organizations for their contribution to the NAHA-Norway seminar in 2022: Fritt Ord, Stange municipality, and Anno museum.

Norwegian-American Essays has a mission in developing the field of Norwegian-American scholarship and to spread its readership among prospective readers. The eight essays in this volume corroborate this mission. The volume includes authors both from the United States and Norway, some of whom are new authors. The eight essays in this anthology are based on presentations that were held at the seminar. All essays have gone through a peer review process, and most of the essays have benefited from the editorial advice given by the readers. We owe the readers gratitude for their service. I would like to thank colleagues in Scandinavia and in the United States who have helped and assisted during the work process, including Odd S. Lovoll, Janne Lahti, Henrik Olav Mathiesen, Debbie Miller, Trond Espen Teigen Bjoland, Daron W. Olson, Knut Djupedal, Laurann Gilbertson, David C. Mauk, Arnstein Hjelde, Gunnar Tore Nerheim, Nils Olav Østrem, Lori Ann Lahlum, and Aud V. Tønnessen. Finally, but not least, I wish to thank my patient and loyal co-worker Harry T. Cleven. His expertise and insight are significant contributions to the publishing of this anthology.

Notes

[1] Jamestown was the first permanent English settlement in North America. It was established in 1607.

[2] The Sloopers were not the first Norse to set their foot on American soil. The Grønlendingesagaen, Saga of the Greenlanders, in the Flatøybok points toward the presence of Norsemen on the North American continent in the Medieval Period. Norwegians in New Netherland during the Dutch Colonial Period in the seventeenth century. See the Norwegian modern translation of *Flatøybok*, vol. 2 (Stavanger. Saga bok, 2015), 286-290, 453-468; see also Ernst Berge Drange, "Norwegians in America during the Dutch Colonial Period—A Forgotten Story," *Norwegian-American Essays*, Vol. XV (2020), 209-232.

[3] Odd S. Lovoll, *Det løfterike landet* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget 1997).

[4] Odd S. Lovoll, *Promise Fulfilled. A Portrait of Norwegian Americans Today*

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 70. Two years earlier, enthusiastic Norwegian immigrants organized a celebration of May 17 in the village of Moscow in Iowa County, Wisconsin. Terje Mikael Hasle Joranger, "Lokale eller nasjonale kollektive identiteter?," *Historisk tidsskrift*, Vol, 89:2 (2010), 228-229,

[5] Lovoll, *Promise Fulfilled*, 70; *Norse-American Centennial 1825-1925* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925), 75; *Norse-American Centennial 1825-1925* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925), 61-89.

[6] Lovoll, *Promise Fulfilled*, 70.

[7] "President Calvin Coolidge at the Norse Centennial," *Bygdelagenes Fællesraad, Inc. Aarbok og Julehilsen 1929* (Minneapolis: Th. Lund Press, Inc. Trykkeri), 121.

[8] Ager was awarded first prize in the Norse-American Centennial contest for the best essay on the theme "Why we celebrate." The citations are taken from his price-winning article which appeared in the Norse-American Centennial publication. See Waldemar Ager, "Omkring Hundreaarsfesten," *Norse-American Centennial 1825-1925* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925), 12-13.

[9] Ager, "Omkring Hundreaarsfesten," 12; April Schultz, «The Pride of the Race Had Been Touched»: The 1925 Norse-American Immigration Centennial and Ethnic Identity," *Journal of American History*, Vol 77: 4 (Mar. 1991), 1265-1295; Lovoll, *Promise Fulfilled*, 70.

[10] Lovoll, *Promise Fulfilled*, 71.

[11] Daron W. Olson, "His Mother's Song: The Ethnolandscapes of Norwegian-American Male Visitors to Norway During the 1914 Eidsvoll Centennial," *Norwegian-American Essays* Vol. XV (2017), 133-157.

[12] Hans Eyvind Næss, "Utvandrerhistoriske markeringer og utvandrerbyen Stavanger," *Stavangeren* No. 1 (2021), 15-16.

[13] Mondale, Quie, and Humphrey had Norwegian roots. Magnuson was adopted, but he grew up in Scandinavian family in a Scandinavian community.

[14] Næss, "Utvandrerhistoriske markeringer," 16. In 1925, representatives from the Norwegian authorities had given their addresses at the Norse-American Centennial. *Norse-American Centennial, 69.*

[15] Næss, "Utvandrerhistoriske markeringer," 21.

[16] Odd S. Lovoll, *Across the Deep Blue Sea: The Saga of Early Norwegian Immigrants* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2015); Gulbrand Loken, *From Fjord to Frontier: A History of the Norwegians in Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart, 1980).

Who Sailed on the Restauration*?*

Knut Djupedal

In 1825, the Norwegian sloop *Restauration* sailed from Stavanger to New York City with a tiny crew, too many passengers, and a small amount of cargo. The voyage is famous both in Norway and America, with its story of fifty-two people who spent 98 days at sea, with a child born on the way; of how the ship was held in arrest upon its arrival in New York City; of how it was bonded by wealthy New York Quakers; and of how it was pardoned by the American president himself.

The voyage is often said to be the first emigration of Norwegians to the United States, even though we know that there were Norwegians in the British colonies in America long before 1825, as well as medieval Norsemen who sailed to North America one thousand years ago. Those stories, however, while important, remain only a prelude. It is the *Restauration* that posterity generally takes to be the real beginning of the Norwegian story in America; and it is those who sailed in her who are the forerunners of everyone who came after. They are seen as the first company in modern times to brave the ocean's dangers on their way to a new life in a new land; an organized beginning to the Norwegian mass migration of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Since then, the story of this vessel, her voyage and the people who sailed in her, have taken on aspects of a legendary Norse saga, especially among Norwegian Americans. It is treated as a heroic tale of a group of poor peasants who brave the ocean's perils to escape religious persecution and settle in a new land. In a deliberate comparison to the voyage of the "Pilgrim Fathers" in 1620—and to the pilgrims' role in the founding of the United States—the vessel that made the voyage, the *Restauration*, is often described as "the Norwegian *Mayflower*."

This iconic image of the vessel and its passengers was current in the Norwegian communities in America as early as 1875. On

June 6 that year, the Norwegian-American newspaper *Skandinaven* in Chicago published an article concerning the town of Norway, in La Salle County, Illinois. The article said first that the town of Norway was, "The largest, most important, and oldest of all the Norwegian settlements in the United States;" and then continued:

> It is here that the greatest part of the early emigrants settled, [those who] came here on "The Sloop." No more needs to be said to describe them. What the Mayflower is in the memory of New Englanders, "The Sloop" must be the same for Norwegians. Both had "Pilgrim Fathers" on board—bold, fearless, sturdy people. Some are still to be found here in the settlement. I spoke with one of them the other day—an old man with a grey beard and a strongly marked face—a real pioneer.[1]

Some years later, the well-known Norwegian-American Professor Rasmus B. Anderson (1846-1936) made the same comparison. Anderson, besides being an author, editor, businessman and ambassador, was a professor at the University of Wisconsin from 1867 to 1883. His book of 1895, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840) Its Causes and Results*, was for many years the standard work about the early Norwegian emigration of America. Here he wrote:

> And what about the pilgrim fathers who landed at Plymouth in 1620, and founded the first settlement in New England? Were they not men of strong minds, good judgment, and sterling character, and did they not rigidly conform their lives to their principles? Persecution led them to emigrate and in New England they embodied their principles in a framework of government on which, as a most stable foundation, our own great American republic has been built up. History repeats itself in Norway, in the early years of this century, and the sloop *Restaurationen* [sic] of which we are soon to speak, left Norway in 1825, because Quakers were not permitted to worship God according to

> the dictates of their own conscience. The story of William Penn is repeated in Norway.[2]

In other words, only fifty years after she sailed, the *Restauration* had become a central element of Norwegian identity in America, and a symbol of their early arrival in the United States. Shortly thereafter, the reasons why the company who sailed in her departed Norway were directly compared to those of the English Pilgrims of 1620 and the Quakers of the later seventeenth century—i.e., religious persecution. Moreover, the vessel and the voyage had become an expression of the emigrants' character and potential as good American citizens—bold, fearless, sturdy, "real pioneers." In the same vein, those who had sailed in the *Restauration* were given a defining name by which they are known to later history. The company that sailed on the *Mayflower* are known as "The Pilgrim Fathers." Those who sailed in the *Restauration*—and only they—are called "The Sloopers."

Yet, despite its importance as a Norwegian-American ethnic marker, many of the details about this voyage remain unknown, obscure, and open to interpretation. One such detail that has teased researchers for decades is the number of people who sailed in her, and who they were. One might perhaps say that this is insignificant within the larger context of the creation and maintenance of a Norwegian-American ethnic identity. On the other hand, the creation of *any* group identity is founded upon a story of that group's beginnings, what we might call an ethnic creation myth; and such myths almost always are founded on stories of heroic forebears.

Thus, there is one detail from the voyage of the *Mayflower* which has resonated in American history through four centuries: the list of names attached to the "Mayflower Compact," the first governing document of Plymouth Colony, signed by 41 of the ship's 101 passengers on November 21, 1620. No such contemporary list of names exists for the *Restauration*. Yet the names of those who sailed in her can be seen as one of the building blocks of a Norwegian-American identity. Therefore, both Norwegian and Norwegian-American researchers, beginning with Professor Ras-

mus Anderson in the mid-nineteenth century, have attempted to answer the question: Who were the Sloopers?

It is well known that a list of the crew upon the vessel's departure from Norway exists.[3] It is also certain that a ship's manifest listing the names of the passengers once existed as well, because of the customs laws of the United States in 1825. They required the captain of every ship entering New York harbor to: "Make a report in writing on oath or affirmation to the mayor of the city of New York," or the city recorder, within 24 hours of the ship's arrival:

> Of the name, place of birth, and last legal settlement, age and occupation of every person who shall have been brought as a passenger in such ship or vessel on her last voyage from any country out of the United States into the port of New-York…[4]

Furthermore, the fine for not providing this list was $500 for each passenger not named on it, to be paid by the captain.

Unfortunately, no one has yet been able to locate such a list, to the sorrow of every historian who has devoted any time at all to the Sloopers and their story. The Norwegian-American historian Theodore Blegen (1891-1969), writing in 1930, suggested that it may have been destroyed in a fire at the United States Department of the Treasury.[5] Therefore, researchers both in Norway and America have gone to other sources for this information.

The earliest mention of the Sloopers that we know of today is a notice printed in the Norwegian newspaper *Den norske Rigstidende* on July 27, 1825, and dated July 7, which says: "The day before yesterday five peasant families left this place for America on a ship which they had bought for the purpose, and where they expect to find a Canaan's land."[6] The next is a letter, written on August 27 that same summer by Bishop Johan Storm Munch (1778-1832) of Kristiansand and Stavanger, who said: "This summer fifty-one persons are supposed to have sailed to America."[7] The third is the small emigrant handbook *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika til Oplysning og Nytte for Bonde og Menig-*

mand, usually referred to in English as Rynning's *True Account*, from 1838.

Ole Rynning (1809-1838) was a pastor's son from Snåsa who emigrated to the United States in 1837. He settled in Beaver Creek, Illinois, and died of malaria there in the autumn of 1838. Before he passed away, however, he finished his book, which contains the first known description of the voyage of the *Restauration*, including the information that fifty-two people sailed from Stavanger.[8] Rynning did not, however, say anything about how many people arrived in New York City or who they were. That was left to one of the Sloopers themselves, Sarah T. Richey, who was a seven-year-old girl when she sailed on the *Restauration* in 1825.

Sarah was born Sara or Siri Aanensdatter Brastad in 1818. After a long life, two marriages and several children, she was living in Guthrie County, Iowa, when an unknown writer interviewed her about the voyage to America in 1825. The interview—titled *From Norway to America*—was published in the local newspaper *Sentinel* in Guthrie County, at some time between 1891 and 1894. It was amended and republished in the *Marseilles Plaindealer* in Marseilles, Illinois, on Friday, April 6, 1894, probably because Mrs. Richey previously had lived in that city and still had descendants there.

Mrs. Richey's story of the emigration is rather short, but it includes the first known list of the passengers and crew of the *Restauration*, as follows:

> Cornelius Nelson, wife and four children;
> Mr. Steen, wife and two children;
> Daniel Rosdal, wife and five children;
> Oien Thompson, wife and three children [This was Mrs. Richey's family];
> Simon Lime, wife and two children;
> Lars Larson, wife and one child;
> Nels Nelson and wife;
> Henry Harwick and wife;
> Thomas Madland, wife and three children;

Ole Olson;
Ole Johnson;
Gudmund Hougas;
Jacob Anderson;
Thor. Olson;
George Johnson;
Andrew Dahl;
Nels Thompson;
Mr. Gousland;
Mr. Olsen;
Mr. Erikson.

According to Mrs. Richey, the last two were the captain and mate respectively of the sloop. She also said that there were two other couples on board, but she could not remember their names. One of the couples, however, had returned to Norway in 1826.[9]

A year later, Rasmus B. Anderson published *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration.* He says himself that he interviewed and corresponded with several of the surviving Sloopers while working on his book, including both Sarah Richey and Margaret Allen (Geilane) Atwater (1825-1916), who had been born on the *Restauration* just before her arrival in America.[10] He had also found the description of the sloop's arrival in the newspaper *The New York City Daily Advertiser* for October 12, 1825.[11] On that basis, Anderson made a list of crew and passengers that contained fifty-three persons who arrived in New York City.[12]

Anderson's list was repeated and refined by the Norwegian-American Professor and linguist George T. Flom (1871-1960) of Iowa State University, in his book *A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States*, in 1909;[13] and by the centennial celebrations of Norwegian immigration in 1925, several new sources of information about the Sloopers had been discovered. They included the health clearance given to *Restauration* at Stavanger on July 4, 1825; the correspondence between the Department of Churches and Bishop Munch concerning the departure; and the letters from the Swedish consul in New York, Henry Gahn

to the Norwegian foreign office concerning the arrival; and the documents concerning the arrest of the *Restauration* by the American customs authorities in October 1825.

Based on the foregoing, Theodore Blegen in his book *Norwegian Migration to America 1825-1860* of 1931, deleted some of Anderson's names, added others, and provided an edited list of names. However, he only provided the names of the men on board, not the names of the wives or the children. He also concluded that fifty-three individuals arrived in New York, and when referring to Anderson's work, called it: "the traditional list."[14]

But is fifty-three the correct number? Even the available sources from 1825 are at odds. According to the vessel's health clearance signed by *byfogd* (bailiff) Ole Andreas Løwold in Stavanger on July 4, 1825, seven crew members and forty-five passengers departed Stavanger on the *Restauration*.[15] Later that summer, however, Bishop Munch wrote that fifty-one people left. Of these two contemporary statements, the official health clearance for the *Restauration*, must be considered the correct one. It was written by the relevant authority at the port of departure, and it had to be shown by the captain at every port visited by the *Restauration* thereafter. It is certainly more trustworthy than a statement from the bishop, who wrote that fifty-one people "are supposed to have left," and who in any case was based in Kristiansand, not Stavanger.

Then on October 14, 1825, after the *Restauration* had been arrested and fined by the American customs authorities for carrying too many passengers for its size, the owners Lars Larson Geilane and Johannes Soledal, and Captain Lars O. Helland, petitioned the United States' government for relief of the fine. The petition includes this passage:

> That the petitioners and others, amounting in all to forty-five persons, principally relatives and friends of Clang [sic] Peerson, purchased the said sloop in Norway aforesaid, took on board a few tons of iron for ballast, and provisions for the voyage, and thereupon, after having been regularly cleared at the port of

> Stavanger in Norway aforesaid, took their departure for the Port of New York…[16]

This statement confirms that the *Restauration* had forty-five passengers upon departure from Norway, while the crew list delivered by Captain Helland in Stavanger confirms that there were seven crew members. And since one child was born on the way, fifty-three people arrived in New York City.

There are also two contemporary sources which further confirm that fifty-three individuals arrived in New York. The first is the newspaper article, "A Novel Sight" in the *New York Daily Advertiser*, which states that the *Restauration* carried forty-six passengers.[17] The second source is the letter written by Consul Henry Gahn on October 15, 1825, in which he discusses the tonnage of the vessel with relation to the number of passengers and the size of the fine leveled by the American authorities. He states:

> For forty-five passengers at least 112.5 tons are required. One child is said to have been born on the voyage; therefore, under the strictest interpretation of the law, the ship's tonnage ought to be 115 tons.[18]

Since there were seven members of the crew, the number given by the newspaper and by Consul Gahn indicate that there were fifty-three individuals on the *Restauration* when she arrived in New York.

A third source for the number fifty-three is a letter from one of the Sloopers, Henrik Hervig, to the newspaper *Fædrelandet og Emigranten* in La Crosse, Wisconsin, dated February 9, 1871, and quoted by Rasmus B. Anderson. In this letter, Hervig wrote: "I *and fifty-two other* Norwegians went in the year 1825 with a little sloop from Stavanger" [my italics].[19] Finally, Sarah Richey's list of the passengers and crew from 1894 (above) also adds up to fifty-three.

On the other hand, according to the ship's tonnage and American law at the time, the *Restauration* legally could only have transported twenty-four passengers into New York City. The size of the

fine leveled by the Collector of Customs—$150 per excess passenger, for a sum of $3150—indicates that she was carrying twenty-one individuals above the legal limit when she was taken in arrest, for a total of forty-five passengers. Adding seven crew members gives a total of fifty-two people in the entire party. Yet Consul Gahn, in his words quoted above, makes it clear that "under the strictest interpretation of the law," the fine leveled on the *Restauration* should have been based on a total of forty-six passengers.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, everyone who has considered this discrepancy has agreed that the customs officials, being sympathetic to the economic plight of the Sloopers, decided to give them a little help. Consul Gahn's words seem to imply this; while as early as January 1826, the newspaper *Den norske Rigstidende* in Christiania (Oslo) wrote that the vessel was released from custody: "Probably because one understands that they broke the law due solely to [their] innocence and ignorance."[20] The interview with Sarah Richey only says that the Sloopers: "… had trouble with the authorities on account of having a large cargo and more passengers than the American laws permitted for a vessel not larger than the *Restauration*."[21] Rasmus B. Anderson, who had spoken to several of the Sloopers, wrote:

> I suppose the authorities in New York partly in consideration of the ignorance and childish conduct of the sloop immigrants, and partly persuaded by the intercession of influential Quaker friends, decided to be merciful. The fact, in all events is that the captain was released from his captivity; and the sloop and its cargo were restored to their owners.[22]

What sort of help could the customs officials give the Sloopers? The youngest passenger on the *Restauration* was Margaret Allen, the daughter of Lars Larson Geilane and his wife Martha. She was only a month old when she arrived in New York, having been born at sea on September 1825. Consul Gahn's words seem to imply that the customs agents did not include her when counting the passengers, a conclusion agreed to by later researchers.[23] Instead, the

agents counted only forty-five passengers and seven crew members, and based the size of the fine on that number.

Two facts argue against this interpretation. First, Margaret Allen was only one of three children under one year of age in the *Restauration*. The other two were counted among the passengers, and other passenger lists from the period demonstrate that every passenger on board an incoming vessel was counted, irrespective of their age.[24] Second is the size of the fine which would have been levied on the *Restauration's* captain for *not* reporting a passenger, as mentioned above. I doubt that Captain Helland, any of the other Sloopers, and particularly their well-to-do Quaker friends, would have risked breaking this law when such a large sum of money was involved.

In addition, such an action would have needed the collective sanction of the entire hierarchy of the New York customs office, including the Collector of Customs himself, of whom Consul Gahn, wrote the following:

> The customs service here is genuinely concerned about the disagreeable necessity of taking legal steps, in view of the fact that the total value of the vessel will scarcely liquidate the costs of such action (…) but it is not within his [i.e., the local Collector of Customs] power to remit the dues entailed by such an inescapable procedure. It is not necessary for me to remind you that the government officials in this country, from the highest to the lowest, may not violate or ignore existing legal regulations.[25]

The action would also have required the tacit acquiescence of the office of the mayor of New York City; the district court in New York; the treasury officials who transferred the case to President John Quincy Adams; and the president himself, who pardoned the Sloopers and forgave the fine. To my mind, such a chain of complete sympathy is unlikely at best. Therefore, I do not think that the baby Margaret Allen was left out of the count.

Even so, the size of the fine demonstrates that only forty-five people were counted as passengers when the *Restauration* arrived

in New York. Therefore, one of two things must have happened. The first alternative is that someone left the ship in Madeira or died on the voyage, despite the statement by Ole Rynning in 1838 that: "No one died on the sea." The second is that the American customs officials counted one of the other passengers as crew, thus giving the *Restauration* a crew of eight, not seven, when she landed in New York.

There is one source which says that there was a death on board. On July 4, 1875, there was a celebration in Chicago of the first fifty years of Norwegian emigration to the United States. According to the newspaper *The Chicago Tribune* for July 6, 1875, 5,000 Norwegians attended the celebration, including groups that traveled to the event from "adjoining states." It was: "The largest assemblage of Norsemen ever held in this country…" The main speaker at the event was Professor Rasmus B. Anderson. The *Tribune* also printed some words relevant to the present discussion.

> One of the leading features of the celebration was the presence of four of the crew of the sloop "Restoration" as follows: Ole Overdal, Nils Nilsen, Mrs. Larson and her daughter of this city. The last named was born on the voyage, just in time to preserve the numerical strength of the crew, for only a few days previous, one of the party had died.[26]

Ole Overdal might be either Ove Rossedal (1809-1890) or Ole Jonson Eide (1796-1878). Nils Nilsen, however, was Nils Nilsen Hersdal, who was 75 years old at this time, and living in La Salle County, Illinois, just outside Chicago. Mrs. Larson was Martha Georgiana Larson, widow of Lars Larson Geilane. Her daughter was Margaret Allen Atwater, born on the voyage as mentioned above, also living in Chicago in 1875. According to this newspaper account (which, given the occasion, must be based on first-hand information from these four Sloopers), one person died on the voyage and one, Margaret Allen, was born. Therefore, the same number of people that had left Stavanger, arrived in New York.

I have not seen any other source which mentions a death on board during the voyage of the *Restauration*. Nevertheless, such an event would not have been unusual at the time. On the contrary, a voyage in such a small vessel, completed without any deaths at all, must be considered a very fortunate one. This explanation would also go a long way towards solving some of the mystery concerning the number of Sloopers, and the difficulty of piecing together a complete list of the people who sailed in her.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, the customs officials may have counted one of the other passengers as crew. In this connection, it is important to note that the names and number of crew members were *not* listed on passenger manifests delivered to the New York City port authority.[27] Thus, any person who was listed as a passenger upon their departure from Norway, but who was considered to be a crew member upon their arrival in New York, would not be included in the number that formed the basis of the fine imposed on the *Restauration*.

If this is what happened—that the customs officials counted one of the adult passengers as crew—then there are several available candidates, especially among the single men on board. The likeliest is Endre Salvesen Lindland, later known as Andrew Dahl. In 1825, he was forty-one years old, traveling alone, and according to Anderson, he: "is remembered as the cook on board."[28] If this was his recognized role during the voyage, then it is possible, indeed probable, that when the sloop arrived in New York City, the authorities would have accepted him as a member of the crew. If so, then the number of passengers arriving in New York City would have been the same as the number that left Norway, despite the birth of Margaret Allen.

It is my conclusion then, that one of the men on board—the likeliest being Endre Salvesen Lindland—began the voyage as a passenger but was listed as crew when the *Restauration* arrived in New York City. To my mind, that is a much more likely explanation of the discrepancy between the possible and actual fine, than that the baby Margaret Allen was left out of the count.

Who, then, were the Sloopers? As mentioned earlier, Sarah Richey provided a list from her memory in the early 1890s, while

both Rasmus B. Anderson, George T. Flom and Theodore Blegen published amended lists in 1895, 1909 and 1931 respectively. Then in 1961, author and traveler J. Hart Rosdail, himself a descendant of two of the Sloopers, made a list in his book *The Sloopers. Their Ancestry and Posterity*. Rosdail, basing himself on Richey, Anderson and Blegen, listed fifty names, forty-nine of whom had sailed from Stavanger, while the last was Margaret Allen Larson, born on the way to America. Rosdail then considered the presence of the remaining three, without reaching any definite conclusion about their identities.[29]

Later writers, such as the librarian and genealogist Gerhard Naeseth, have accepted Rosdail's list, only editing and refining it, and then speculated on the identities of the remaining three.[30] One of them, mentioned earlier, is Knud Anderson Slogvig, who is known to have emigrated in 1829. The first person to mention him as a passenger on the *Restauration* is Ole Rynning, who in 1838, wrote:

> In 1835, one of the first emigrants [sic.], a young bachelor named Knud Slagvigen, made a trip back to Norway, and many persons traveled a long way just to talk to him.[31]

The Norwegian-American teacher, farmer, and newspaper editor Knud Langeland (1813-1888) also mentions Knud Slogvig in his autobiographical history of the early Norwegian emigration, *Nordmændene i Amerika. Nogle Optegnelser om De Norskes Udvandring til Amerika*, published in Chicago in 1888.[32] Langeland emigrated to America in 1843. He became a well-known editor and writer, and between 1866 and 1872, he was the editor of *Skandinaven* of Chicago, at that time the largest Norwegian-American newspaper in America. He passed away in 1888, a year after his book on the Norwegians in America was registered in the Library of Congress, but apparently just before it was available to the general public.

Concerning Knud Slogvig, Langeland wrote:

> Finally, one of the Sloopers by the name of Knud Slogvig came back to Norway in 1835, after having resided for ten years in the New World. He stayed for the most part in his home village in Skjold parish, and the news of his return flew like a firebrand from man to man with incredible speed. People traveled long distances from everywhere in Bergen Diocese and Stavanger County to speak with him [my translation].[33]

Langeland adds that some of his close relatives visited Slogvig in the winter of 1836, and that three of them were in the party that sailed from Bergen in 1837.[34] Indeed, Langeland himself apparently visited Slogvig. In his book, he also wrote: "During the visit to Knud Slogvig, *we* [my emphasis] received a full and indisputable confirmation of things we had previously heard and read. This was during the winter of 1836."[35] [My translation.]

Rasmus B. Anderson also says that Knud Slogvig sailed with the *Restauration*.[36] Theodore Blegen, on the other hand, does not think it likely, although he refers to Rynning's statement and notes that it is a possibility.[37] J. Hart Rosdail was also unsure, writing in 1961: "There are three people remaining on Anderson's list: Svend Johannesen, who did not emigrate, Anders Stangeland, who came with Cleng Peerson in 1824, and Knud Anderson Slogvik, who probably came in 1829." But after a brief discussion of possibilities, he adds: "Pending further discoveries, the author can only suggest that Knud Anderson Slogvik may have been on the boat after all."[38]

The Norwegian historian Gunnar Skadberg, writing in 2007, also thinks it unlikely that Knud Slogvig was on the *Restauration*. Skadberg also tells us, however, that Slogvig did emigrate in 1829 and returned to Norway in 1835. At that time, he and a man named Bjørn Andersen Kvelve from Vikedal, the father of Rasmus B. Anderson, organized the next group emigration from Stavanger, which left that city in two vessels, the *Norden* in May and *Den Norske Klippe* in June 1836.[39]

It is my opinion, however, that the available sources closest in time to the voyage—Ole Rynning and Knud Langeland—are cor-

rect. Knud Slogvig did indeed sail on the *Restauration*. In particular, the statement by Knud Langeland, who apparently met Knud Slogvig in the winter of 1836, must be considered very strong evidence that Slogvig was one of the Sloopers of 1825. However, I also think that Slogvig returned to Norway, probably in 1828. Theodore Blegen wrote in 1931 that two of the Sloopers went back to Norway in that year, and that one of them, Ole Johnson Eie or Eide, was married in Stavanger on July 24, 1828, "and very soon thereafter, departed for America."[40] Therefore, I also think that Skadberg is correct when he writes that Slogvig emigrated (again) in 1829. While perhaps unusual in the 1820s, such travel back and forth across the Atlantic was not unique, not then and certainly not later.

Concerning the two remaining passengers, Rosdail writes: "There may have been one couple which returned to Norway in 1826 and their names thus forgotten. The latter stems from a statement made by Sarah Richey to the *Marseilles Plaindealer* in 1894."[41] Sarah Richey's statement (which was discussed earlier) is confirmed in a Norwegian Parish Register from 1825 and 1827. The historian Per Seland, who wrote the *Bygdebok*, the local history of Sirdal municipality in West-Agder, published in 1987, found such a couple in the church records of Tonstad parish approximately 100 km. east of Stavanger. They are Salve Jensen Fintland (baptized in 1793) and Åsa Atlachsdatter, (baptized in 1801), who were married on April 5, 1825.

Under the heading, "departed the parish" in the ministerial records of Bakke Church, Tonstad parish, for 1825, this couple is listed as having moved to Stavanger; but the parson also added a note behind their names: "Are supposed to have gone to America." Two years later, in 1827, they returned. They are listed under the heading, "entered the parish", and the parson added this simple declarative note behind their names: "Returned from America."[42] Seland himself speculates that these two were among the passengers on the *Restauration*.

Based on the above, I suggest the following two alternative possibilities. The first alternative is based on the article in the *Chicago*

Tribune. In addition to the generally accepted names, another person, now unknown, sailed with the *Restauration* from Stavanger. The unknown passenger died at sea at some point before Margaret Allen was born. Thus, fifty-two individuals sailed from Stavanger and the same number arrived in New York City.

Despite the words of the *Tribune*, however, I am inclined to accept the second alternative as the true description of events. There were no deaths, and fifty-three individuals stepped ashore in America in October 1825, including Knut Anderson Slogvig, Salve Jensen Fintland and Aasa Atlachsdatter. From the point of view of the Sloopers—and Consul Henry Gahn—this number consisted of seven crew members and forty-six passengers. However, someone—perhaps the wealthy New York Quaker Francis Thompson, who paid the bond for the *Restauration* when it was placed in arrest—suggested, and the customs officials concurred, that the cook Endre Salvesen Lindland or alternatively, Knud Slogvig, should be treated as a member of the crew; and that therefore the American authorities counted eight crew members and only forty-five passengers.

As mentioned earlier, this detail from the voyage of the *Restauration*—the names and number of the Sloopers—may seem insignificant when seen in a greater context of the creation and maintenance of an ethnic identity. However, posterity has almost always accepted the Sloopers as the first organized group of Norwegians who emigrated with the intention of creating a new home for themselves in a new land. Their voyage is almost always taken to be the real beginning of the Norwegian migration to America, and most creation myths begin with some sort of heroic group origin. Indeed, perhaps only the tales of Leif Erikson and the Vinland voyages have played a greater role in the foundation of a Norwegian-American ethnic identity than the voyage of the *Restauration*.[43]

The Norwegian-American recognition of such a heroic foundation of their own ethnic identity and, in their own eyes at least, of their relative importance among the many ethnic groups that now made their home there, has been especially evident during Norwegian- American celebrations of their time in America. It is

evident in the article from the *Skandinaven* of June 6, 1875, mentioned above, as well as the quote from the *Chicago Tribune* of July 4, from the same year, that "one of the leading features" of the celebration held in Chicago on July 4, 1875, "was the presence of four of the crew of the sloop 'Restoration' [sic]…"

On the other hand, during the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the voyage of Christopher Columbus, which culminated in the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, it was Leif Erikson and the Norse voyages to Vinland that came to the fore among Norwegian-Americans. A copy of the Gokstad ship, christened *Viking*, was sailed from Norway to Chicago for the occasion. At the same time, the Norwegian-language newspaper *Nordisk Tidende* of Brooklyn agitated for the creation of a separate Norwegian-American national holiday, called *Leif Erikson Day*, to be celebrated annually on September 29.[44] This was almost certainly a response to a proclamation by President Benjamin Harrison on July 21 that year that designated October 12, 1892, as a one-time national holiday, to be called Columbus Day.

Nevertheless, despite the emphasis on the medieval Norsemen, the *Restauration* and the Sloopers were not forgotten. It is true that Rasmus B. Anderson's introduction to his book of 1895 included a discussion of the medieval voyages, which contained the bold statement: "The civilized history of America begins with the Norsemen."[45] However, Anderson also noted that: "The emigration from Stavanger [i.e. the voyage of the *Restauration* in 1825] inspired people in other parts of Norway to leave the fatherland and seek homes in America;" adding: "Each exodus down to the forties [i.e., the 1840s] is a link in a chain beginning with the sloop, *Restaurationen* [sic]…"[46]

Thirty years later, in 1925, it was the voyage of the *Restauration* upon which the celebrations of the Norwegian immigration centennial were founded. These celebrations were also held at a time when foreign ethnicity was suspect in the United States, and therefore, the *Restauration* had a large role to play. The vessel and her voyage were symbols which, along with the celebrations themselves, would:

> Nail it to the wall, so to say, so that all our good American fellow-citizens can see it, that the Norwegian ethnic group is old here in the land, that it has been doing constructive labor in more ways than one for more than one hundred years, and that Norwegian-Americans have become good and faithful American citizens.[47]

That same year, historian O. M. Norlie mentioned the Sloopers in his essay "Why We Celebrate," published in *The Norse-American Centennial Booklet* from that year:

> The 53 who landed in New York a century ago are all dead and resting from their labors, but eighteen of their children are still alive, besides children of the second, third, fourth, and even fifth generations, a handsome host, 1,000 strong, scattered afar, from coast to coast.[48]

The author J. Hart Rosdail (who was descended from two of the Sloopers, as mentioned earlier) writing in 1958, was more detailed:

> Due to their position in Norwegian-American history, the Sloopers have been honored by commemorative events. The most important was the Norse-American Centennial of 1925, the greatest gathering of Norwegian-Americans ever held. On one day alone attendance was recorded at 84,000. A replica of the sloop was built and exhibited. Notables from Norway and Canada attended, and President Coolidge made a trip by special train from Washington. Descendants of the original Sloopers were honored guests, with expenses paid. They lunched with the President and attended a reception at the Governor's Mansion.[49]

In passing, it should also be noted that during the celebrations in the towns of Ottawa and Norway, Illinois, in 1925, Professor Norlie initiated an organization called "The Slooper Society of America," where membership was limited to descendants of the original Sloopers and their spouses. It was patterned on the "May-

flower Society," founded in 1894 for the descendants of those who sailed on the *Mayflower*. The Slooper Society, with its subtitle, "The Norwegian Mayflower People" still exists, and holds its annual meetings in Norway, Illinois, on the Sunday closest to October 9 each year.

Then on September 2, 1964, the United States Congress, by joint resolution, authorized and requested the president to make an annual proclamation, designating October 9 as Leif Erikson Day. While the congressional resolution does not mention the *Restauration* or the Sloopers, it is notable that October 9 is the generally accepted date of their arrival in New York City; and that date was chosen, according to the sponsor, Representative Joseph E. Karth of Minnesota, because: "October 9 has traditionally been observed as Leif Erikson Day by many Scandinavian groups through the years."[50] Every president since then has made such a proclamation, the most recent being Joe Biden on October 6, 2023.[51]

During the sesquicentennial of the voyage in 1975, the *Restauration* was again a symbol, but now of a "new (Norwegian) ethnicity," which had adopted a new language, a new lifestyle, a new "spirit of America," but which also sought to preserve a cultural heritage from the "old country." For Norwegian-Americans, this included a self-image as people who were genuine, honest, unpretentious, practical, and no-nonsense; a people who tried to retain the inherited "straightforward peasant values and perspectives of their ancestors," values which were assumed to be, "too easily lost in the complexities of our modern commercial society."[52]

In short, the fifty-three individuals who came across the gangplank in New York City in 1825, and their vessel, may be said to constitute—along with Leif Erikson and the Vinland voyages—some of the very first building blocks in the construction and maintenance of a Norwegian-American ethnic identity. For that reason, if for no other, their names are of great interest to Norwegian-American posterity.

Based on the foregoing, I therefore suggest the following list of names for the crew and passengers on the *Restauration*.[53] For the sake of clarity, I have gathered them in family groups.

A List of Crew and Passengers on the *Restauration*.

1. Lars Larsen Geilane (1786-1845). Leader, owner. Brother of Siri Larsdatter Geilane (no. 38). Husband of:
2. Martha Georgiana Jørgensdatter Eide (1803-1887). Informant for Rasmus B. Anderson.
3. Margaret Allen Larsdatter (1825-1916). Born at sea on September 2, 1825. Informant for Rasmus B. Anderson.

4. Cornelius Nielsen Hersdal (1778-1833). Brother of Niels Nielsen Hersdal (no. 35). Husband of:
5. Kari Pedersdatter Hesthammer (1789-1846). Sister of Cleng Peerson.
6. (Susan) Anne Corneliusdatter (1814-1858).
7. Nils Corneliusen (1816-1893).
8. Inger M. Corneliusdatter (1819-1896). Informant for Rasmus B. Anderson.
9. Martha Karine Corneliusdatter (1822-1913). Informant for Rasmus B. Anderson.

10. Johannes Jacobsen Steine Soledal (1788-). Owner and crew. Husband of:
11. Martha Svendsdatter Kindingstad (1786-).
12. Martha Helene Johannesdatter (1820-ca. 1885).

13. Aanen Thoresen Brastad (1796-1826). Brother of Niels Thoresen Brastad (no. 47). Husband of:
14. Bertha Karine Aadnesdatter Orstad (1790-1844).
15. Sara (Siri) Aanensdatter (1818-1904) later known as Sarah T. Richey. Informant for Rasmus B. Anderson.
16. Anne Marie Kristine Aanensdatter (1818-1842).
17. Berta Karine Aanensdatter (1825-1826).

18. Daniel Stensen Rossedal (1779-1854). Ancestor of author J. Hart Rosdail. Husband of:
19. Britha Johanne Ovesdatter (1786-1854).
20. Elen (Eli) Danielsdatter (1807-1886).

21. Ove Danielsen (1809-1890).
22. John Danielsen (1825-1893).
23. Lars Danielsen (1812-1837).
24. Helga Hulda Danielsdatter (1825-1914). Informant for Rasmus B. Anderson.

25. Tormod Jensen Madland (1780-1826). Husband of:
26. Siri Iversdatter Seldal (1770-1829).
27. Rakel Serine Tormodsdatter (1807-). Later married the captain, Lars Olsen Helland (no. 49).
28. Guri Tormodsdatter (1809-1846).
29. Serine Tormodsdatter (1814-1898). Later married Jacob Andersen Slogvig (no. 37). Informant for Rasmus. B. Anderson.

30. Simon Pedersen Lihme (1782-). Husband of:
31. Maren Karine Størchersdatter Kyllesø (1782-).
32. Greta Birgitte Simonsdatter (1814-).
33. Severine Marie Simonsdatter (1817-ca.1827-28).
34. Simon Simonsen (1822-ca. 1827-28).

35. Niels Nielsen Hersdal (1800-1886). Crew. Brother of Cornelius Nielsen Hersdal (no. 4). Informant for Rasmus B. Anderson. Husband of:
36. Bertha Christophersdatter Hervik (1802-1882). Sister of Henrik Christophersen Hervik (no. 39). Informant for Rasmus B. Anderson.

37. Jacob Andersen Slogvig (1806-1864) Crew. Brother of Knud Andersen Slogvig (no. 53). Later married Serine Tormodsdatter Madland (no. 29).

38. Siri Larsdatter Geilane (1779-after 1845). Sister of Lars Larson Geilane (no. 1).

39. Henrik Christophersen Hervik. (1802-1883). Crew. Brother of Bertha Christophersdatter Hervik (no. 36).

40. Bertha (Martha?) Henriksdatter (1797/79-1868).

41. Ole Jonsen Eide (1796-1878). Returned to Norway in 1828, married that year, emigrated again "shortly thereafter."

42. Gudmund Danielsen Haukaas (1800-1849). Crew.

43. Torstein Olsen Bjorland (1795-1874). Informant of Rasmus B. Anderson.

44. Jørgen Johnsen Hesja (1809-1849).

45. Endre Salvesen Lindland (Andrew Dahl) (1784-ca. 1860). Supposed to have been the cook on board. Perhaps listed as crew upon arrival in New York City.

46. Halvor Iversen Revheim (1809-ca. 1849).

47. Niels Thoresen Brastad (1804-1863). Brother of Aanen Thoresen Brastad (no. 13).

48. Ole Olsen Hetletveit (1797-1854).

49 Lars Olsen Helland (?-?). Captain, owner. Married Rakel Serine Tormodsdatter Madland (no. 27).

50. Peder Eriksen Meland (?-?). Crew, mate.

51. Salve Jensen Fintland (1792/93-?). From Sirdal. Returned to Norway in 1826-27. Husband of:
52. Åsa Atlachsdatter (1800/01-?). From Sirdal. Returned to Norway in 1826-27.

53. Knud Andersen Slogvig (1798-1867) Brother of Jacob Andersen Slogvig (no. 37). Returned to Norway in 1826-28. Emigrated again in 1829, returned to Norway once more in 1835, and emigrated a final time in 1836.

Notes

[1] "Norway," in *Skandinaven*, Chicago, July 6, 1875, 2. Copy from a microfilm, provided by The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Springfield, IL. My translation.

[2] Rasmus B. Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Emigration (1821-1840), its Causes and Results* (Madison, WI: Printed by the author, 1906), 51.

[3] Captain Lars O. Helland turned over a crew list to the relevant port authority in Stavanger on June 27, 1825. *Stavanger Customs Protocol for June 27, 1825*. Riksarkivet [The Norwegian National Archives]. Oslo: Finansdepartementet, journalsaker 456/1826 F, nr. 105, 1825. The list is as follows (my translation):

Mate Peder Eriksen Meeland, 31 years;

Able-bodied Seaman Johannes Jacobsen Soledal, 39 years;

Able-bodied Seaman Gudmund Danielsen Hugaas, 25 years;

Able-bodied Seaman Niels Nielsen Hersdal, 25 years;

Ordinary Seaman Henrik Christophersen Hervig, 22 years;

Boy Jacob Andersen Slaavig, 15 years.

Signed in Stavanger June 27, 1825, Lars O. Helland, Captain.

[4] "An act concerning Passengers in Vessels coming to the Port of New-York." *Laws of the State of New-York, passed at the forty-seventh session of the Legislature, from Jan 6, 1824*. Chapter XXXVII. February 11, 1824, 27.

[5] Theodore Blegen, "Sloop folk Problems." Appendix to *Norwegian Migration to America 1825-1860*, (Northfield: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1931), 381-396. 395.

[6] *Den norske Rigstidende*, July 25, 1825. https://www.nb.no/items/f53a75d790a86964c5e356051acb41b7?page=0. Accessed December 18, 2021.

[7] Gunnar J. Malmin, "Norsk Landnam i U.S. II. Lidt om Sluppefolkets Udvandring i 1825," *Decorah-Posten* november 21, 1924, vol. 54, no. 34. In the original Norwegian as published by Malmin: *«I denne Sommer skulle 51 Personer være afseilede til Amerika."*

[8] Ole Rynning, *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika til Oplysning og Nytte for Bonde og Menigmand*, trans. and ed. Theodore Blegen. (Northfield, MN: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, Travel and Description Series, 1926), vol. I, 71-72.

[9] (Sarah T. Richey) "From Norway to America." *The Marseilles Plaindealer* Marseilles, IL, Friday, April 6, 1894, Vol. XVIII, no. 14, 1, 4.

[10] Anderson, *First Chapter*, 93. "I myself have seen and talked with eight of the sloop passengers, (…) and have had a considerable correspondence with a ninth and tenth…"

[11] Anderson, *First Chapter*, 70-71.

[12] Anderson, *First Chapter,* 91 ff.

[13] George T. Flom, *A History of Norwegian Immigration to The United States: From the Earliest Beginnings Down to The Year 1848* (Iowa City: Privately published, 1909) 46-48.

[14] Blegen, "Sloop folk Problems," 395-396.

[15] Blegen, "Sloop folk Problems," 394, writes:

> The health record dated July 4, 1825, and signed by Løwold at the Stavanger Raadstue, for the latter gives the number of passengers as 45 and of the crew as 7. (…) The Løwold document is printed in *Norges-posten* for October 8, 1825. This health record shows that the sloop was officially "cleared" on July 4 for sailing, but this release may have come late in the day and the sloop may not have departed until the next morning.

[16] 'Petition for Remission,' in Theodore Blegen, "John Quincy Adams and the Sloop 'Restoration'." Appendix to Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition.* (Northfield, MN: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1940) 599-628. 608.

[17] *New-York Daily Advertiser*, October 12, 1825, as quoted in Anderson, *First Chapter*, 70-71.

[18] Letters from Henry Gahn, translated by Theodore Blegen, in "Adams and the Restoration'," 622.

[19] Anderson, *First Chapter*, 79.

[20] *Den norske Rigstidende*, 23.01.1826, 1. https://www.nb.no/items/99c0099e0d25559b74f9949362e6d528?page=0. Accessed August 7, 2023. My translation.

[21] Richey, "From Norway to America." 1.

[22] Anderson, *First Chapter*, 63.

[23] Cf. for example J. Hart Rosdail, *The Sloopers. Their Ancestry and Posterity* (Norwegian Slooper Society of America, 1961) 32.

[24] See for example a selection of the New York City Passenger lists at https://www.familysearch.org/en/wiki/Free_Online_New_York_Passenger_Lists,_1820-1897

[25] Henry Gahn, in "Adams and the 'Restoration'," 622.

[26] *Chicago Tribune*, Chicago IL, July 6, 1875, 1. Newspapers.com https://www.newspapers.com/image/466300320. Downloaded December 23, 2021.

[27] Cf. n. 4 above.

[28] Anderson, *First Chapter*, 92,108.

[29] Rosdail, *The Sloopers*, 605-607.

[30] Gerhard Naeseth, *Norwegian Immigrants to the United States: A Biographical Directory.*

Vol. 1: 1825-1843. (Decorah, Iowa: Anundsen Publishing Company, 1993), 2-8.

[31] Rynning, *True Account*, 74.

[32] Knud Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika. Nogle Optegnelser om De Norskes Udvandring til Amerika.* (Chicago: John Anderson Co, 1887/1888) 17-18.

[33] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 17-18. The Norwegian sentences are:

> Endelig kom en af Sluppefolkene ved Navn Knud Slogvig tilbage til Norge i 1835 efterat have opholdt Sig ti Aar i den nye Verden. Han opholdt Sig for det meste i sin Hjembygd i Skjolds Præstegjeld, og Efterretningen om hans Hjemkomst løb som en Budstikke fra Mand til Mand

med utrolig Hurtighed. Allvegne fra i Bergens Stift og Stavanger Amt reiste Folk lange Veie for at tale med ham.

[34] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*. 18.

[35] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 23. The Norwegian text reads*:* "Ved Besøget hos Knud Slogvig fik vi [sic] en fuld og sikker Bekræftelse paa, hvad vi tidligere have hørt og læst. Dette var i vinteren 1836."

[36] Anderson, *First Chapter*, 92.

[37] Blegen, "Sloop folk Problems", 396.

[38] Rosdail, *The Sloopers*, 606.

[39] Gunnar A. Skadberg, *Øve dammen i Junaiten* [Over the Pond in America] (Stavanger: Wigestrand Forlag, 2007), 96. Skadberg writes that Slogvig: "Has been mentioned as a possible 'slooper,' but this is rejected by most emigration historians, and is probably not correct." My translation.

[40] Theodore Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America 1825-1860* (Northfield: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1931) 60. See in particular notes 8 and 9. See also Anna Danielsen's letter of February 28, 1895, to Rasmus B. Anderson, in Anderson, *First Chapter*, 86-90.

[41] Rosdail, *The Sloopers*, 606.

[42] Per Seland, Sirdal Gård og Ætt, vol. II, (Sirdal: Sirdal Kommune, 1987) 341, 511. See also the digitized church records at The Norwegian Digital Archives, Sirdal sokneprestkontor, SAK/1111-0036/F/Fa/Fab/L0001 Ministerialbok nr. A 1, 1815-1834, 582-583, and 632. https://media.digitalarkivet.no/en/view/9824/178, and https://media.digitalarkivet.no/en/view/9824/183. Accessed February 9, 2022. My translation of the notes in the parish record.

[43] Cf. Orm Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

[44] Nordisk Tidende, No. 45, anden årgang, September 16, 1892, 1. https://www.nb.no/items/33f0fd10332c218962a306e31b9b4567?page=0, accessed September 25, 2023.

[45] Anderson, *First Chapter*, 15.

[46] Anderson, *First Chapter*, 53.

[47] The newspaper *Decorah-Posten*, quoted by Arne Kildal, in *Norges Handels- og Sjøfartstidende*, June 4. 1924, 5. My translation. https://www.nb.no/items/0b4fffb22a0960d66251fb6a73492d72?page=5. Accessed March 10, 2022.

[48] O. M. Norlie, "Why We Celebrate." *Norse-American Centennial 1825-1925 Souvenir Edition Booklet*, Norse-American Centennial Executive Committee (St. Paul, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925) 51-56, 51.

[49] J. Hart Rosdail, "The Sloopers and the Slooper Society." Bethesda Gleanings, (April 2, 1958) 4, in https://sloopersociety.org/resources/the-sloopers-and-the-slooper-society-by-j-hart-rosadail-april-2-1958. Accessed July 31, 2023.

[50] *Nordisk Tidende*, No. 36, 74. årgang, september 3, 1964, 7. https://www.nb.no/items/33d392bff3f87efc9fa13089711c6192?page=5. Accessed September 25, 2023.

[51] A Proclamation on Leif Erikson Day, 2023 | The White House https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2023/10/06/a-proclamation-on-leif-erikson-day-2023/ Accessed May 3, 2024.

[52] Paul D. Rusten, "A Heritage is to Share." *The Commemorative Publication of the Norwegian-American 1975 Sesquicentennial Association* (Minneapolis: The Norwegian-American 1975 Sesquicentennial Association, 1975), 8-9.

[53] This list is based on a comparison of the crew list of 1825 as well as passenger lists and further information found in the sources listed below. Ultimately, all of the lists, except the one signed by Captain Lars O. Helland and that provided by Sarah T. Richey, begin with Rasmus B. Anderson's list from 1895. Rasmus B. Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Emigration (1821-1840), its Causes and Results* (Madison, WI: Printed by the author, 1906), 91 ff; Theodore Blegen, "Sloop folk Problems." Appendix to *Norwegian Migration to America 1825-1860*, 395ff; George T. Flom, *A History of Norwegian Immigration to The United States: From the Earliest Beginnings Down to The Year 1848* (Iowa City: Privately published, 1909) 46-48; Knud Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika. Nogle Optegnelser om De Norskes Udvandring til Amerika.* (Chicago: John Anderson Co, 1887/1888); Norway Heritage.com http://www.norwayheritage.com/p_list.asp?jo=1571. Accessed March 30, 2022; Gerhard Næseth, *Norwegian Immigrants to the United States: A Biographical Directory* Vol. 1: 1825-1843 (Decorah, Iowa: Anundsen Publishing Company, 1993), 2-8; Captain Lars O. Helland, Crew list of June 27, 1825, "Stavanger Customs Protocol for June 27, 1825." Riksarkivet [The Norwegian National Archives]. Oslo: Finansdepartementet, journalsaker 456/1826 F, nr. 105, 1825; Sarah T. Richey [Sara Aanensdtr]. "From Norway to America," *The Marseilles Plaindealer*, Marseilles, IL, April 6, 1894, Vol XVIII, no 14, 1, 4; J. Hart Rosdail, *The Sloopers. Their Ancestry and Posterity* (Norwegian Slooper Society of America, 1961) 605-607. See especially the description of his research on p. 607; Ole Rynning, *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika til Oplysning og Nytte for Bonde og Menigmand*, trans. and ed. Theodore Blegen. (Northfield, MN: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, Travel and Description Series, 1926), vol. I, 71-72; Per Seland, *Sirdal Gård og Ætt, vol. II, Sirdal kommune: 1987*, 341, 511. The digitized church records at The Norwegian Digital Archives, Sirdal sokneprestkontor, SAK/1111-0036/F/Fa/Fab/L0001 Ministerialbok nr. A 1, 1815-1834, 582-583, and 632. https://media.digitalarkivet.no/en/view/9824/178, and https://media.digitalarkivet.no/en/view/9824/183. Accessed February 9, 2022; Gunnar A. Skadberg, *Øve dammen i Junaiten* (Stavanger: Wigestrand Forlag, 2007), 63.

Between Pluralism and the Melting Pot: Identity Formation among Danish Immigrants in the United States in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Jørn Brøndal

Between 1860 and 1930, some 330,000 Danes migrated to the United States, forming their relatively modest part of a total Scandinavian exodus of about 2.2 million people. Even so, Danish migration was still of such proportions that by 1930 the 529,000 Danish Americans—the immigrants and their U.S.-born children—made up what corresponded to 15 percent of Denmark's population of then 3.6 million people. Whereas many of the 1.1 million Swedish and almost 730,000 Norwegian migrants clustered together into ethnic settlements, that tendency was somewhat less pronounced among the Danes. They gained a reputation for being good at "Americanizing" or "assimilating." Still, they and their U.S.-born progeny did coalesce in sufficiently large numbers to form a distinct Danish-American culture that flourished between the 1870s and World War I.[1] If the overall Danish-American ethnic trajectory during those years was toward assimilation, a pluralist dream still remained alive. That dream has received only limited attention within Danish-American migration historiography.[2] Its interplay with its symbolic opposite, the melting pot, is the main focus of this essay.

During those years, Danish-American identity was continually negotiated and re-negotiated through practical action and homespun theory. The practical action consisted of the migratory experience itself and of meeting and sometimes interacting with people that at a first glance came across to the Danish Americans as strange because they did not master the Danish language, or eccentric because they had looks that from a Danish ethnocentric perspective came across as peculiar. For the same reasons, participation in ethnic networks of kith and kin was usually of special importance during the early phase, just after reaching the New World and before breaching the language barrier.

The practical action consisted, moreover, in establishing Danish-American institutions, such as churches, mutual-aid associations, and a press. In turn, those institutions contributed to maintaining ethnic cohesion—and the Danish language—as well as to occasionally putting ethnicity on display through picnics, parades, festivals, and other types of collective activities.

Practical action based on specific historical circumstances aside, Danish-American identity formation also drew sustenance from speculation in writing. It is this "theoretical" dimension in attempting to construct a Danish-American identity that we shall focus on here. Even though most Danes could read and write—with reams of letters across the Atlantic at the same time attesting to the importance of chain migration—it was mainly pastors, reporters, and writers who stepped up to the task of offering theories of identity. Most of those theorists lived in the United States, and by far the majority had made the journey from Denmark to America on at least one occasion. Their outlook was invariably transnational, with Lutheran pastors oftentimes looking to Denmark for theological inspiration, editors and reporters sometimes taking an extremely critical view of Danish politics, and writers of fiction typically glorying in romantic and nationalistic ideas about their native country.[3]

To some extent, the theories that these writers proposed simply rationalized lived Danish-American experiences: No wonder that migrants struggling to get ahead in the United States practiced a type of cultural pluralism that allowed them to keep and maintain—

if oftentimes also imperceptibly change and unwittingly Americanize—important dimensions of their Danish heritage; and thus perhaps no wonder that several writers argued in favor of degrees of cultural pluralism.[4]

As noted by Philip Gleason, cultural pluralism is a slippery concept, as is that of the melting pot. Both were coined in the early twentieth century. The latter term appeared first and is associated with the English playwright Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), of Russian Jewish background, whose play "The Melting-Pot" came out in 1908 and became a major success in the United States. To be sure, the use of metaphors verging on melting-pot imagery go back to the eighteenth century, to J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur who in 1782 famously posed the question, "What then is the American, this new man?" and suggested, "Here individuals of all nations are *melted* into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world" (italics added). Also Ralph Waldo Emerson and Frederick Jackson Turner came close, with the latter in 1893 describing the westward-moving American frontier, if not as a melting pot then as a "crucible." But the concept was slippery. As Gleason points out, it remained unclear whether the idea was that everyone, including native-born white Americans, should melt into "a new race of men" or whether, rather, the immigrants should give up their own heritage to become old-style Anglo-Saxon Americans. Moreover, was there a place for, say, African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans inside the melting pot? Zangwill suggested as much, having David, his main protagonist—exclaim, "Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian—*black and yellow* […] the glory of America, where *all races* and nations come to labor and look forward!" (Italics added).[5]

Of course, to almost all whites in the racist Jim Crow South—and unfortunately also to most white Americans in other parts of the United States—the idea that African Americans should be part of any crucible was abhorrent, and the term used for Black-white biological mixing was "miscegenation" rather than the "melting pot."[6] Also, at the time that "The Melting-Pot" play toured the United States, not only had Chinese labor migration been banned

since 1882 but through a series of notes exchanged in 1907-1908 between the administration of president Theodore Roosevelt and that of the Japanese emperor Meiji, a "gentlemen's agreement" had been reached to deny passports to Japanese laborers wishing to go to the United States.[7] The point is not, however, whether Zangwill was right or wrong but simply to emphasize that interpretations of the concept of the melting pot varied across time and place, yet with very few people reflecting on this, because the metaphor came across as so deceptively simple as to make discussions about the finer points of its interpretation almost irrelevant.

If the melting pot thus came in various shapes and forms—some more ethnically tolerant than others—so did cultural pluralism. This concept was coined by Harvard philosopher Horace Kallen when his article "Democracy *versus* the Melting Pot," originally published in *The Nation* in 1915, came out in a slightly modified form in 1924. Writing the first version of his article during the World War I era, Kallen saw a *contradiction* between democracy and the melting pot. Those years saw in short order, first, an intense "anti-hyphenate" campaign aimed at negatively forcing immigrants—especially those of German-American heritage—to break their ties with their land of birth and, second, a drive for "one-hundred percent Americanism" to positively ensure complete loyalty to the United States.[8] Indeed, the same atmosphere of heated "patriotism" that led Kallen to reject the melting pot in favor of a pluralistic vision inspired Randolph Bourne to dream of a "Trans-National America" (1916) that should acknowledge the "failure of the 'melting-pot'" and embrace "the evidence of vigorous nationalistic and cultural movements in this country among Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, and Poles," rather than attempt to forcibly assimilate these groups into something that over-zealous publicists "unquestioningly label 'American.'"[9]

Thus, cultural pluralism was pushed by Kallen as a tolerant—if for now much ignored—alternative to the melting pot with its unpleasant World War I era connotations of one-hundred percent Americanism. Still, as Gleason points out, cultural pluralism was likewise a shifty term open to several different interpretations. At

the one extreme—Kallen's original viewpoint—was the idea that rather than search for ethnic unity by expecting all population groups to approach each other through assimilatory processes, one should work toward a social harmony—a federation of nationalities—based on retention of ethnic differences. Just like the instruments of an orchestra perform each their part in creating a beautiful symphony but remain distinct—a trombone, after all, will never turn into a violin—the United States should be the staging ground for what Kallen called "a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind. As in an orchestra, every type of instrument has its specific timbre and tonality, founded in its substance and form…"[10] This type of harmony—this "symphony of civilization"—presupposed *e silentio* a basic level of societal consensus, to be sure—say, a fundamental reverence for the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. That type of social harmony, we may add, is often associated with the concept of a basically color-blind civic nationalism and in the U.S. context set in juxtaposition to a mostly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant racial nationalism.[11] Over the years, indeed, Kallen emphasized that type of social harmony more and more, by 1956 even writing glowingly of "the American Idea" while still professing to remain a cultural pluralist.[12] As pointed out by Gleason, hidden within Kallen's original vision of a federation of unchanging nationalities, however, was also a racial idea. After all, if the various nationality groups are to persist in eternity—if the trombone will never turn into a violin—are we not dealing with racialist thought, a type of reasoning that may have been further fortified by the tendency to conflate "nationality" with "race" in the early twentieth century? As Gleason puts it, the original anti-assimilationist version of cultural pluralism was "vaguely racial in its assumptions and open to a segregationist interpretation…"[13]

As already noted, immigrants tended to practice a type of pluralism that allowed them to keep and maintain aspects of their heritage and to get ahead in an often strange New World environment. Milton M. Gordon, the eminent sociologist, even suggested in 1964 that "cultural pluralism was a fact in American society before it became a theory…"[14] This was largely true of the Danish-American

experience. Still, already at an early date, a number of Danish-American writers and ministers attempted to turn at least some pluralist notions into theory.

Only on rare occasions, it has to be said, did Danish-American commentators write about matters pertaining to what also in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were viewed as the great racial divides, those constructions supposedly separating white Americans from African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. Whereas Danish travel writers visiting the United States wrote whole chapters about these groups in their efforts to pique their Danish middle-class audiences while exoticizing aspects of life in the New World—and in the process making frequent use of grotesque racist stereotypes—for the most part U.S.-based Danish-American commentators remained silent about these groups, commenting on them only in passing.[15] When it happened, however, the presupposition was almost invariably that Danes were superior to other groups. In a 1904 op-ed in *Den Danske Pioneer*—by far the largest Danish-American newspaper—on the dangers of socialism, one observer noted that implementation of that ideology would result in equality between "Europeans, Americans, Chinese, Mohammedans, Jews, pagans, Negroes, Indians, cannibals, and God knows how many other groups."[16] A Lutheran pastor in Denmark whose opinion was printed in the Danish-American paper *Dannevirke* in 1920, claimed that in U.S. cities "highly civilized Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Scandinavians" met with "half-civilized Italians, Slavs and Spaniards and with Negroes, Chinese, and Japanese—and, finally, with a number of Jews."[17]

Following the end of the Civil War, African Americans found only infrequent mention among Danish Americans, one reason undoubtedly being that whereas by far the majority of Danish immigrants and their children settled in the North, most African Americans remained in the South, at least until the Great Migration of the World War I era came underway. Still, now and then Black Americans were mentioned. Typically, they were portrayed in a pejorative and racist manner. When a group of Danish Lutherans went

on a land-inspection tour to Texas in 1894 with a view to establishing a Danish-American settlement there, they wrote in the little Lutheran paper *Dannevirke:* "Maybe just thinking about the population in the South makes many people fearful—especially because most of the time you are inclined to think of cowboys and negroes." But as they added reassuringly: "Compared to what you might expect, as far as negroes are concerned, we saw only a few."[18] In an even more blatantly racist vein, an ad in *Den Danske Pioneer* in 1896 suggested that "as long as land can be had in beautiful and industrious Wisconsin […] not many are willing to move out onto the Western prairies or down among the dirty and lazy Negroes in the South."[19] When the Danish Lutheran minister Peder Kjølhede visited the little town of El Campo in Texas in 1898, he found the town uncommonly beautiful: "But no negroes live here, it was said."[20] Kjølhede's colleague L. Henningsen—whom the former actually ordained as pastor in 1898—suggested in March 1904 that only by congregating in settlements could Danish immigrants retain old patterns of mutual trust and reliance. If they remained dispersed, they risked self-loathing, the worst condition that any person might sink down into. "It is this [self-loathing] that makes work among the negroes almost hopeless; but there are really many scattered Danes who have sunk down to the same level."[21]

Lynchings of African Americans likewise found mention now and again, including the torture and burning at the stake of Sam Hose in Palmetto, Georgia, in 1901, an agricultural laborer accused of having murdered his white employer and then raped his wife. In *Dannevirke*, Hose was described as a "the crook" but also as "the poor negro."[22] That same lynching, however, caused the little Lutheran paper *Danskeren* to ask, "When will the time arise when the American people will have to learn real civilization?"[23] Generally speaking, the tone of *Den Danske Pioneer* on lynchings was harsher. In an editorial in 1901 on rape and lynchings, the paper suggested, "You have to remember that in this country, even as the negro apes [*efteraber*] civilization, deep down inside he still remains an utter barbarian, four generations removed from primeval

man."[24] In another editorial two years later, the same paper suggested remarkably noncommittally that even though one might consider the pros and cons of lynchings—this "barbaric manner" of exacting bloody revenge—doing so "will not help in the least."[25] Occasionally, African Americans were also portrayed as strikebreakers. Thus, in discussing Black scabs at a coalmine in Pana in central Illinois, *Den Danske Pioneer* suggested that in reality these people were "a gang of murderers, selected among the negro race's worst scum in the Southern states."[26]

Asian Americans—usually Chinese Americans—were mentioned even more infrequently than African Americans. True, California, the home of most Chinese Americans, boasted a fairly substantial population of Danish immigrants—in 1900 amounting to 9,040 persons—but their contact with the local Asian Americans appears to have been minimal.[27] In 1882, the year that Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, the brand-new San Francisco-based *Bien*—which at that point in time was a weekly illustrated magazine rather than a newspaper—did discuss that city's Chinese population. Asserting that since the "Chinese question" was not about politics—or at least ought not to be—the paper felt free to publish a story on life in Chinatown, a story that, as it turned out, ran over five issues. Delving into racist stereotypes, *Bien* described the streets as "just terribly dirty" and the dwellings—many of them allegedly underground—as over-populated and stinking. In line with the general descriptions of that age, the Chinese themselves were portrayed as people who could get along on extremely little food, and who preferred opium to drink, the crucial point being that "among them the predominant majority are addicted, whereas among whites drunkards make up only a small minority." More generally, these people seemed to lack any kind of compassion for other human beings, and the wealthiest Chinese Americans were, frankly, "slave owners."[28] Years later, *Den Danske Pioneer* characterized Chinese smugglers who lured Chinese women to the United States under false promises, only to force them to work as prostitutes, as part of the "yellow slave trade."[29] Discussions of Chinese Americans were almost invariably negative. In 1907, *Bien*

noted that a new Chinese bank was being planned in San Francisco. The name of one of the bank managers was Ho Johnson: "We just say: Thank God his name is not Sørensen."[30] In 1917, on the verge of U.S. entry into World War I, *Den Danske Pioneer* warned against importing Chinese labor to Denmark. "Anyone who knows the slightest bit about the yellow race must absolutely resist" that notion.[31]

Apparently, Native Americans were discussed a bit more frequently—but not a whole lot—by Danish-American commentators than were African Americans or Asian Americans. One reason was undoubtedly that early Danish settlers had actively participated in the dispossession of their lands, and that the indigenous population therefore formed part of migration lore. Rasmus Paulson who traveled to Wisconsin in 1867 together with his wife and their two-year-old son remembered confronting "a couple of hundred Indians" near Sparta in western Wisconsin while heading north for Pleasant Valley in St. Croix County: "First, they frightened us terribly; but they only asked for food and other things and did not hurt any of us."[32] In line with so many other U.S.-based commentators and many travel writers, Danish Americans tended to view the indigenous population as part of a "vanishing" race destined to perish, now that "civilization" was replacing the wilderness.[33] Describing the arrival of Danish-born John Smith to the Wisconsin bank of the St. Croix River in 1836, Lutheran minister Peter Sørensen Vig (1854-1929) asserted that Smith "was without a doubt the first white settler in St. Croix County." When he appeared, the area was "just one large virgin forest, only inhabited by Indians and wild animals." Similarly, a writer reminiscing on life in Rosholt, Portage County, Wisconsin, in 1867, noted that when the first Danes arrived, everything "was almost just wild forest and Indians." In both cases, the implication was that since those days the indigenous population had disappeared. [34]

The same line of thought was represented in the masthead of *Den Danske Pioneer*, as it appeared on each issue of the newspaper from 1888 to 2012. To the right, presumably representing the east, a white, bearded man—undoubtedly a Dane—posed with a plow

in hand in front of a pastoral landscape of tilled fields and quaint houses and a river crossed by a bridge; to the left, likely representing the west, a Native American with spear in hand looked toward a rugged, mountainous landscape with wild animals running across it. The clear implication was that the American Indian was receding west as civilization made its onslaught.[35] In 1916, the Danish-American newspaper editor Georg Sophus Strandvold summarized this view: "No Indian prophet, be he ever so discerning of the mysteries of the future, knew that everything was going to change, as has now happened; that the earth was going to be plowed and harrowed; and that immense stretches of it would be cleared, so that homes of stone and iron and steel for millions of white people could be built, or that these 'pale faces' would amass in tremendous cities and end up completely wiping out the indigenous people. But that is what happened."[36]

Printed at the front and center of the masthead of *Den Danske Pioneer*, and superimposed on the white man and the Native American, so that they were hidden slightly, was a small picture depicting the American eagle, a couple of banners, and the motto, *E Pluribus Unum*. The question remained, however, whether the Native American or the African American and the Asian American should be included in that Unum? Judging by the whole idea of the "vanishing Indian," the Native American would seem to have been excluded. And considering the racist tone used against African Americans and Asian Americans, so would they. If they still belonged in the United States, they were, at most, part of the Pluribus, of a harsh type of pluralism characterized by rigid color lines, a "coercive pluralism," to use Lawrence Fuchs' term, that, as it seemed, only remained "harmonious" to the extent that these groups accepted a subordinate status under white supremacy.[37]

Other groups in U.S. society, including notably the Danish Americans themselves, seemed able to move toward the Unum. True, even among ethnically "white" Americans, several "racial" dividing lines remained, and whole hierarchies of whiteness were constructed which placed northern and western Europeans at or at near the top, with English-speaking "Americans" of U.S. ancestry

at least two generations back providing the yardstick for most ethnoracial measurement.[38] Hardly surprisingly, the tendency among Danish-American commentators was to portray themselves as atop the ethnoracial hierarchies, not far removed from the Yankees. In doing so, like so many other ethnic groups, they invented what Orm Øverland called "homemaking myths." Even if the Danes could hardly boast as loudly about the Norse Viking Leif Ericson's "discovery" of America as the Norwegian Americans sometimes did, they could, at least, go one step further back and point to the considerable influence that Danish Vikings had had on the formation of the English people.[39] In accordance with this line of thought, a number of "white" groups, some of them dismissed as racial "others," were viewed condescendingly as ranking far below the Danes. To be sure, most such groups were only mentioned sporadically. When on rare occasions Italian-American Catholics and Jewish Americans of Eastern European heritage were discussed, the tone tended to be negative, as when the Danish-American Lutheran minister Kristian Østergaard in 1904 advised Danish immigrant families that housing in Hartford, Connecticut was prohibitively expensive, at least "if you don't want to settle among Jews or Italians or similar types."[40] Irish Catholics, the male prototypes of whom were frequently portrayed by travel writers as prone to whisky and spousal violence, might likewise be viewed with suspicion by Danish-American commentators.[41] Writing from Omaha, Nebraska, in 1893, Karin Marie Madsen defended a relative who faced criticism because he was to marry a Swedish woman. But as Ms. Madsen wrote: "My neighbor is Danish, and their son is engaged with a Catholic—that, after all, is more pitiful. She is Irish, and we're at war with them on matters religious."[42] In the winter of 1884, Pat Williams, an Irish-American farmer in Rutland in northern Iowa, asked Lars Peter Jensen, his Danish-American neighbor, for water for his horses. Jensen, however, refused to help him because his own access to water depended on melting snow or walking a mile to a neighbor who owned a well. Shortly afterward, the Irishman left the area, the implication being that he didn't have what it took to be a farmer in Iowa.[43] To be sure, there

were also exceptions to these types of description. In eastern Kansas, a writer reported that when Jens Pedersen Lund was caught by a snow storm and suffered frostbite, a local Irishman took him into his shanty and expertly helped him recover by using snow to ease his suffering.[44]

The relationship with German-Americans could have been expected to be tense because Danish Americans associated them with the Three Years' War (1848-1850), with the disastrous War of 1864 that led to the loss of Southern Jutland until 1920 and later with World War I. Sometimes tensions did indeed surface. Hans Peter Christian Hansen, a restless bohemian soul who in 1847 founded *Skandinavia,* the first Scandinavian newspaper in the United States, thus reported about a brawl in a German bar in New York City between a couple of ethnic Danes and one German in April 1849 related to a sea battle in the First Schleswig War.[45] Also, there were examples of Danish and German Americans attempting to buy each other out of tight-knit ethnic settlements, with German Americans taking the lead in such an effort in Freeborn County in southern Minnesota in 1904 and Danish Americans doing something similar at Partridge in Pine County, Minnesota, in 1906.[46]

One should not exaggerate the degree of negative feelings between ethnic Danes and Germans in the United States, however. Rasmus Sørensen, a Danish proponent of migration to the United States, was infuriated when onboard a ship from Hamburg to New York he heard Danes sing war songs. Shortly afterward, he gave a speech—in German—condemning national hatreds. From the forest settlement in Columbia Valley, Washington, came a report in 1890 that settlers "visit with each other almost as if they were at home, both Danes, Germans, and Americans—and all kinds of nationalities." Similarly, in Upper Walnut Creek in Kansas around 1916, Danes and Germans had a reputation for being good neighbors.[47] Indeed, Lutherans from northern Germany had so much in common with their Danish-born neighbors in Hartland, Wisconsin, that just three years after Denmark's defeat in the War of 1864 they built a church together to accommodate both groups. At Rankin in eastern Illinois during the 1870s, a Danish congregation that in-

cluded many members from German-occupied Southern Jutland was occasionally permitted to borrow the local German-American church.[48]

The relationship between Danish Americans and other Scandinavian Americans was usually good. In Minnesota, one settlement was even named Swenoda, an abbreviated compound of Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish.[49] Co-settlement among the three groups was hardly the rule, however, even if in the early days of migration they co-founded ethnic institutions, such as the ethnic church and press, until increasing migration enabled them to part ways along national lines.[50] During the 1870s, tensions sometimes erupted, as when Norwegians and Swedes decided to leave the local Lutheran church after the arrival of Holger Rosenstand, a Danish Lutheran pastor whose relatively High Church, liberal-minded, and not sufficiently pietistic Grundtvigian theology they could not stomach. Danish Americans, on the other hand, might also be disappointed by Norwegian-American ministers for, as one Danish-born colleague noted of a Norwegian-born pastor's sermon, "even though it was Lutheran, it still was not like at home." Similarly, some Danish congregants told a Danish minister in the 1870s that even though they understood the local Norwegian minister's language, they had difficulty fathoming his message.[51] Still, tensions among the Scandinavians should generally not be exaggerated; one Danish minister even suggested that Danes from the island of Zealand had more in common with Swedes than with their compatriots in Jutland.[52]

Most frequently, relationships with the people invariably dubbed "the Americans," i.e., white English-speaking citizens of U.S. nativity going at least two generations back—were good. Natalie Bering, a Danish-born schoolteacher who after migrating to the U.S. in 1873 lived most of her life in Nebraska, insisted that "wherever she goes, a woman has a protector in an American and is never subjected to any kind of insult." Pastor Holger Rosenstand—who likewise migrated to the United States in 1873 and returned to Denmark in 1878—noted bitterly in 1901 that in the United States you find a "friendliness that, whenever you come

across it at home [in Denmark], is praised to the skies because of its rareness but that you find everywhere over there."[53]

True, sometimes the Americans could be arrogant, as one Dane asserted had been the case in Nasonville, Wisconsin, in the late 1860s when other settlers of various immigrant backgrounds visited with each other whereas the "Americans" kept to themselves. Also, their well-known energy and restlessness, noted by many a travel writer, might lead to stupid decisions, as when one Yankee traveling in the company of a group of Danes in Kansas drowned in the Salina River because he didn't have the patience to wait for the ebb.[54] Sometimes, a certain sense of inferiority could be detected in this Danish-American skepticism of the Yankee. A Danish entrepreneur who came to Manistee, Michigan, in 1865, urged his fellow nationals not to "yield to the Americans and put up with toiling for them." Of Jacob Nielsen of Union in eastern Nebraska it was said that for years he was "the best horseman and most skilled cowboy among the Danes, and no American surpassed him either."[55]

You might even argue that in certain respects the "Danes" were actually *better* than the "Americans." A writer from the large Danish settlement in Dannebrog, Nebraska, reported that when the grasshoppers came in the summer of 1874 and money and food subsequently got scarce, "many of the Americans ran away from it all and headed home for their families back east, whereas the tough Danes persevered." Similarly, in Viborg, South Dakota, when the grasshoppers likewise struck there in the 1870s, it was reported that the Americans and the Germans first "lost their courage" whereas the Danes stayed.[56] Even though the Danish immigrants may simply have been rationalizing about their own imagined hardiness in the face of a lack of alternative resources, this type of reasoning appears to have been widespread. A Danish correspondent in Clarksville, Nebraska, claimed in 1880 that the Americans didn't have "much inclination to work" because "they are not steady of mind but have a good tongue and can speak and sell and earn money" in all sorts of ways. A former servant girl who had arrived to the United States in 1893 identified what she saw as a basic dif-

ference between Danes and Americans in Racine, Wisconsin: The Danes were "lighter of hue and sturdier" whereas the Americans were "so swarthy and slim that it is pitiful."[57]

Even though the Danes to some extent saw the "Americans" and non-Danish whites of northwestern European heritage as "different," still, with these groups the possibility of mingling socially and even biologically nevertheless remained open—much more so than with, say, the Italian Americans, Jewish Americans, African Americans, Chinese Americans, or Native Americans. Patterns of intermarriage confirm this hypothesis. To be sure, in 1900 almost nine out of ten Danish-born women marrying after arriving in the United States had a Danish-born spouse, and almost eight out of ten Danish-born men did so. Most of those who married outside their nationality group, however, had found their spouses among people of Swedish, Norwegian, German, and "American" heritage, along with a sprinkling of Irishmen.[58]

Even though patterns of marriage and of settlement opened up the possibility of becoming part of an Unum based on "Americans" and other groups of primarily northwestern European heritage, many Danish ethnic leaders hoped to see their Danishness survive for quite a while yet. That tendency to maintain a sense of Pluribus was particularly pronounced among the Grundtvigians, named after the Danish theologian Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872). As the basis of their faith, these "Happy Danes" largely placed a "living and confessing" church before the Bible. Viewing life optimistically as a gift to be enjoyed, they based their beliefs also on a powerful nationalism rooted in Danish culture and language. Even though a sense of Danishness likewise pervaded the Inner Mission—the other main branch of Danish Lutheranism—this more pietistically minded group of "Gloomy Danes" frowned upon drink and dancing and placed a strong emphasis on repentance and personal faith. In the process, they worried less about retention of the Danish language in the New World.[59] Whereas these two groups were obliged to co-exist in Denmark within one and the same state church, in the more competitive religious landscape of the United States they went each their way in 1894 after having

cooperated tenuously since the early 1870s; the Grundtvigians remained within the "Danish Evangelical-Lutheran Church in America" that had formally been organized for all Danish Lutherans in 1874, whereas the Inner Mission group found a home in the "United Danish Evangelical-Lutheran Church in America" from 1896.[60]

Among the Grundtvigians, the idea of remaining Danish and not simply "Americanizing as fast as possible," as one Grundtvigian pastor put it, was particularly pronounced.[61] That sense was strengthened when Frederik Lange Grundtvig (1854-1903), son of the famous theologian, migrated to the United States in 1881. Two years later, he was ordained minister in Clinton, Iowa, and remained in the United States until 1900. Not only did the Grundtvigians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries build their own churches and seminaries, folk high schools, and Sunday schools, and establish both a religious and a secular paper (*Kirkelig Samler* (1872) and *Dannevirke* (1880), respectively); notably, they also founded a number of Danish Grundtvigian settlements. Those included Tyler and Askov in Minnesota, Withee in Wisconsin, Dagmar in Montana, Danevang in Texas, and Solvang in California.[62] As the younger Grundtvig envisioned it, Tyler would be "a small fortress for Danish folk life in America."[63] When Grundtvigians established the Danish People's Society (Dansk Folkesamfund) in 1887, prior to their first meeting they sent out a call in which they not very modestly announced, "It is our belief that the Danish people possesses a spiritual heritage not without significance for the human race."[64]

Even though nationalism did not play the same role for the Inner Mission, they also built their own institutions, including churches, Sunday schools, and seminaries. Indeed, with the Grundtvigians for several years having taken the lead in importing pastors directly from Denmark—and even establishing a short educational program at Askov folk high school in the southern part of Jutland in 1872 for would-be ministers planning to go to the United States—their competitors within the Inner Mission were the first to found their own Danish seminary in the United States—

at Blair, Nebraska, in 1884.[65] They also established both a religious and a secular paper *Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad* (1877) and *Danskeren* (1892), respectively. Indeed, they also took the lead in creating a number of Danish settlements, including Kenmare, North Dakota; Sidney, Montana; Danebo, Oregon; and Turlock, California.[66] We might add that the most important early historian of Danish-American history was Peter Sørensen Vig (1854-1929), a prominent pastor within the Danish United Church. Thus, also people associating with the Inner Mission group took quite an interest in things Danish. If the main purpose of the Grundtvigians was to retain and even expand Danishness in the United States, the Inner Mission hoped to save as many Danish souls as possible from the sea of religious temptations luring and threatening in the United States.

Most Danish Lutheran immigrants subscribed to some version of a benign type of cultural pluralism that allowed them to retain important aspects of their inherited Old World culture while also celebrating aspects of their New World identity. To the German-born Forty-Eighter and prominent Republican politician Carl Schurz (1820-1906) is ascribed the memorable adage, "I love Germany as my mother. America as my bride." In his seminal work, *The Minds of the West*, historian Jon Gjerde dubbed this insistence by many European immigrants that they could be two things at the same time, their "complementary identity."[67]

Whereas any Danish-American public event during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth—for instance a church celebration or a public parade organized by, say, the secular Danish Brotherhood—invariably featured both the Danish and American flags, the tendency to celebrate Danish identity was particularly pronounced among the Grundtvigians. In 1896, Emil Ferdinand Madsen (1861-1930), a notable folk high school pioneer, published the novel *Fra de stille Skove* (*From the Silent Woods*) about life among a group of Danes in a forest settlement somewhere in the Midwest.[68] The narrator offers that, "Once upon a time, God must have created this area after having arrived straight from Denmark and been in excellent spirits!"[69] In-

deed, here "Danish spiritual life" has found "such a peaceful garden […] deep inside North America's virgin forests, many miles away from the cities and railroads! How marvelously is it not shielded from the rough storms of the world that may, to be sure, penetrate the thousands of trees but will have lost some of their force before reaching that far."[70] As it turns out, however, the mood in the settlement has been darkened by the stern local pastor—clearly of the Inner Mission variety—who does very little to keep any sense of Danishness alive. But with the arrival of Thorvald and Anna—a young Grundtvigian couple and the novel's two heroes—everything changes. They dream of their two children growing up here to become "good Danish people," far removed from the surrounding society where they risk being "seriously corrupted by the depraved, inane American life that otherwise devours so many Danish youths across America—especially in the city!"[71] They challenge the gloomy pastor by introducing songs from the fatherland, as well as games from the folk high schools, and much against his will they attempt to embellish the local literary society's library with books by N. F. S. Grundtvig and the Danish folk high school leader and writer Anton Nielsen.[72] At a fall celebration, veterans from the War of 1864 march together: "The old warriors strode ahead in the campaign of '64! The sons of Denmark marched to Dannevirke! *Long live Denmark!* was inscribed on the podium near the large lime tree. […] Anton wept. Søren felt like rising and shouting so that it would resonate across the entire settlement: *Long live Denmark!*"[73]

Despite this powerful appeal to Danish nationalism and simultaneous denigration of American spiritual life, a certain appeal to being both Danish *and* American remains in the novel. As the narrator at one point explains, "Karen has sewn the Danish flag, and Marie has sewn the Star-Spangled Banner."[74] That type of appeal to a complementary identity was in fact widespread. As Madsen himself wrote in another connection, "Indeed, our two flags, the Star-Spangled Banner and Dannebrog, fly over a position today that will not fall tomorrow but which will mean prosperity and progress."[75] And as a writer in the Grundtvigian settlement of Danevang, Texas, put it in 1908: "Do not surrender yourselves but guard

the treasure you were handed down from your fathers and fight cheerfully and faithfully under America's flag, and simply raise Dannebrog continually alongside the Star-Spangled Banner."[76]

In 1907, eleven years after publishing his novel, Madsen was the driving force behind the establishment of the settlement of Dagmar in Sheridan County in the northeastern corner of Montana. Named after the queen married to Valdemar II of Denmark, the settlement expanded near three lakes that were given well-known Danish names, i.e., Furesø, Skarridsø, and Arresø. Here, not only was an attempt made to create a Danish-language public school but Grundtvigian women's and youth clubs were established along with a meeting house and a church. A high point of the settlement's community life was the annual midsummer night's celebration that reportedly attracted Danish Americans from far and near.[77] An undated photo with the caption, "Home of E. F. Madsen, Dagmar, Mont.,"—with that person undoubtedly being Emil Ferdinand Madsen—in the possession of the Local Historical Archives of Stevns, Denmark, depicts five adult people along with three horses at a farm house. In the yard is a flagpole atop which fly *both* the Danish Dannebrog *and*, above it, the U.S. Stars and Stripes.

This type of pluralism based on a complementary identity remained forceful among many Danish immigrants until World War I. Outside religious circles it was seen when secular Danish mutual-aid societies—notably the Danish Brotherhood, established in 1882—organized parades and other ethnic celebrations. At one such festivity in Racine, Wisconsin, on June 5, 1900—Denmark's Constitution Day—nine lodges representing the Danish Brotherhood of Racine, Milwaukee, Chicago, and their vicinity, participated along with members of the Danish Sisterhood, established in 1883, and four other Danish-American associations. The fun truly took off in Lincoln Park where some 5,000 participants listened to the tunes of the Hamlet Singing Society and to the music played by Professor Olsen's Musical Corps, and the Columbian Band, with many participants also dancing to the tones of Lawson's Orchestra. The festivities featured songs honoring both Denmark and the United States, including tunes celebrating the Danish Constitution

and the United States, including "My Country 'tis of thee," the unofficial anthem of the United States.[78]

Even before Israel Zangwill had coined "the melting pot" phrase (1908) and Horace Kallen the "cultural pluralism" term (1924), one Grundtvigian Danish pastor had begun formulating deep thoughts about being Danish in the United States. *Fra de store Søers Land* (*From the Land of the Great Lakes*, 1901), written by Danish-born Holger Vilhelm Rosenstand (1849-1933) who served as a Grundtvigian pastor in the United States from 1873 before returning to Denmark in 1878, anticipated some of Israel Zangwill and Horace Kallen's ruminations on Americanization and ethnic identity. Reminiscing on a Fourth of July parade he witnessed in Manistee, Michigan—his main domicile during his stay in the United States—he remembered how one ethnic group after another had marched by, each featuring its own orchestra. Where Horace Kallen fifteen years later would envision "an orchestration of mankind" and a "symphony of civilization," Rosenstand at first experienced only dissonance: "A variegated multitude of colors and music from many different musical bands, each playing to its own tune so that it all became a cacophony." He himself had participated in such parades on previous occasions but decided not to do so this time. "The decision had just been made when from the distance I heard 'King Christian Stood by the Lofty Mast'" ["Kong Christian stod ved højen Mast"]. With the music approaching, "Dannebrog emerged along with the other Nordic flags." Rosenstand was so moved that he now reversed his earlier decision: "I had to join." At this point he felt a warm sensation, "like an inner electric current gushing from head to toe. I felt at one with my people." Not only that. Soon, Rosenstand experienced being at one with the whole parade. A larger feeling of brotherhood with the other peoples now streamed through him. The cacophony was turning into a symphony. He simply had to admit it: "This great human universality in which differences are erased, when the usually so clearly demarcated borders between the peoples are obliterated, can be strangely fascinating. […] I felt some of this on that Fourth of July." He insisted, however, that precisely the fact of his marching together

with other Danes had caused this sensation. "How would it have gone had I not been among my own people; would I then have sensed anything of that strong general spirit?"[79]

In this sense, Rosenstand emerged as an early proponent of that type of pluralism that Kallen and Randolph Bourne world propagate during the World War I era. He emphasized that the United States was a vigorous and expansive nation that could absorb even the most challenging immigrants: "It [the United States] has not only stomached it [immigration]; it has even proven strong enough to transform a great number of the immigrants *in its own melting pot*" ("i sin egen Smeltedigel"; italics added)." In its own melting pot! Seven years *before* Zangwill, Rosenstand was using the melting pot as an ethnic metaphor. Notably, to him the melting pot was not about forced Americanization, as it would soon be to Kallen and Bourne: "It is not to remelt them in an Anglo-Saxon melting pot, in the same way that the Prussians in Southern Jutland have made changelings out of the Danish children by teaching them to sing—'ich bin ein Preuse'[…]"[80]

In Rosenstand's view, at its worst, the melting pot represented American superficiality, with all schoolchildren irrespective of ethnic background being taught to shallowly appreciate various "great" American men, as "our great men" and American history as "our history," as if those men and that history always represented their own heritage. At its best, however, the American melting pot symbolized a release of the immigrant's pent-up energy, because each individual carried within him "a king and a slave." In the free atmosphere of the United States, it was up to the individual to realize this potential energy. Freedom was making Americans out of the immigrants but on an ethnically diverse basis. In the United States, Danish immigrants could release their inner king but retain their Danish characteristics: "I also know that young Danes like calling themselves Americans but likewise dubbing themselves 'Danish Americans.'"[81] Thus, the "melting pot" that Rosenstand envisioned was strongly pluralist in its expression. Incidentally, it was quite unlike the disturbing crucible painted by the Norwegian-American newspaper editor and writer Waldemar Ager who in

1917—two years after Kallen's landmark essay and one year after Bourne's—published *On the Way to the Melting Pot*, a novel in which Norwegian immigrants entering the pot do so at the cost of stripping away their family ties, their language, and their heritage.[82]

Rosenstand and many other Danish Americans dreamed about a type of Americanization that would unfold in a tolerant and pluralist fashion without the use of coercion. The idea was *exactly* to allow the Danish immigrants to love Denmark as their mother and the United States as their bride. As the Danish People's Society put it in 1887: "It is our firm belief that we are exactly the best American citizens when we persist in being Danish."[83]

This cultural pluralist framework that so many Danish and other immigrants subscribed to, was badly shaken during World War I. In 1915, Theodore Roosevelt, the former president, began thundering against "hyphenated Americans" who divided their loyalties between their country of birth and the United States. Soon that harsh language was replaced by even more vehement calls for "one-hundred percent Americanism." Even though most of this angry rhetoric was aimed at German Americans, the Danish Americans also felt the heat, especially after the United States entered the war on April 6, 1917.[84]

With this kind of pressure mounting, the defense of a more tolerant and pluralist vision of the United States was heard first and foremost from Peter Sørensen Vig, one of the leaders of the Inner Mission Danish Americans, rather than from the Grundtvigians. That same year, he published *Danske i Kamp i og for Amerika* (*Danes in Battle in and for America*), a book that aimed to demonstrate how the Danish people had always been imbued with a fighting spirit, right from the age of the Vikings to the American Civil War. With equal measures of bitterness and sarcasm he noted that during the Norman invasions, the presence of brave "hyphenated Anglo-Saxons" had benefitted Britain. In forwarding these arguments, Vig took a position somewhere between the Grundtvigians' insistent Danish nationalism on the one hand and the hysterical calls for one-hundred percent Americanism on the other. In a slap at the Grundtvigians, he claimed that immigrants must endeavor to

live in the present rather than "constantly go backward and look back to a past that in reality they have no living connection with." In a slap at the one-hundred percenters, however, he also asserted: "It is not possible to change languages and customs like you change your clothes, and if that were possible, the whole world would have been crazy a long time ago." If already this assertion exuded notes of cultural pluralism, so did the statement that followed: Was it not true that a special characteristic of the Danes was that they honored their fathers, both the grand and distant ones and the more humble and recent? Vig expressed a wish that "this trait in our people's character should never be eradicated but instead become more noticeable than it has been until now, also among the Danes in America."[85]

In May 1918, Governor William L. Harding of Iowa signed a decree banning the use of other languages than English in public space, including the churches—a decree flying in the face of many a Danish Lutheran pastor whose English might be rusty at best. The *Sac City Sun*, a local paper, even reported that Governor Harding in a July 4 address that same year criticized Danes in the large Elk Horn-Kimballton settlement for not giving their children an American upbringing but rather teaching them to be "one-hundred percent Danish." Supposedly, the governor even claimed that immigrants who had left "the filth of Denmark" would never be able to repay what Iowa had given them. Harding, however, subsequently denied ever having made that statement.[86]

Even so, the reaction among Danish Americans was swift. A protest from the Danish-American Jacob A. Riis League—named after the famous Danish-born photographer and urban reformer, organized in May 1918 to prove Danish-American patriotism to the United States, and led by the Chicago-based businessman Max Henius (1859-1935)—was promptly printed in several Danish-American papers.[87] Also, Søren Peter Damsgaard Rodholm, a Danish-American Grundtvigian minister, called the governor's language decree "unjust, unlawful, unconstitutional, and even pro-German in effect, if not in intention."[88] Again, however, Peter Sørensen Vig, the Inner Missionary leader, writing in the *Des Moines Register*,

may have used the harshest words: "A person may be born in Denmark and still be a good American citizen, and a dog may be born in America and still be a dog. No language in itself is either loyal or disloyal, but it is the use made of such languages that counts."[89]

Two months later, the Jacob A. League printed an overall defense of Danish-American identity. Like the protests against Governor Harding, this statement was written in a pluralist vein: "We are not 'foreigners,' a term that almost has become an epithet. Nor are we native-born Americans, notwithstanding those among us who think that such a 'camouflage' is fitting. No! We are and remain born in Denmark! And for those who are ashamed of this there is no place in the League."[90]

Despite such assertions—and notwithstanding that editor Sophus Neble (1858-1931) of *Den Danske Pioneer* in 1923 self-righteously asserted that during the war, when "fanaticism got out of hand," he alone had fought for the Danish language, whereas "all Danish pastors sat back silent and mute"—the truth was that the pressure of the Great War was having a real effect on the Danish Americans and many other immigrant groups.[91] Almost at the very point when the cultural pluralism formulated by Horace Kallen—and in reality also promoted by Randolph Bourne—finally saw the light of day, the not quite as systematically articulated pluralism of Danish immigrant leaders—mirroring the practical pluralism of many Danish settlers—had begun to fade.[92] With shrinking economic pressure to migrate from Denmark in the early twentieth century and with the coming of World War I, of immigration restriction in the 1920s, of the Great Depression in the 1930s and of World War II, along with the aging of the first generation of settlers, the stage was set for exaggerating the assertion that Danes had always been fast to Americanize.

Notes

[1] These are my calculations based on the following sources: Danish migration 1868-1900: Danmarks Statistik, *Statistisk Tabelværk*, 5. række, litra A, No. 5, Copenhagen: Statens Statistiske Bureau, 1905, 43; Danish migration 1901-1930: Danmarks Statistik, *Statistiske Undersøgelser*, No. 19, Copenhagen: Det Statistiske Departement 1966, 117; Norwegian migration: Imre Ferenczi and Walter

Willcox, *International Migrations*, vol. 1, *Statistics*, New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, for the International Labor Office, 1929, 747, 752; Swedish migration: Nils William Olsson and Erik Wiken, *U.S. Passenger Arrival Statistics for Swedes Landing in the U.S., 1840- 1850*, Stockholm: Schmidts Boktryckeri AB 1995, 27-140; Sten Carlsson: "Chronology and Composition of Swedish Emigration to America" in *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration*, Harald Runblom and Hans Norman eds., Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1976, 117-119. On the many statistical problems with these data, see Kristian Hvidt, *Flugten til Amerika eller Drivkræfter i masseudvandringen fra Danmark 1868-1914*, Aarhus: Jysk Selskab for Historie, Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1971, 80-88; Jørn Brøndal: *Ethnic Leadership and Midwestern Politics: Scandinavian Americans and the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, 1890-1914*, Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association and University of Illinois Press, 2004, 295-296; Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen, *Danske i USA 1850-2000: En demografisk, social og kulturgeografisk undersøgelse af de danske immigranter og deres efterkommere*, Odense: Odense Bys Museer 2005, 122-124, 186-189. Some of the arguments put forward in the present article were originally formulated in my Danish-language book, *Danske Amerikanere*, Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2020 but have here been further developed and presented in a more theoretically defined setting. All translations in this essay from the Danish language are by me.

[2] To be sure, several scholars have discussed the creation and maintenance of ethnic institutions like the churches and the press among Danish migrants in the United States but with no or very limited consideration of the concept of pluralism, cf. Paul C. Nyholm, *The Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Churches in America*, Copenhagen: Institute for Danish Church History, 1963, 41, 58, 440; Henrik Bredmose Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden: Tro og nationalitet i de danske kirkesamfund i Amerika,* Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 1990, 193; Jette Mackintosh, *Danskere i Midtvesten: Elk Horn-Kimballton bosættelsen 1870-1925,* Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1993, 9-10. A few general works do discuss aspects of pluralism, even if that is hardly their main focus, cf. Erik Helmer Pedersen, *Drømmen om Amerika*, Copenhagen: Politikens Forlag, 1985, 270, 307-308; Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen, *Fra skandinavisk immigrant til amerikaner: Teori og empiri om assimileringen i det amerikanske samfund*, Odense: Odense Bys Museer, 2017, 35-47; this latter work argues for an overall "segmented assimilation" of Danish Americans into U.S. society. *Ibid*., 137. Marion Tuttle Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America*, New York: Arno Press, 1979 does place the Danish-American press within a pluralist framework but focuses more on narrating the history of the Danish-American press than on exploring the concept of pluralism.

[3] Brøndal, *Danske Amerikanere*, 43-45, 51-53, 60-62.

[4] To be sure, some travel writers also focused on assimilatory tendencies among the Danish immigrants, cf. Jørn Brøndal, "Atop a Hierarchy of Whiteness: Danish Americans as Portrayed by Danish Travel Writers in the Second Half of the 19th Century," in *Nordic Whiteness and Migration to the USA: A Historical Exploration of Identity*, eds. Peter Kivisto, Terje Mikael Hasle Joranger, Erika K. Jackson,

and Jana Sverdljuk Bentze, London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2020, 89-94.

[5] Philip Gleason, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?," in Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity: Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992, 5-6, 9.

[6] David A. Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States," *American Historical Review*, vol. 108, no. 5 (December 2003), 1366.

[7] Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History*, New York: The Free Press, 1983, 164-165.

[8] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1983, 204-212.

[9] Randolph Bourne, "Trans-National America" (1916), in *The American Intellectual Tradition*, vol. 2, *1865 to the Present*, David Hollinger and Charles Capper eds., New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 171.

[10] Horace Kallen, "Democracy *Versus* the Melting-Pot," *The Nation*, vol. 100, no. 2591, 220; Philip Gleason, "The Odd Couple: Pluralism and Assimilation," in Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity*, 51-52.

[11] On civic versus ethnic or racial nationalism, see Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, London: Penguin Books, 1991, 1-18; Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, London: Pushkin Press, 1993, 5-9; Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2nd edition, 2017, 5-9; also Philip Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1980, 38-47.

[12] Gleason, "The Odd Couple," 57-58.

[13] Gleason, "The Odd Couple," 60. On the tendency to conflate "race" and nationality, see the United States Congressional Joint Immigration Commission, *Reports of the Immigration Commission Presented by Mr. Dillingham*, vol. 5: *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, by Daniel Folkmar, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911, 3-4.

[14] Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, 135.

[15] On Danish travel writers' discussions of African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, see Jørn Brøndal, "In a Few Years the Red Man Will Live only in Legend and in Cooper's Charming Accounts": Portrayals of American Indians in Danish Travel Literature in the Middle and Late Nineteenth Century, *American Studies in Scandinavia,* vol. 48, 2 (Fall 2016), 83-105; Brøndal, "'The Fairest among the So-Called White Races': Portrayals of Scandinavian Americans in the Filiopietistic and Nativist Literature of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of American Ethnic History* vol. 33, 3 (Spring 2014), 5-36; Brøndal, "Atop a Hierarchy of Whiteness, 75-97; 'An Early American Dilemma? Scandinavian Travel Writers' Reflections on the Founding Ideals of the United States and the Condition of African Americans, ca. 1850-1900," in *Les constitutions: des révolutions à l'épreuve du temps aux Etats-Unis et en*

Europe/Constitutions: On-going Revolutions in Europe and the United States, eds. Marie-Elisabeth Baudoin and Marie Bolton, Editions du Centre Michel de L'Hospital, Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 2016, 137-159.

[16] A. Langballe Hansen to *Den Danske Pioneer*, April 7, 1904.

[17] Pastor P. Ø. Gade in *Dannevirke*, October 20, 1920; reprinted from *Kristeligt Dagblad* in Denmark.

[18] *Dannevirke*, March 7, 1894. See also Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 107.

[19] *Den Danske Pioneer*, June 25, 1896.

[20] *Dannevirke*, November 16, 1898.

[21] L. Henningsen, *Dansk Folkesamfund i Amerika: 25 Aars Virksomhed. Jubilæumshefte*, Aarhus, Denmark: S. Jensen Sort, 1914, 33; also quoted in Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 183; on pastors Henningsen and Kjølhede, see Peder Kjølhede, "Den danske, evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika fra 1871-1901," in [anonymous editor] *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 1, part II, Minneapolis and Chicago: C. Rasmussen Publishing Company, 1908, 107 and 111.

[22] *Dannevirke,* April 26, 1899; see also *Den Danske Pioneer*, April 27, 1899; August 2, 1900; April 26, 1894.

[23] *Danskeren,* April 27, 1899.

[24] *Den Danske Pioneer*, August 29, 1901.

[25] *Den Danske Pioneer*, July 2, 1903.

[26] *Den Danske Pioneer*, July 6, 1899. In connection with a similar strike in Illinois the previous year, an editorial in the same paper suggested that Black scabs were simply ignorant of what they were doing, and that it was in the interest of the owner of the mine to stir racial unrest among the miners. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1898.

[27] Jeppesen, *Danske i USA*, 244.

[28] *Bien*, April 21, May 5, June 2, June 23 (opium), and July 21, 1882. *Bien*

[29] *Den Danske Pioneer*, July 29, 1901.

[30] *Bien*, April 19, 1907.

[31] *Den Danske Pioneer*, February 15, 1917.

[32] Rasmus Paulson: "De Danske i Pleasant Valley, St. Croix Co., Wis." (1908), in [anonymous editor] *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, Minneapolis and Chicago: C. Rasmussen Publishing Company, 1916, 55-57.

[33] On that tradition, see Brøndal, "'In a Few Years the Red Man Will Live only in Legend and in Cooper's Charming Accounts,'" 87-89.

[34] Peter Sørensen Vig, "Danske i Amerika, 1800-1840," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 1, part I, 157-158; anonymous author, "Danske i og ved Rosholt, Portage Co., Wis.," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 460.

[35] The first issue with this masthead appeared on April 30, 1896. Prior to that, the masthead was rather similar, but the white man was placed to the left and the Native American to the right, rendering the implicit idea of the left representing the west impossible. The older masthead dates back to at least August 23, 1888 (the only surviving issue of the paper from that year). It may well date to the time when Sophus Neble became editor of the paper, i.e., in 1887. On Neble's takeover of the paper, see Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America*, 57.

[36] G. S. Strandvold, "Illinois," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 58.

[37] Lawrence Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture*, Hanover, New Hampshire: Wesleyan University Press, 1990, 5.
[38] Brøndal, "The Fairest among the So-Called White Races," 6.
[39] Orm Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870–1930* (Urbana, IL, 2000), 8; Brøndal, "The Fairest among the So-Called White Races," 9-14.
[40] Kristian Østergaard, *Udvandrerbogen*, Copenhagen: Olaf O. Barfoed & Co., 1904, 45.
[41] Brøndal, "Atop a Hierarchy of Whiteness," 85.
[42] Karen Marie Madsen to Peter Madsen, April 25, 1893, in Erik Helmer Pedersen, ed., *Brev fra Amerika: Danske udvandrerbreve 1874-1922*, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1981, 163.
[43] L.P. Jensen, "Den danske Koloni ved Rutland, Humboldt Co., Iowa," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 61.
[44] Julius Johnsen, "De Danske ved Øvre Walnut Creek, Marshall Co., Kansas," in *Danske i Amerika* vol. 2, 20.
[45] Brøndal, "Atop a Hierarchy of Whiteness," 81.
[46] Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 184; Østergaard, *Udvandrerbogen*, 97.
[47] Johnsen, "De Danske ved Øvre Walnut Creek," 25; Anne Lisbeth Olsen and Niels Peter Stilling, *Et nyt liv: Den danske udvandring til Nordamerika i billeder og breve*, Copenhagen: Strandbergs Forlag, 1985, 137-138.
[48] Nyholm, *The Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Churches in America*, 397; Holger Rosenstand, *Fra de store Søers Land*, Copenhagen: Karl Schønbergs Forlag 1901, 115-116.
[49] Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition*, Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association 1940, 97.
[50] Dag Blanck and Jørn Brøndal, "The Concept of Being Scandinavian-American," *American Studies in Scandinavia*, vol. 34, no. 2 (Autumn 2002), 5-20.
[51] Østergaard, *Udvandrerbogen*, 13; Rosenstand, *Fra de store Søers Land*, 153-154.
[52] Rosenstand, *Fra de store Søers Land*,
[53] Olsen and Stilling, *Et nyt liv*, 40, 165-166; Rosenstand, *Fra de store Søers Land*, 101.
[54] Brøndal, "Atop a Hierarchy of Whiteness," 90; J. L. Nygaard, "Den danske Koloni i Denmark, Lincoln Co., Kansas," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 399.
[55] Anders Bobjerg (on the basis of H. Rosenstand, K. C. Bodholdt, J. P. Paulsen, John Freiberg, and N.A. Nielsen), "De Danske i Manistee, Mich.," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 213; Christian Falk and L.K. Nielsen, "Danske i Union Precinct, Kimball Co., Neb.," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 336.
[56] Peter Ebbesen "Historisk Omrids af Danske Kolonier i Howard County, Nebr., " in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 84; M. Sørensen, "Fra Viborg, South Dakota," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 314.
[57] Pedersen, Erik Helmer, ed., Hans M. Kokjer to his sister Maren, March 14, 1880, in *Brev fra Amerika: Danske udvandrerbreve 1874-1922*, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1981, 56; letter by Maren Lorensen, July 21, 1893, in Olsen and Stilling, *Et nyt liv*, 44, 64-65.

[58] Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen, *Danske i USA, 1850-2000–en demografisk, social og kulturgeografisk undersøgelse af de danske immigranter og deres efterkommere*, Odense: Odense, 2005, 202-203.

[59] Jørn Brøndal, "Danes and Danish Americans, 1870-1940," in Elliott Barkan, ed., *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration*, Santa Barbara, California: ABC-Clio, 2013, vol. 1, 323-331.

[60] Peter Sørensen Vig, and I. M. Hansen, "Den forenede danske evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 1, part II, 137-138; Peder Kjølhede: "Den danske, evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika fra 1871-1901," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 1, part II, 101.

[61] Andreas C.L. Grove-Rasmussen, "En Rejse i Amerika," *Nordisk Månedskrift for folkelig og kristelig Oplysning*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1871), 249.

[62] For an impressive overview of the history of Grundtvigian settlements, folk high schools, seminaries, Sunday schools, and other institutions, see Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden.*

[63] Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 44.

[64] Lorentz Henningsen, "'Dansk Folkesamfund' i Amerika fra 1887-1908," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 1, part II, 167; Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 58.

[65] Nyholm, *The Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Churches in America*, 76; Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 28.

[66] Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 128-132, 137-138, 141-142, 245.

[67] Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West 1830-1917*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, 59-66.

[68] Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 165-168.

[69] Emil Ferdinand Madsen, *Fra de stille Skove. En Fortælling*, Minneapolis: O. W. Lund 1896, 23-24. Thorvald Hansen, *Church Divided: Lutheranism among the Danish Americans*, Des Moines, Iowa: Grand View College 1992, 76, suggests that Madsen may have been inspired by the West Denmark settlement in Polk County, Wisconsin, when writing his novel.

[70] Madsen, *Fra de stille Skove*, 2.

[71] Madsen, *Fra de stille Skove*, 123.

[72] Madsen, *Fra de stille Skove*, 108-109.

[73] Madsen, *Fra de stille Skove*, 183.

[74] Madsen, *Fra de stille Skove*, 189.

[75] Quoted from Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 152.

[76] P. J. Agerskov-Petersen, "Danevang, Wharton County, Texas" in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 432.

[77] Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 167-168.

[78] *Folkets Avis* (Racine), June 14, 1900; Peter Jacobsen: "De Danske i Racine, Wisconsin," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 2, 137; Ludvig M. Hoffenblad, "Det danske Søstersamfund i Amerika," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 1, part II, 227-230.

[79] Holger Vilhelm Rosenstand, *Fra de store Søers Land,* Copenhagen: Karl Schønbergs Forlag, 1901, 127-129.

[80] Rosenstand, *Fra de store Søers Land*, 172-173.

[81] Rosenstand, *Fra de store Søers Land*, 191.

[82] Waldemar Ager, *On the Way to the Melting Pot*, Madison, Wisconsin: Prairie Oak Press, 1995 (translated by Harry T. Cleven, originally published in Norwegian in 1917), 197-198.

[83] Lorentz Henningsen: "'Dansk Folkesamfund' i Amerika fra 1887-1908," in *Danske i Amerika*, vol. 1, part II, 168; also Simonsen, *Kampen om danskheden*, 58.

[84] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 196-200, 207-209, 242-250; Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity*, Princeton, New Jersey, 2004, 151-194.

[85] Peter Sørensen Vig, *Danske i Kamp i og for Amerika*, Omaha, Nebraska: Axel H. Andersen, Inc., 1917, 25, 33-34.

[86] Enok Mortensen, *The Danish Lutheran Church in America*, Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Lutheran Church in America, 1967, 177-178; Peter L. Petersen, "Language and Loyalty: Governor Harding and Iowa's Danish-Americans During World War I," *Annals of Iowa*, vol. 2, no. 6 (1974), 406, 411-412.

[87] *Dannevirke,* May 15, August 14, 1918; *Danskeren,* May 15, 22, August 14, 1918; *Den Danske Pioneer*, May 16, August 15, 1918; *Bien*, August 23, 1918.

[88] Mortensen, *The Danish Lutheran Church in America*, 178.

[89] Vig here quoted from Petersen, Language and Loyalty, 413.

[90] *Dannevirke,* September 19, 1918; *Danskeren,* September 18, 1918; *Den Danske Pioneer*, September 19, 1918; *Bien*, September 20, 1918.

[91] *Den Danske Pioneer*, January 25, 1923.

[92] Despite the overall fact of Danish-American pluralism fading, strategies have been implemented by some Danish Americans to retain various strands of ethno-religious identity across multiple generations, also at levels more intense than what Herbert Gans referred to as "symbolic ethnicity," cf. Pernille Skovgaard Christensen's study of Danish Americans in Blair, Nebraska, Tyler, Minnesota, and Chicago: "Safeguarding Danishness? Ethnicity, Religion and Acculturation among Danish Americans in Three Danish Space in the U.S.," *American Studies in Scandinavia*, vol. 48, No. 2 (2016). See also Herbert J. Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 2 (January, 1979), 1-20.

The Historical Sociolinguistics of Norwegian-American Bilingualism[1]

Joe Salmons

Abstract
We know surprisingly little about when and how people in Norwegian-American communities became bilingual in English and then often generations later became monolingual English speakers. Exploring this can inform our understanding of how these individuals and communities negotiated bilingual-bicultural life in the American Upper Midwest, with its social and linguistic implications. Drawing on methods and data types developed for German-speaking immigrant communities and since tested in other communities, I reconstruct some evidence for Norwegian monolingualism and Norwegian-English bilingualism, especially in Wisconsin. From there, a brief examination of patterns of institutional use (schools, newspapers, and the economy) allows us insight into broader community structures during the time of shift to English. While Norwegians tended to report knowing English considerably earlier than some other immigrant groups, they have remained bilingual just as long and show roughly parallel histories of institutional support for the language, illustrated here especially with comparisons to German-speaking communities.

This essay presents new data and reviews existing evidence to introduce two related lines of linguistic research to historians and others beyond linguistics. The first line is the study of 'language shift,' how and why people give up a community language in favor of a society's dominant language. I adopt a recent model of shift

as 'verticalization', and this brief case study provides a new test of the model.[2] The second is the relatively new field of historical sociolinguistics, which draws data from social history in particular to better understand past linguistic situations, applying methods and theories from contemporary sociolinguistics to past settings, from prehistory to the twentieth century. My aim is to show what this work can contribute to our understanding of language in Norwegian-American communities and widespread issues in American society and beyond. The discussion focuses on three questions:

- When did Norwegian immigrants and their descendants learn English?
- How, when and why did Norwegian-speaking descendants switch to speaking only English?
- What roles did institutions play in the process?

Throughout, I compare these results to those found in some contemporaneous immigrant communities of the time in the same region, the American Upper Midwest, especially some that were German-speaking well into the twentieth century.

We know that Norwegian and other languages from the Nordic countries have been spoken in the American Upper Midwest since immigrants began to arrive in the 1830s, continuing for most of a century, and fieldwork is still going on today with bilingual heritage speakers, especially with Norwegian. Einar Haugen devotes most of the first volume of his pioneering 1953 study—which remains a landmark not only for Norwegian-American language but for immigrant and heritage language linguistics broadly—to social and historical issues; these include a chapter on the learning of English, institutional use of Norwegian and the ultimate shift to English.[3] Beyond a few important more recent studies, though, we today know relatively little more about when and how these communities became bilingual and how they negotiated bilingual-bicultural life in the region, with its social and linguistic implications, than we did when Haugen wrote.[4]

Relying on methods and data types first developed for German-speaking immigrant communities by Wilkerson and Salmons, I present evidence on monolingualism and bilingualism in the past, beginning with information found in the 1910 US Census.[5] That survey asked whether people were able to speak English and indicated other mother tongues where the answer was 'no.' I use that to establish a baseline of information about language knowledge and use. I then turn to the framework used here, the verticalization model of language shift, and apply it to the context of Norwegian-American immigration and language. From there, a look at institutional use of Norwegian allows us insight into overarching community patterns during the time of shift to English, connecting to much recent research on Norwegian and other languages.[6] The analysis presented here suggests that Norwegians tended to report speaking English considerably earlier than German-speaking immigrants, but in other ways, they appear to behave much like other immigrant groups in the region. For instance, institutional support for Norwegian followed a path very similar to what we see in German communities. And despite their somewhat earlier learning of English, Norwegians have remained bilingual just as long. In the rest of this chapter, I briefly sketch some examples of institutional language use, especially schools and the press. I conclude with comments on the kinds of current studies being done to develop and further test the model and to compare immigrant communities across the American Midwest and beyond, as well as a note on the value of this kind of study for contemporary society in the context of migration.

Before moving on, note that the notion of 'community' is both central to this discussion and used in scholarship in many ways. Linguists often talk about 'speech communities,' groups of people who share languages or varieties of languages, and Warren, whose views will be discussed below, defines community as "that organization of social activities to afford people daily local access to those broad areas of activity that are necessary in day-to-day living".[7] Neither matches well with working governmental definitions. For example, the Census data treated just below is

organized by 'census tracts,' which seldom align with patterns of immigration. Major Norwegian settlement areas in Wisconsin often span sets of census tracts and some tracts include areas of Norwegian and non-Norwegian population. In this article, I rely most heavily on Warren's understanding of community, but we have to keep in mind the broader context of the larger Norwegian-American population especially in the Upper Midwest.

Turning to data, how do we know what languages people spoke and whether they knew English? Labov provides a model of how to use the 1910 Census to look at past language knowledge.[8] Census takers were told to ask whether each person over the age of ten could speak English and, if not, what language the person did speak. Even aside from the fact that this gives no indications of bilingualism among those who reported knowing English, the opportunities for imprecision are vast here—starting with the fundamental question of what constitutes ability to speak English, for example—but research starting with Wilkerson and Salmons has been able to align such information with other, especially qualitative, sources in ways that suggest that the Census gives a reasonable if necessarily imprecise picture of monolingualism in the absence of more reliable quantitative evidence.[9] Various studies have used this approach to gauge immigrant monolingualism in the Upper Midwest, shown in Table 1, starting from already published data and supplemented with information on some other Norwegian-American communities—those in the table that do not list another source, six Wisconsin Norwegian areas and one each from Icelandic, Walloon and Finnish areas outside of Wisconsin.

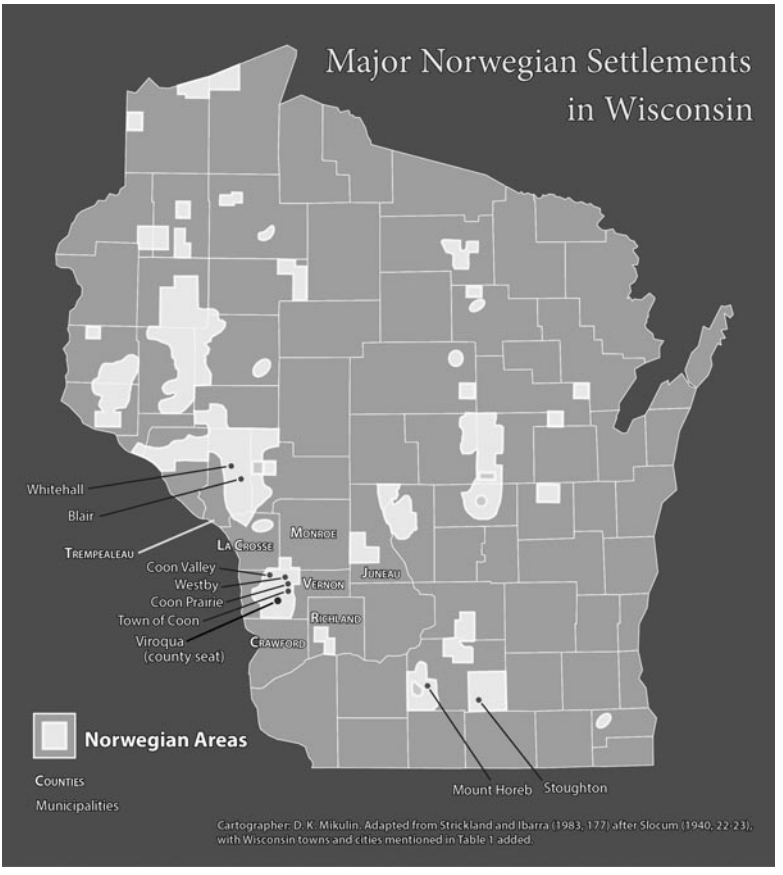
	Monolinguals		US-born mono		Other mono[10]	Source[11]
Norwegian						
Ulen, MN	17	5%	0			Natvig
Stoughton, WI	203	9.7%	5	2.5%	12	[Wards 1, 2]
Coon Valley, WI	17	5.8%	0		2	
Coon, WI	156	13.2%	0		2	
Whitehall, WI	9	1.8%	0			
Mt Horeb, WI	15	1.4%	0			
Blair, WI	10	2.1%	0			

German						
Hustisford, WI	310	24%	108	35%		W&S
Schleswig, WI	238	22%	85	36%		W&S
Hamburg, WI	152	21%	28	18%	2	W&S
Germantown, WI	253	18%	110	43%	7	W&S
Sheboygan, WI	259	17%	28	11%	170	W&S [Ward 6]
Sauk City, WI	97	14%	11	11%		W&S
Brothertown, WI	71	7%	24	34%	8	W&S
Belgium, WI	89	7%	20	23%	43	W&S
New Holstein, WI	272	28%	134	49%	41	Frey
Kiel, WI	164	17%	30	18%	1	Frey
Dutch						
Fox Valley, WI	41	7.5%	0		1	V&S
West Frisian						
Randolph, WI	102	9%	—			B&E
Icelandic						
Akra, ND	41	12.5%	0			
Walloon						
Brussels, WI	120	12.1%	41	34.0%	41	
Finnish						
Oulu, WI	169	27%	5	2.9%		Johnson
Palo, MN	112	16.4%	0		121	

Table 1: Ability to speak English, 1910 Census [US born = % monolingual], place names following the Census.

Map 1 shows major settlement areas of Norwegians in Wisconsin and gives the location of the Wisconsin counties and towns mentioned in Table 1.

Norwegian shows relatively low numbers of monolinguals, people who had not learned English, and virtually no American-born Norwegian monolinguals. My initial samples from other Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin support this as a widespread phenomenon, with several communities listed as having large percentages of people with Norwegian heritage (http://zipatlas.com/us/wi/city-comparison/percentage-norwegian-population.htm) having only one or two reported monolinguals, e.g. Hixton and Hollandale. Indeed, scanning through census data in various Norwegian settlements it appears that many monolinguals were relatively recent immigrants and that American-born Norwegian monolinguals were rare.



Map 1: Major Norwegian settlement areas in Wisconsin, with counties and towns mentioned in the essay.

This picture aligns with the national trend found by Labov, where the "proportion of foreign born able to speak English" is higher for Danes, Swedes and Norwegians than any group except "English" and "Irish."[10] Drawing on the Canadian census from 1931, Haugen shows that similar trends hold there across speakers of mainland Scandinavian languages generally, as shown in Table 2, reformatted from Haugen and giving all five languages he presented.[11]

	All heritage lang.	Bilingual	All English
Norwegian	1.3%	72.6%	24.9%
Swedish	1.6%	72.8%	23.7%
Danish	1.2%	66.8%	9.0%
Icelandic	3.0%	82.5%	14.2%
Finnish	17.7%	78.0%	3.6%

Table 2: Language spoken, 10 years and older, Canada, from Haugen (1953).

Still, at least many Upper Midwestern immigrant communities continued to transmit their heritage languages to children until surprisingly similar dates, with larger cohorts who were born in the 1940s raised speaking these languages at home and then learning English at school and beyond.[12] In many communities, including Norwegian ones, many people who did not have Norwegian ancestry learned the local heritage language simply by growing up among speakers—something we see in many communities with various languages. To the astonishment of people investigating these languages in the Upper Midwest, Arnstein Hjelde has even interviewed speakers of American Norwegian born in the twenty-first century, though these speakers have somewhat unusual biographical circumstances.[13]

While we need similar surveys from many more communities for statistical analysis, some preliminary correlations are suggestive about who was more likely to remain monolingual in immigrant languages. First, Figure 1 plots numbers of non-English monolinguals against community size. Here, it seems, there may be more monolinguals in larger communities, particularly those with a large presence of a given immigrant group. Intuitively, this may not be surprising: If you speak only Norwegian in a community of thousands of other Norwegian speakers, the need to acquire English may have been less acute than if you lived in a small Norwegian community surrounded by speakers of English and/or other languages. Scholars occasionally make informal connections between community size and maintenance of Norwegian, with Haugen for instance commenting on the time around the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century as "a period

when the use of Norwegian was a matter of course in all significantly large settlements".[14]

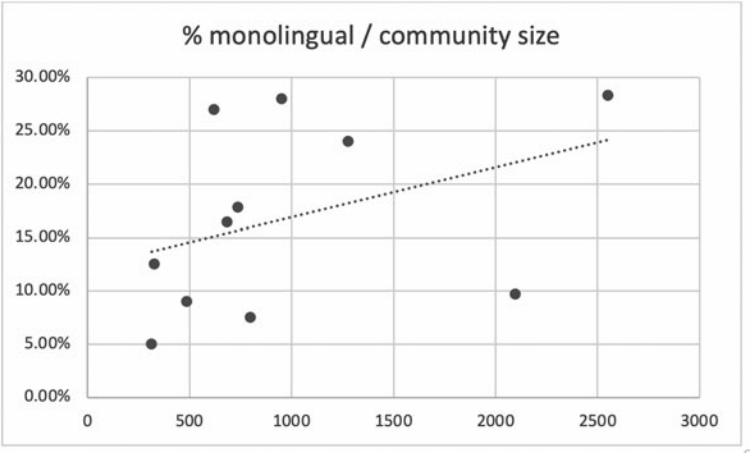


Figure 1: Immigrant language monolingualism and community size, calculated from data in Salmons 2022.

Figure 2 plots the number of reported monolinguals born in the US against community size. Here we see a clear correlation, though again, one based on very limited data: Larger communities, especially those with large concentrations of speakers of particular languages, look much more likely to have more monolingual speakers of the community language. This presumably connects to access that children had to English in the community, the chance to acquire it. Where Figure 1 may reflect some inertia of adults not choosing or needing to learn English, Figure 2 may tell us something about what languages children were exposed to during their early lives.[15] At least some non-Norwegians sometimes learned Norwegian in some communities, though data is sparse.[16]

Based on the data in Table 1, Norwegians follow the trend in Figure 1, with larger communities having more monolinguals, but not the trend in Figure 2, since there are just very few American-born monolinguals in general.

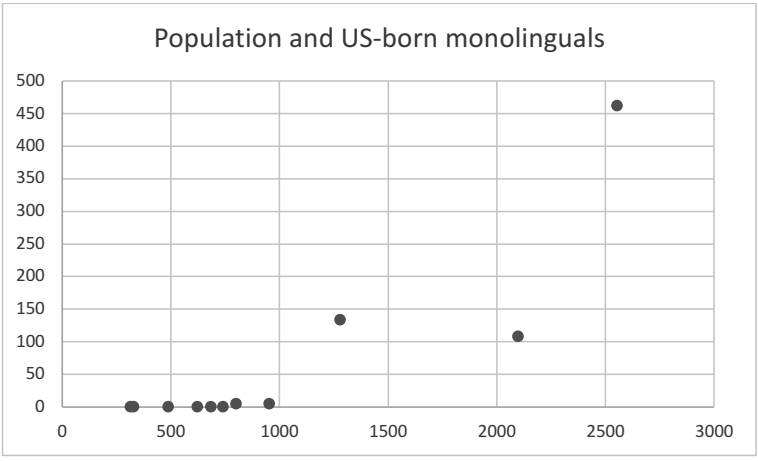


Figure 2: US-born monolingualism and community size, calculated from data in Salmons 2022.

How and why have these communities all shifted dramatically to English, with few heritage speakers born in any of these communities after the 1940s? I draw on a model of shift built around Warren's idea of a 'Great Change' in American society from the mid-nineteenth well into the twentieth century, starting from the notion that communities' major functions—production-distribution-consumption, socialization, social control, social participation and mutual support—are organized along two dimensions, horizontal and vertical.[17] The former involves connections of institutions within a community to one another, like how local schools shape and are shaped by the local economy, local religious practice and so on. The latter is about how those institutions are connected to and interact with bodies beyond the community, like how county, state and national bureaucracies and policies shape local education. As Brown and Salmons summarize the core of the model,[18]

> Verticalization is about the relative shift of control over these [functions] from the hands of local, community-oriented and

> interconnected actors to extra-community actors. It has profound impact on language use across a set of fundamentally different domains, from private economic institutions to the broad organization of economic activity in a community, religious, and other cultural institutions, and government.

At the heart of this is the notion that horizontal structures allow the continued use of a community language across an expansive range of domains. Local control of institutions and functions means the local language can be used instead of the dominant language of society's majority group. Crucially for longer-term maintenance, children growing up in such settings have robust exposure to the language in informal and formal settings, hearing different styles and usually dialects, often with exposure to relevant standard languages, e.g. from the pulpit, and often learning to read and write the language. These changes in community structure, in other words, connect directly to language learning and use. How these changes find their way into social networks, families and individuals—how these macro processes reach down to the micro level—has been the focus of research as well, beginning with Benjamin Frey's dissertation.[19]

Short-term pressures can certainly promote shift, though in the long-term fundamental social structures play a much larger and more lasting role. For our situation, the role of World War I is widely discussed as having helped drive shift. While the effects of anti-immigrant language policies in this period had effects in terms of institutional use, like in many but not all schools, this had far more limited impact on home language and some institutions, including even the press. People continued to learn and use German in the home, in churches and beyond into the mid-twentieth century.[20] Norwegian has been somewhat less studied in this regard but see John Higham's *Strangers in the land*.

While Warren provides a fully developed model of this process in terms of community structure, albeit without direction discussion of language, many of the basic dynamics of verticalization were certainly apparent to earlier scholars of immigrant communities.

In a study of Norwegian in Vernon County in western Wisconsin (which includes Coon Prairie and Westby), Munch describes, in essence, the creation of horizontal community structures:[21]

> Coon Prairie … through its spatial and socio-economic consolidation, has been able to build up an independent and socially self-sufficient community of its own. In the city of Westby, which is about 95% Norwegian, it has even created its own community center with most of the economic, social, and cultural services that are usually allotted to such a center in a community of that size. In this way, the Norwegians in this settlement have actually managed to withdraw the whole area from the economic and social control of the 'Yankee' dominated city of Viroqua.

He later goes on to argue that the Norwegians there[22] …

> have both built up a social system of their own, rather firmly knit through a strong loyalty within the group, and with a sharp bounding outwards towards the encompassing society. There is no doubt in my mind that this reaction is a response to the social situation in which the groups found themselves in the New World. Feeling that they were not fully accepted in the new society they had no choice other than trying to provide for the satisfaction of the social needs of their members within their own group, unless they wanted to submit to a rather subordinate status in the society.

Ibarra presents a detailed analysis of Westby, treating the social system as "an intricate blending of three cultural factors: immigrant Norwegian, rural American, and Americanized-Norwegian." He sees this as an "adaptive process in terms of social organization and entrepreneurial activity".[23] Ibarra understands the community as having avoided "cultural assimilation" in part because it "has developed and refined a well delineated ethnic boundary".[24] While he gives particular attention to economic activity, he covers a full range of formal and informal institutions in ways that resonate

with the main tenets of the verticalization model, something worthy of future study.

One particularly striking example of economic independence among western Wisconsin Norwegians comes from tobacco farming. As detailed by Strickon and Ibarra, Norwegians became tobacco farmers in western Wisconsin in the 1850s and eventually became dominant in growing, selling, and eventually marketing tobacco.[25]

Playing on the 'melting pot' language so common in his day, Munch concludes that social pressure in this area led not to melting but hardening. Writing in the middle of the last century, Munch does not explore the breakdown of these horizontal structures, though the process had already begun before he wrote.

Similar views can be found in the historical literature about many other immigrant communities in the region. For instance, in the standard history of the state of Wisconsin, Thompson describes Wisconsin Polish communities in ways that are consistent with verticalization and with Munch's views:[26]

> Their determination to govern their own affairs, to own a home or a piece of land in clear title and to pass it on intact to the next generation, to preserve their language, to support their church, and to create and maintain the banks and businesses, the cultural and fraternal societies, and the other institutions necessary to a self-sufficient people were essential components of Polish life in Wisconsin.

Thompson goes on to specifically connect these patterns with language maintenance:[27]

> More important than school, church, and the ethnic press was the opportunity to speak the language at home, at work, and in the company of friends and neighbors. The more compact the family, neighborhood, or community in 1940, the more likely the old languages still were being spoken.

Those general statements are supported by evidence from particular domains. Haugen's *The Norwegian Language in America* remains a remarkable source on institutional use, achieving an integration of information not only from areas like education and the press but also neighborhoods and political life. His wide-ranging discussion of the use of Norwegian in church services and religion are rich, showing widespread use of the language into the 1930s, with Norwegian still having some presence into the late 1940s.[28] For comparison, German religious services remained somewhat longer, but likewise represented often the last real institutional presence of the language in many communities.

In terms of education, Haugen sketches the early establishment of the teaching of Norwegian especially in church schools, which he sees as crucial community resources for language maintenance.[29] Ostergren gives a similar account of Swedish parochial schools in Minnesota:[30]

> The Cambridge [Minnesota] Lutheran Church, like others in the area, tried to combat the erosion of Swedish language and culture through the establishment of parochial 'Swede schools,' an auxiliary educational system set alongside the public schools. Children were expected to attend both. … The community places tremendous importance on these schools.

Norwegian language education of course required teaching materials in the language. Over time, many immigrant communities developed their own materials, among them Norwegians. As Hvenekilde writes:[31]

> Norwegian Americans published textbooks for their own schools, and in the period between 1853 and 1925 no fewer than forty-six books for teaching and studying Norwegian as a mother tongue were published for use in America, most of them intended for the church schools. Among these were eighteen primers, eight readers, and two that were a combination of reader and primer.

> In addition, six declamation books, five books with letter formulas, and five grammars were published. After the publication of the last reader in 1925 there was no longer a market for books in Norwegian for native speakers, and the Norwegian language textbooks published since then are books for students without Norwegian as their first or dominant language.

Haugen also charts the decline of Norwegian education in the early twentieth century, where even religious instruction in Norwegian shows a very steep decline from World War I to almost disappearing by the late 1920s, in line with Hvenekilde's date for the end of textbook publishing.

While Haugen understandably focuses heavily on parochial schools, the full picture of American education is relevant. The basic story told often runs along these lines:[32]

> The school system remained largely private and unorganized until the 1840s. Public schools were always under local control, with no federal role, and little state role. The 1840 census indicated that of the 3.68 million children between the ages of five and fifteen, about 55% attended primary schools and academies.

Schooling was only later compulsory in most places, and only yet later enforced in practice. Communities could and often did organize schooling to advance their own goals using their own languages. Like other immigrant language communities, Norwegian Americans took full advantage of this opportunity. And the timing of the shift to English-language instruction was very similar to when it took place in German-American communities.[33]

Turning to another institution supporting not only the spoken language but written language as well, the Norwegian-language press in America was formidable in the Upper Midwest, though most papers were short-lived as was typical of publications in those times, including those in English. Looking at the material included in Oehlert and Hanson, there were at least 31 Norwegian-language

papers in Wisconsin, as shown in Table 3, with a focus on the example of Madison.[34]

Madison alone:

Amerika 1 Oct. 1884-28 July 1922.
Emigranten 23 Jan 1852-24 Aug 1868.
Liberale Demokrat May 1874-Aug 1875 > *Nordvesten* 17 Sept 1875-15 Dec 1876.
Den Norske Amerikaner et National Demokratisk Blad 21 Dec 1854-27 May 1857 > *Nordstjernen et National Demokratisk Blad* 10 June 1857-Oct 1860.
Den Norske Immigrant 12 Jan-11 May 1871.
De Norskes Ven 19 July 1850-Ca Feb. 1851.
Skandinavisk Tribune 19 Aug 1887-July 1888.
Vikingen 11 Aug 1888-1 June 1889.
Wisconsin Nordmanden Jan 1886[?]-Mar 1896.

Other towns / cities with Norwegian papers:

Mt Horeb, Stoughton, Superior, Eau Claire, La Crosse, Marinette, Milwaukee, Rhinelander, Racine, Whitehall

Wisconsin papers in other Nordic languages

6 in Danish
15 in Swedish

Table 3: Some Wisconsin Norwegian language newspapers, compiled from Oehlert and Hanson (2021)

Madison is an interesting example, as a place not itself heavily Norwegian but surrounded by many Norwegian communities. Although the Madison papers ceased publication relatively early, other outlets survived much longer. Moquin gives a recent treatment of *Reform*, published in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, which appeared until 1941.[35] Haugen shows that the *Decorah-Posten* from Iowa was widely read in Wisconsin in the late 1940s.[36]

What we see here is typical of the trajectories many small immigrant-language newspapers experienced, where the founding

of new papers first drops off in the late nineteenth century and smaller papers fail not much later, much like in the larger German-language press.[37] This, though, is not something distinctive to the immigrant press, but a fact about small American newspapers, as demonstrated by Willey.[38] In the seven years prior to the publication of his book, he charts almost 3,000 papers that failed, mostly small ones, comprising about a quarter of all periodicals. This trend was not simply the result of a loss of readership but also larger economic factors, such as the development of new technologies in printing that were affordable for larger papers but not for smaller publishers.[39] The German press underwent a series of mergers and often relied on increasingly widespread mail distribution to survive, consistent with Haugen's observations about the *Decorah-Posten* in Wisconsin.

Finally, economic life is central to verticalization. To take a pervasive case in this period of American history, the shift from family farming to an increasingly industrial economy is a dramatic shift of control from extremely local to national and ultimately global hands. Even within agriculture, a change from subsistence farming to producing crops for commercial markets, with increasing mechanization, means increasing dependence on forces far outside the community, including banks. Natvig makes exactly this case for the Norwegians of Ulen, Minnesota, while Johnson and Bousquette provide related studies of other immigrant communities in the same region.[40]

While Ulen was small and overwhelmingly agricultural, it is worth our while to consider the economic positions of Norwegian monolinguals in other kinds of communities. In the much larger city of Stoughton, Wisconsin, the 1910 Census shows monolinguals widely engaged in trades and crafts, including individuals listed as carpenter, butcher, painter, blacksmith, machinist, mason, baker, and shoemaker. One boarding house proprietor is listed as speaking only Norwegian, a person who presumably had extensive interaction with the public, though perhaps often with recent arrivals. Two factories in town, tobacco and wagon making, both counted many monolinguals among their employees, sometimes in

skilled positions. These included, for example, an 'inspector' and a 'foreman' in the wagon works, supervisory positions. As argued in Wilkerson and Salmons (2008, 2012) this suggests that monolinguals were not necessarily as economically disadvantaged as we might expect. This also suggests that there were people who could train them as, say, inspectors, in Norwegian, and that the infrastructure existed for monolinguals.[41]

Into at least the late nineteenth century and often into the early and occasionally mid-twentieth, then, Norwegian in much of Wisconsin and neighboring states had strong institutional support, closely parallel to what we have found with other languages, especially German. In these examples, though, control shifts from "local, community-oriented and interconnected actors" to the hands of "extra-community actors", often initially the control of local Anglo or Yankee populations, but eventually to state and/or national control. Taken together, these and other institutional changes steadily eroded the basis of Norwegian language maintenance. In his study of Norwegian in Ulen, Minnesota, Natvig presents this as a creeping loss of domains for the language, where spaces for using the minority language became fewer and where there was more pressure for use of English in more settings.[42] In earlier days, parents may have worked on the farm and used Norwegian, and children had limited schooling, that often in Norwegian as the medium of instruction. Later, as parents sought employment in the broader economy where English was more often the norm and as schools switched to English, it is easy to see that carrying over to use of Norwegian at home over time. With that, the transmission of a minority language to the next generation stops.

This then is the bookend of the discussion at the beginning of this essay about how horizontal community structures supported maintenance of the community language: Where an extensive network of local control made it possible, even natural, for people to speak Norwegian and pass it on to new generations, the break-down of those patterns compounded the difficulties of keeping the language in everyday use. As described by Brown as well as Bousquette and Brown, the exceptions to this situation—that is,

examples of language maintenance in verticalizing and verticalized societies—are communities where there is explicit commitment to the community language as central to identity and even a requirement of group membership, such as Pennsylvania Dutch among Old Order Amish and Mennonites or Yiddish among Hasidim.[43] Those communities have constructed and maintained cultural boundaries—horizontal patterns—that allow transmission of their languages. That is, the evidence presented here is thoroughly consistent with and provides support for the verticalization model.

What can we conclude from this brief discussion of some basic data and analysis of Norwegian in the American Upper Midwest?

- Evidence suggests that Norwegians often acquired English faster than some other groups, like German and Poles.
- Institutions played important supporting roles for language, including transmission of standard languages, language ideologies, and so on, and play a role in shift.
- Loss of institutional support parallels what we see in some other language communities, such as German in terms of timing in particular institutions.
- Norwegians and other immigrant groups in the Upper Midwest ultimately shifted to English monolingualism at roughly the same time. That is, becoming bilingual and shifting to becoming English monolingual were different processes at different times.
- Verticalization provides a promising account for understanding language shift and its timing.

These conclusions are all tentative, pending more detailed further study, but the picture that emerges follows closely along the lines found in other immigrant communities in the region. The similarities in timing of institutional change and language shift across different immigrant language communities lends some further support to the verticalization model, suggesting that shift is dependent on fundamental dynamics of regional and national society, not anything specific to particular communities or speakers

of particular languages. It is, we argue in work on verticalization, about those changes in community structure and not how many generations removed from immigration people in a community are.

Most exciting is the amount of research taking place today, precisely because it is filling in more detail and texture. Just from our own group of researchers, this includes research specifically on Norwegian by early career scholars like Laura Moquin (Wisconsin) and David Natvig (Stavanger), but also on languages like Finnish (Mirva Johnson, Wisconsin), Dutch (Rachyl Hietpas and Charlotte Vanhecke, both Wisconsin), and continuing investigations of German (Samantha Litty, Flensburg). A robust scholarly community has formed and grown around the Workshops on Immigrant Languages in the Americas, https://www.workshoponimmigrantlanguages.org with published annual proceedings available for free download.

Finally, this work has potential value for contemporary society, where issues of language and immigration loom large and are often hotly contested. First, this whole line of research began with results that should help dispel the resilient myth that 'good old immigrants' learned English and integrated quickly into American society. Second, public awareness of research on past immigrant bilingualism and language shift can be part of opening the door to more tolerance among the descendants who feel ties to their immigrant ancestors—I have sometimes heard community members comment, after public talks about this project, on how recent immigrants and refugees are facing challenges today that in some ways mirror what their own families dealt with. Third, the world today is losing languages at an alarming rate, such as the endangerment of Indigenous languages in both North America and the Nordic countries. Understanding how and why people shifted suggests ways of combatting shift, such as rebuilding horizontal patterns within communities.

Notes

[1] As will be apparent throughout, this essay reflects deep and ongoing collaboration with a whole set of other people. We are standing on the shoulders of giants here, able to learn and benefit from decades of study by Arnstein Hjelde,

Janne Bondi Johannessen, and many others, some but hardly all cited here. I have benefited very directly from the help of many students and younger colleagues cited and discussed throughout the paper. In addition to valuable feedback from the editor and two anonymous reviewers, I am grateful to the following for comments on this manuscript and discussions on this topic: Joshua Bousquette, Josh Brown, Mirva Johnson, Monica Macaulay, Laura Moquin, and David Natvig. I alone am responsible for any and all shortcomings.

[2] Joshua R. Brown, ed., *The Verticalization Model of Language Shift: The Great Change in American communities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Joshua R. Brown, and Joshua Bousquette, "Language maintenance and language shift among heritage languages in North America," in *Language Contact*, Volume 2, ed. Jeroen Darquennes, Wim Vandenbussche and Joseph Salmons. (Berlin: de Gruyter Handbooks, 2025): 503–15.

[3] Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (1953).

[4] See Arnstein Hjelde, "A bilingual community and research problems: The Coon Prairie settlement and problems of distinguishing language contact phenomena in the speech of Norwegian-Americans," ed. P. Sture Ureland, *Global Eurolinguistics – European languages in North America – Migration, maintenance and death*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001): 209–29; David Natvig, "'The Great Change' and the shift from Norwegian to English in Ulen, MN," in *The Verticalization Model of Language Shift*, ed. Joshua R. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022): 85–113.

[5] See Miranda Wilkerson and Joseph Salmons, 'Good old immigrants of yesteryear' who didn't learn English: Germans in Wisconsin," *American Speech* 83 (2008): 259–83; Miranda Wilkerson and Joseph Salmons, "Linguistic marginalities: Becoming American without learning English," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 4.2. http://www.escholarship.org/ uc/item/ 5vn092kk (2012) and much research since.

[6] See work like Joshua Bousquette, "The Great Change in Midwestern agriculture: Verticalization in Wisconsin German and Wisconsin West Frisian heritage communities," in *The verticalization Model of Language Shift: The Great Change in American communities*, ed. Joshua R. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022): 52–84; Mirva Johnson, "Language shift and changes in community structure: A case study of Oulu, Wisconsin," *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies Journal*, special issue: *Migration, Exile, and Diaspora in the Nordic Region,* ed. Marit Ann Barkve. 25, no. 1 (2018): 30–49; Mirva Johnson, "Politics and cooperatives: Verticalization in rural Finnish American communities of the Upper Midwest," in *The Verticalization Model of Language Shift*, ed. Joshua R. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022): 25–51; Laura Moquin, "Language and morality in Norwegian-American newspapers: *Reform* in Eau Claire, WI," in *9th Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas*, ed. Kelly Biers and Joshua R. Brown (Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2019): 64–71,

http://www.lingref.com/cpp/wila/9/index.html?fbclid=IwAR27W8KxYI-2LiJkoeTRQnm3GG51I5m95hbcaGhuecfIGcq1huUYZ4yt-ZY; Natvig, "The Great Change."

[7] Roland L. Warren, *The community in America*, 3rd edition. (Chicago: Rand-McNally,

1978), 9, further discussed in Brown and Salmons, "A verticalization theory of language shift," in *The Verticalization Model of Language Shift*, ed. Joshua R. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022): 8-10.

[8] Teresa G. Labov, "English acquisition by immigrants to the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century," *American Speech* 73 (1998): 368–98.

[9] Wilkerson and Salmons, "Good old immigrants."

[10] Labov, "English acquisition by immigrants," 385.

[11] Haugen, *The Norwegian Language,* 290.

[12] Salmons, "The last stages."

[13] Hjelde has discussed this several times at the Workshops on Immigrant Languages in the Americas.

[14] Haugen, *The Norwegian Language*, 246. Conversely, more urban areas may be prone to faster language shift, especially where speakers of other languages are present, see Felecia Lucht, Benjamin Frey, and Joseph Salmons, "A tale of three cities: Urban and rural asymmetries in language shift," *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 23 (2011): 371–98.

[15] We sometimes get unexpected information about this. Census takers occasionally report language for children under ten—contrary to their explicit instructions—and Bousquette and Natvig show that they occasionally did it for whole communities, showing large numbers of children speaking heritage languages before they entered school: Joshua Bousquette, and David Natvig, "Heritage language home and community: Gendered division of labor and language shift," *9th Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas*, ed. Kelly Biers and Joshua R. Brown (Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2019), 55–62. http://www.lingref.com/cpp/wila/11/paper3607.pdf (2019).

[16] Haugen, *The Norwegian Language*; Peter A Munch, "Social adjustment among Wisconsin Norwegians," *American Sociological Review* 14, no. 6 (1949): 780-87.

[17] Warren, *The Community in America.*

[18] Brown and Salmons, "A verticalization theory," 11.

[19] Key examples include Benjamin Frey, *Toward a General Theory of Language Shift: A case study in Wisconsin German and North Carolina Cherokee.* PhD dissertation. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2013; Natvig, "The Great Change."

[20] Salmons, "The shift from German to English"; Salmons, Keineswegs Feinde der Englischen Sprache: Deutsch, Englisch und Schulpolitik in Wisconsin," *Muttersprache* 127 (2017), 310–23; and much other work.

[21] Munch, "Social adjustment," 782–83.

[22] Munch, "Social adjustment," 786.

[23] Robert Antonio Ibarra, *Ethnicity genuine and spurious: a study of a Norwegian community in rural Wisconsin*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1976, 24–25.

[24] Ibarra, *Ethnicity genuine and spurious,* 416.

[25] Arnold Strickon and Robert A. Ibarra, "The changing dynamics of ethnicity:

Norwegians and tobacco in Wisconsin," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 6, no.2 (1983), 174–97.

[26] William F. Thompson, *The History of Wisconsin.* Vol. VI: *Continuity and Change, 1940-1965* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin,1988); see Natvig, "The Great Change," for similar comments on Norwegians.

[27] Thompson, *The History of Wisconsin,* 32.

[28] Haugen, *The Norwegian Language*, especially 262–77.

[29] Haugen, *The Norwegian Language,* 137–40, elsewhere.

[30] Robert C. Ostergren, *A community transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835–1915 (*Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 229; and see Bousquette, "The Great Change," 75, for a similar example from German.

[31] Anne Hvenekilde, "Readers for Norwegian-American schools." *Norwegian-American Studies* 34, no. 1, (1995): 135–69, quotation on p. 136.

[32] This quote comes from https://infogalactic.com/info/History_of_education_in_the_United_States, accessed January 13, 2023, but web searches reveal various other sources with the same or very similar language.

[33] Salmons, "Keineswegs Feinde."

[34] Donald Oehlerts, revised by James L. Hansen, *Guide to Wisconsin Newspapers, 1833-2004* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2021). And see Odd Sverre Lovoll, *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2010) for the classic, full overview of the Norwegian press in the United States.

[35] Moquin, "Language and morality."

[36] Haugen, *The Norwegian Language*, 278.

[37] Salmons, "The shift from German to English."

[38] Malcolm M. Willey, *The Country Newspaper: A study of socialization and newspaper content* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926).

[39] Salmons, "The shift from German to English"; Lucht et al., "A tale of three cities".

[40] Natvig, "The Great Change"; Johnson, "Language shift"; Johnson, "Politics and cooperatives"; Bousquette, "The Great Change."

[41] Joshua Bousquette pointed this out to me in personal communication.

[42] Natvig, "The Great Change."

[43] Brown, *The Verticalization Model*; Brown and Bousquette, "Language maintenance and language shift."

Ethnicity, Class and Regional Building Styles: The Foundation of Immigrant Architecture

Miranda Moen

Despite scholarly consensus on the factors of emigration, settlement patterns, and transnational communication of Norwegian-American immigrants, there is still much debate over the degree to which Norwegian material culture is represented in immigrant-built houses. While previous studies investigated the presence of Norwegian traditions in first-generation or "pioneer" homes, many were limited to examining log-building techniques between Norway and America. This led to the conclusion that immigrant-built houses were quickly assimilated. These studies rarely addressed how conditions prior to emigration, such as socio-economic class and regional building customs, impacted the cultural influences reflected in Norwegian-American homes. Moreover, few intensive transnational studies have been done on Norwegian-American houses. The work of scholars Reidar Bakken and Marion Nelson was foundational to the field. While their previous studies called for more to be done, few have been conducted in the last thirty years.

To address these gaps in research, I conducted a transnational comparative case study project to investigate the architectural parallels between nineteenth-century dwellings in Norway and immigrant-built dwellings in the United States. The Norwegian-American dwellings of the Vik and Traaen families, located near Riceford village in Spring Grove Township, Houston County, Minnesota, serve as primary case studies. Gunder Traaen emigrated from Numedal Valley in 1853, and Endre Vik emigrated from Vald-

res in the 1870s. They later became connected through Endre's marriage to Gunder Traaen's daughter, Kjersti, in 1882. This project follows the through-line of their immigration to the United States and the eventual building of their second-generation homes, which bear a striking resemblance. Both families have an ancestral connection to Eastern Norway, historically associated with the so-called Akershus house typology, which became the starting point of my transnational analysis.

This project was supported by a Fulbright U. S. Student Fellowship grant, enabling me to conduct field surveys and archival research in Norway over eight months. Affiliations with the Norwegian Emigrant Museum and the Oslo School of Architecture and Design supported this work at key times. The project was composed of three phases: first, to establish a baseline of research on class and regional building styles in Norway; second, architectural field studies on relevant case study houses; and third, an analysis of how these elements may have been reflected in immigrant-built houses.

This essay outlines relevant findings from this project regarding the degree to which Norwegian influences could be identified in second-generation homes. I will provide evidence of their relationship to Norwegian building customs based on regional origin, socioeconomic background, and period of emigration. The first section will introduce the Vik and Traaen case study dwellings in Minnesota, followed by a review of existing literature, which led to this study's structure and research focus. The field research phase will then be discussed, highlighting common characteristics of crofters and freeholder dwellings specific to each valley and relating them to buildings connected to the case study families. These characteristics will then be comparatively analyzed against Minnesota's Vik and Traaen houses. The conclusion will summarize my findings as well as counterarguments. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

The Vik and Traaen Families and Dwellings in Minnesota

As previously mentioned, the Vik and Traaen houses display a spe-

cific three-room floor plan, known as the Akershus plan, coined by Norwegian theologian and sociologist Eilert Sundt. The primary marker of this typology was the front door location roughly in the center of the front wall, which allowed direct entry into the house's main living space.[1] In Norwegian, this room was called a *stue*, meaning "living room." It encompassed more than what we consider a living room today–a multi-purpose room for daily activities and cooking and extra sleeping areas in the corner of the room. It was the largest of the three rooms, which took up about two-thirds of the house's footprint. The remaining space comprised two smaller rooms, often a bedroom and a storage room. These two rooms were side-by-side with doors that led into the living room and were divided by a non-loadbearing partition wall. In earlier construction, this was often a thin wood plank wall.

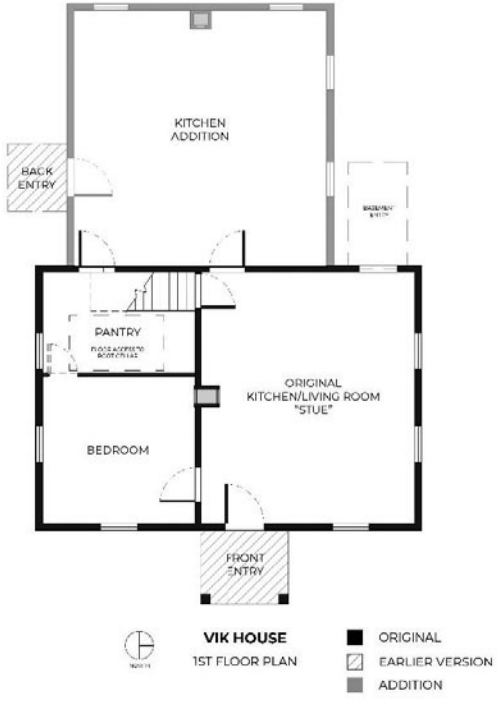


Figure 1. Floor plan drawing of Vik house showing the original three-room Akershus layout (black lines) and the kitchen addition added later (gray lines). Diagonal hatch lines indicate an earlier version of the house that has since been removed. Drawing by Miranda Moen, 2024.

The Vik house is a wooden balloon frame dwelling. It is two stories high, with a T-shaped addition at the rear of the house. The front door opens directly into the living room and is flanked by windows. This is the entry to the original three-room layout. The house follows the Akershus typology closely, with the largest room being originally a combined kitchen and living room. Later, it became solely the living room with the addition becoming a kitchen. During field studies, a bed was found in the corner of the living room, which aligns with historical Norwegian traditions. Of the two smaller chamber rooms, one served as a bedroom, while the other was a pantry with floor access to the cellar below. Originally, the addition was only one story tall. A second story above the kitchen was later added, around the 1930s, as an extra bedroom and living space for the eldest son.

The chimney in the original three-room portion of the house is positioned on the main structural wall and protrudes through the apex of the roof. This location was important for sharing heat between the combined living room and bedroom. As a result, this wall divided the house into a one-third to two-thirds ratio. The pantry was left unheated. The second story of the original house and the addition hosted bedrooms. There was no bathroom in the house. The family used an outhouse in the backyard, likely accessed through the back door. On the gable ends of the house, two windows per story are stacked above each other. One small window in the shape of a Gothic arch is located on the south-facing gable end of the attic. Three windows on the second story replicate the front façade openings on the first floor, with a window positioned directly above the front door. As seen in the photograph of the Vik House (figure 2), a portico shades the front entry door that opens directly into the living room. On the back addition, a small unconditioned vestibule protected the doorway into the kitchen.

The original date of construction for the house is hard to pin down due to a lack of documentation. The 1878 plat map for Spring Grove Township shows two residences located on Gunder Traaen's first-acquired property in Sections 7 and 8.[2,3] It indicates one dwelling at the present-day location of the Vik house, in the far south-

Figure 2. Vik house in the early 1900s near Riceford village, Spring Grove Township, Houston County, Minnesota, showing a two-story Akershus floor-plan house. Standing left to right: Endre Vik, Kjersti Traaen, and their two children, Anna Randina and Gustav. Photo courtesy of Miranda Moen.

west corner of the E ½ of NE ¼ of Section 7, and one at the present-day location of the Traaen house, about a quarter mile north. Gunder received the land patent for this acreage in 1857, meaning both dwellings belonged to him. However, the 1871 and 1874 plat maps show only one dwelling, the location of which differs from both later residences. The earlier residence is located along the northeast quarter boundary line separating Sections 7 and 8, about a quarter mile east of the existing Traaen and Vik houses. As a result, it is reasonable to assume that within four years, one house was built, and one was likely moved to another location.

In support of this hypothesis, a recently identified photograph labeled "Endre Vik's place" shows the family standing in front of

a single-story house with a small addition, likely a summer kitchen. The house is different from the present-day Vik house. Family lore corroborates the existence of an earlier house, which was said to have been located southwest of the current dwelling. At the time of field documentation, no evidence of the earlier house was found. However, the fact remains that the 1878 plat map indicates the existence of two residences, one of which is the current Vik house location. The plat date is before the wedding of Endre Vik and Kjersti Traaen in 1882 and their purchase of westerly adjacent farmland in 1885. Therefore, an earlier dwelling belonging to Gunder Traaen may have been moved to this location when they were building the second-generation brick house.

The Traaen house features a three-room Akershus plan and, from the exterior, appears to be built of brick construction. Except for noticeable material differences, most features are identical to the Vik house, including two stories high with a "T"-shaped addition

Figure 3. Traaen house near Riceford village, Spring Grove Township, Houston County, Minnesota. Photo courtesy of Miranda Moen, 2021.

at the rear. The addition also hosts the kitchen on the first floor and bedrooms on the second. Window and door locations are the same as well. While a larger veranda now stretches along the front façade, initially, it was a portico like the one seen on the Vik house.

As mentioned, Gunder Guulsen Traaen emigrated from Rollag in Numedal Valley in 1853. First landing in Rock County, Wisconsin, he and his wife, Anne, made their way to Spring Grove in 1854 and began purchasing land to build a house and establish a farm.[4] There is a gap in the records between their arrival in 1854 and 1869. Some information can be gleaned from the land records held by the Bureau of Land Management's Government Land Office and available census records.

Starting with the earliest available census record, Gunder Traaen and his family are listed in the 1860 census for Spring Grove Township. In October 1855, Gunder filed an official cash entry at the Brownsville Land Office in the Root River Land District for the land described as E ½ of the NE ¼ of Section 7. In December, he filed one for the adjacent property at W ½ of the NW ¼ of Section 8 in Township 101, Range 7 West. "Cash entry" meant the land was within the public domain and paid for with cash by the applicant.[5] In April of 1857, Gunder Traaen was issued a land patent for this land, totaling 160 acres.[6] The patent is the legal document that conveys the title of the land to the applicant after having satisfied all requirements for gaining the title.[7] Considering this information, it is reasonable to assume that Gunder Traaen took about two years to complete the requirements, at which point the land patent certificate was granted.[8] He continued to buy land in Section 7 with transactions for 40 acres in 1858 and a deed for 40 acres from the previous owner, Thomas Fellows.[9]

Critical to this project, a ledger later identified as having been written by Gunder Traaen became a key resource in researching the Traaen house. The ledger primarily describes farm production, dates to 1869, and is written in Dano-Norwegian.[10] Of utmost importance to this project, it includes a house-building entry from 1875. This entry is titled *Fortegnelse over Matrialier til Husbygning: Samt Leiet Arbeide til Sammen*, which roughly translates to

"List of Materials for House Building as well as Hired Labor together."[11] It provides a detailed account of who he paid to work on a house, where he went to buy construction materials, and their associated costs and quantities (figure 15). Another house-building entry is dated 1876 and includes work on the house until 1877.[12]

The initial 1875 entry also vaguely describes a house being built but does not name the location. As a result, research was conducted to confirm the entry described the brick Traaen house and its inclusion in this project. One early point of confusion was the mention of wood frame construction in the ledger, whereas the exterior of the Traaen house shows brick. In an entry from January 1875, Gunder Traaen paid for 14,162 linear feet of lumber (boards) from La Crosse. The typical board foot requirement for wood-frame houses ranges from 12,000 to 16,000 board feet, which puts the Traaen house within the range for a wood-construction house.[13] Secondly, the brick walls of the Traaen house reflect running bond brick courses. This indicates the brick wall is only a veneer, single wythe brick wall. If the house were built of solid brick instead, the walls would be at least two wythes thick. Header bricks would be installed to tie the two together, resulting in what is known as the Common or American Bond pattern. A row of header bricks (short-end view) would be seen in this configuration every five or six courses. Likewise, entries in the ledger dating to the autumn of 1876 indicate Gunder bought 10,835 bricks from his neighbor, Timan Gulbrandsen. This further confirms that the Traaen house has a wood frame with a brick veneer exterior wall.

Overall, the Vik and Traaen case study houses reflect two-story Akershus house typologies and appear almost identical despite apparent differences in exterior materiality. From here, I will transition to outlining previous studies of Norwegian-American houses conducted by earlier scholars and existing literature that framed my research project and the characteristics I chose to analyze transnationally.

Gaps in Research (Previous Studies)

The field analysis of the Vik and Traaen houses in Spring Grove Township revealed commonalities in floor plan, function, overall

massing and form, and the location of windows and doors. These elements became the initial focus of my study. To understand the degree to which these elements represented cultural influences, I conducted a literature review of previous studies that examined Norwegian-American houses and other material cultures. As previously mentioned, most studies examined first-generation log-construction houses, and fewer still included a comparison of transnational case studies. The work of Reidar Bakken and Marion Nelson was important to this project and the overall field of material culture. Both conducted studies that debated the degree to which Norwegian influences appeared in Norwegian-American pioneer houses, which was the foundation of this project.

Two of Bakken's articles serve as important precedents to this study. The first article, "Two Museum Houses: A Microanalysis of Cultural Adaptation in the Upper Midwest in the Late Nineteenth Century," was published in 1989. In the article, Reidar Bakken outlines a transnational comparative study of two Norwegian-American dwellings that were moved to the Norwegian Emigrant Museum in Hamar, Norway, from the Upper Midwest. He attempts to analyze the transnational parallels between the homes of the Gunderson and Borderud families in the United States and their farm origins in the municipalities of Krødsherad in the former Buskerud County and Grue in the Solør region, respectively. This investigation sought to shed light on Norwegian folk culture and its development after being brought to America. As a comparative study of dwellings, it was novel in its endeavor and served as an important precedent in this project.

About a decade after the publication of this article, the original conclusions about the owner and builder of the Norwegian-American Borderud house were called into question. An extensive investigation was then performed by museum staff to investigate these claims. The former director of the Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Knut Djupedal, wrote about this investigation in a manuscript within the museum's collections. He ascertained that while we do not know who built the house, available evidence indicates that its first owner was pastor Johannes Hellestvedt, the first Nor-

wegian Lutheran pastor in that part of Dakota territory.[14] This was contrary to Bakken's original position that the house was built by its namesake, Peter Borderud from Solør. This finding undermined the potential connections that Bakken proposed between the class and regional origin of the immigrants and the resulting architecture in the United States. Consequently, the potential transnational conclusions Bakken proposed were no longer sufficiently reliable.

However, the structure of Bakken's study as a transnational case study analysis tracing two immigrant families is still relevant and an important precedent for this project. It offered a direct transnational comparison between Norwegian and Norwegian-American dwellings tracing the immigration of specific families. The outcome of his study proposed that aspects such as class and regional building styles should be explored in future research and expressed its importance in drawing more specific conclusions. Consequently, this transnational case study project was structured to analyze the Norwegian and Norwegian-American dwellings of each case study family before and after migration.

John O. Holzhueter's work covered in "Aslak Lie and the Challenge of the Artifact," is highly relevant to this project as well. He writes about how Aslak Lie, originally from South Aurdal in Valdres, combined Norwegian and American building techniques when he built his dwelling in 1848-49 in Springdale, Dane County, Wisconsin. Holzhueter traced Aslak Lie's journey from crofter to freeholder in Norway and then his immigration to America, anchored by a thorough examination of material culture. While Holzhueter's research into Lie's Valdres home does not mention a specific floor plan typology, it does describe the same characteristics of the one-story, three-room houses I observed from the early nineteenth century in nearby Vestre Slidre in Valdres. Furthermore, his analysis of Lie's house in Wisconsin describes both Norwegian and American characteristics, which is an important precedent to my research project. Lastly, Holzhueter emphasized cross-disciplinary research and demonstrated how the study of buildings and artifacts, especially in a transnational study, can shed light on immigration, assimilation, and settlement patterns.[15] His work remains a rare

example of a transnational study that has analyzed material culture before and after immigration.

Lastly, Terje Mikael Hasle Joranger's article, "Building America: Building Patterns Among Norwegian Americans in the Upper Middle West," provides an ample overview of Norwegian-American material culture as it is known to date.[16] Furthermore, he includes Holzhueter's work on Aslak Olsen Lie and introduces Anders Ellingsen Kvaale, an immigrant from the landowning class in the Sogn district of Western Norway. He draws on previous scholar's work that examined the socioeconomic and regional variations observed in their immigrant homes as well as the degree to which they retained Norwegian elements.[17] Joranger points out that there is a lack of relevant source material from which more in-depth research can be done. He emphasized the need for more studies on the transfer of Norwegian building traditions in various settlements. My Fulbright research project sought to contribute more transnational studies to this field of research and advocate for the preservation of immigrant-built buildings as important knowledge-bearing artifacts.

Generation as a Factor in Selecting Transnational Case Study Houses: The Log House in Norway and America

Equally important, Reidar Bakken's article also introduces the concept of the "Pioneer Form" and "Folk Form" as it relates to both the generation of the Norwegian-American house constructed and its owners. Bakken refers to a first-generation log house as the "Pioneer Form," usually one-room log houses originally intended for temporary use.[18] He concluded that they rarely exhibited cultural influences since they were often built hastily to allow homesteaders enough time to cultivate farmland to prove their claim within the five years stipulated by the 1862 Homestead Act.[19,20] As a result, Bakken proposed that comparatively analyzing log houses between Norway and nineteenth-century America is problematic. He points to C. A. Weslager's book, *The Log Cabin in America,* published in 1969, which extensively researched the international influences of log construction techniques observed in America and

offered Weslager's conclusion that it is "impossible to designate a log house [in America] in national terms."[21]

The work of Marion Nelson is vital to include here regarding the analysis of first-generation log houses. Nelson was a former University of Minnesota professor in Scandinavian Studies and Art History, an expert on Norwegian-American decorative folk and fine art, and the former director of the Vesterheim Norwegian-American Museum in Decorah, Iowa. His early speculations on Norwegian-American buildings were published in "Folk Art Among the Norwegians in America," an article published in 1976 as part of a conference proceeding hosted by the University of Minnesota-Duluth. Based on his observations and expertise, the paper offers critical insight into Norwegian-American folk art. While most of his article examines household objects and furniture, he observes the general characteristics of log houses built by Norwegians in America. Nelson describes the following:

> The most frequently encountered houses are one and one-half stories high, the corners are dovetailed, the joints between logs are open and irregular, the walls both inside and out are whitewashed, there is no fireplace, the roofs are shingled and often of moderately high pitch, the windows are double hung, and one window is often placed immediately beside the door.[22]

This description aligns with the Gunderson house in Bakken's study. Nelson states that "none of these characteristics fit the type of domestic buildings we generally know from the folk museums of Norway or from most of the standard literature on Norwegian rural architecture."[23] This is important for two reasons. First, the work of Nelson, Bakken, and C. A. Weslager suggests that first-generation log buildings are not a sound transnational comparison due to the expediency with which they were built and the widely distributed use of log construction among various immigrant groups in the United States. In "Two Museum Houses," Bakken

suggests more research on the so-called "second-generation" house or the "Folk Form" of immigrant-built houses. According to Bakken, these were houses built after the initial pioneer house and were more permanent in the builder's original intention. In his words, "It is here that one can best detect cultural impulses and choices because they did not come into being as a result of an immediate need."[24] Accordingly, he speculated that studying second-generation houses may prove more beneficial to cross-cultural analysis.

Class as a Factor in Selecting Transnational Case Study Houses

Secondly, Nelson pointed out that the most investigated rural buildings in Norway predate the general period of mass emigration from Norway to America and that these buildings "generally belonged to a land-owning peasantry."[25] The key element here is ownership, which was previously reserved for groups like freeholding farmers and civil servants who paid taxes on the land they owned. After men received universal suffrage in 1898, crofters could vote to support legislation that eventually enabled them to buy and own the lands they previously rented. Norwegian outdoor air museums host many upper- and middle-class dwellings from a bygone era. Few have more than one dwelling representing the more common, lower socioeconomic class dwellings across the country. This finding aligns with the field research I conducted during the course of this project.

Most buildings observed in both local and national open-air folk museums represented freeholder dwellings dating to before the mid-nineteenth century. While these buildings are incredibly important to preserve, they do not represent the types of buildings that most immigrants would have lived in before coming to the United States. This is due to the period in which they were built and the socioeconomic class that would have owned them. Therefore, previous transnational studies likely analyzed higher-class representations of Norwegian dwellings from earlier periods. Compared to the relatively stripped-down houses commonly seen in Norwegian settlements, it is understandable why previous scholars

would conclude that immigrants quickly assimilated to American building customs.

Immigrants belonged to various socio-economic groups, the characteristics of which reflected the unique community where they grew up. The gaps I identified in Norwegian material culture studies prompted me to analyze the socioeconomic conditions of nineteenth-century Norwegian peasant society. This prompted me to carefully select buildings in Norway based on their geographic region, socioeconomic context, and time period. Previous studies by Nelson and Bakken suggest that studying different classes of Norwegian architecture may shed more light on transnational influence. Secondly, Bakken calls for further research into second-generation buildings, which he speculates may be the key holder of cultural traditions. This project analyzes second-generation frame and brick veneer houses in Minnesota against nineteenth-century Norwegian log-construction houses of the same class background as the case study families.

Lastly, a word about the term *class* and its meaning in this article. The class-ruled society, or *klassesamfunn*[26] in Norwegian society, is tied to the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century. Class solidarity replaced power relations between superior and subordinate groups that existed in the estate society. Before this change, Norway was primarily an estate society, or *standssamfunn*.[27] The estate society was marked by different social groups separated by rank and position in society. According to historian Jan Eivind Myhre, Norwegian society was divided in parallel estates or columns which included the estate of officials, merchants, craftsmen, and the peasantry. Social ties existed between superiors and subordinates within each estate. Relevant to this article, both freeholders and crofters were part of the Norwegian peasant society.

The divisions within the peasant estate were classified according to the ownership of land. Freeholders belonged to the upper echelons of the peasant estate based on their degree of landed wealth and, consequently, status in the peasant society. On the other hand, crofters, or *husmenn*, servants, and day laborers belonged to the lower strata of the peasant estate.[28] Despite having a

larger socioeconomic separation between the class of civil servants and the peasantry, differences in financial stability and living conditions were observed within the peasantry as well and are the primary subject of this article.

Distinctions in socioeconomic and living conditions between social groups were due to the vertical organization of the estate society where the social structure was fixed. This meant there was little movement from the middle and lower classes to the upper class due to status being tied to birth, occupation, and their associated positions in society. While the meaning of the term *class* differs in Norwegian estate society and the class society familiar to Americans, it is still relevant as a short-hand for describing socioeconomic variations. The use of *class* in this article is meant to describe the socioeconomic variations between different social groups and their associated living conditions. Regardless of whether the socioeconomic contexts stem from the estate society or class society, there were clear social, political, and economic divisions between them. This ultimately impacted the motivations for Norwegian immigration to America.

Selecting Regional Building Styles for Transnational Analysis: The Akershus Typology

In his article entitled "Acculturation in Buildings and Farmsteads in Coon Valley, Wisconsin, from 1850-1930," Reidar Bakken identified the use of the Akershus typology in Coon Valley, Wisconsin. This town is located in the state's southwestern corner, approximately 50 miles from Spring Grove. Here Bakken describes the Norwegian-American Struxness house and its similarities to the Norwegian Akershus house typology.[29] An examination of fifty-three log houses was carried out by a professor with the University of Wisconsin, William Tishler, for Norskedalen in 1984. The Struxness house contained the same basic three-room floor plan and façade arrangement typical of the Akershus typology. This provides an excellent example of how a log construction house can still contain cultural indicators, such as its floor plan, even if the joinery found on the exterior is culturally ambiguous.

The Akershus three-room house has been commonly used in Norway since the Middle Ages. It was primarily found in Eastern Norway, roughly corresponding with the former Akershus diocese boundaries, where it received its name.[30] This plan developed from the earlier *årestue* or "hearth house" typology. This typology was described as a three-room house where the living room had an open hearth on the floor and a vent through the roof above for smoke. In the sixteenth century, the hearth in the living room was replaced by a fireplace with an enclosed chimney to exhaust smoke through the roof. It had two side rooms or "chamber rooms." The entrance would lead into one of these chambers, which provided a buffer between the main living quarters and access to outdoor conditions. It closed off from the rest of the house to keep warm air inside and cold air out. In the Akershus typology, "the entrance was moved from the hall to the middle of the building, so you could enter the living room directly…thus one became two [rooms], or one long if the partition was removed…[and] as a rule, a *sval* was built in front of the door" (my translation).[31] Often a *vindfang* or *sval*, essentially an unconditioned vestibule to block the wind, was placed at the entry of the house. Diverting the entrance to the main living space allowed them to utilize both chambers for specified functions.

Eilert Sundt's book, *Om Bygnings-skikken på Landet i Norge* (which roughly translates to *On the Building Customs of the Norwegian Countryside*), outlines the history of various regional building plans and forms. In his work, Sundt found that regional typologies typically differed in the location of the main entry door and the function of the rooms. Like the Akershus house, regional variants also followed historical diocese boundary lines. In turn, the boundaries of localized traditions followed the mountain peaks that historically separated the valleys. This could account for the slight stylistic variations between houses in the Valdres and Numedal valleys despite being within the Akershus diocese boundaries. The Valdres Valley is located in the former Oppland County (now part of Innlandet County), and Numedal Valley is in Buskerud County.

Other examples of the Akershus typology in Bakken's article "Acculturation in Buildings and Farmsteads in Coon Valley, Wis-

consin, from 1850-1930" include the Bakke house near Viroqua and the Terry Rudie house in Coon Valley, Wisconsin. Referring to the Terry Rudie house, he explains, "Seen from the outside, the house seems to be entirely American in style, concerning both the decorative trim and the perpendicular juxta-positioning of the two halves."[32] The latter comment refers to the floor plan being "comprised of two three-room dwellings" that resemble an Akershus typology.[33] The seemingly widespread nature of this typology in the project area highlighted its importance as a potential regional building custom transferred to the United States. In addition, focusing on broader architectural characteristics such as overall form and floor plan usage may provide better insight into how Norwegian influences were adapted to the American landscape.

Detailed elements, such as architectural ornamentation and aspects of handicrafts, are more challenging to compare transnationally. Marion Nelson's research pointed out that it would be unreasonable to expect specific stylistic details to be reflected in immigrant-built houses due to the lack of access to various materials and products used in Norway. Nelson wrote that folk art in Norwegian-American communities were either items that were brought to the United States by the immigrant, later inherited or items that were made in the United States "before mass-produced materials became available" and typically "did not last more than 10-20 years in most settlements."[34] He later adds that while "a few immigrants continued to produce materials in the folk traditions of the homeland beyond the period when this was called for by economic need…these were individuals with strong creative drives… [and] were a rare phenomenon among a people who for the most part adapted readily to the industrial age."[35]

After the literature review, I examined the potential Norwegian influences of second-generation houses relating to socioeconomic origin and regional building customs, including the Akershus typology, as potential cultural holdovers. This was informed by the gaps in research in existing literature and previous scholars' calls for more research.

Phase 1: Establishing a Baseline of Research on Class and Regional Building Styles in Norway

To understand the extent to which Norwegian vernacular architecture exhibits variation, I first established a baseline of research on class and regional building customs. This provided critical background and contextual information on the elements of building customs that were examined in later phases. I utilized the methods outlined by Thomas Hubka in *Houses Without Names* to organize the research data by architectural classification; they include 1) architectural style, 2) exterior shape, form, and massing, and 3) floor plan.[36] The latter two methods were the primary methods utilized in this study as they had the most accessible information. I assumed class and regional origin could affect the appearance of seemingly broad characteristics such as floor plan, form, and façade arrangement, making them easier to analyze and compare. As a result, I use more than one classification method to explore a broader scope of influences.

Phase 2: Localized Field Study of Dwellings in Valdres and Numedal

In the second phase of my project, I conducted a localized field study of Vik dwellings in Vestre Slidre, Valdres Valley, and the Traaen dwellings in Rollag, Numedal Valley. The goal of this phase was to identify the farms in Norway that the case study families had used before emigration for use in the third phase–the transnational comparison. Furthermore, I sought to analyze the most common characteristics of nineteenth-century dwellings in each valley to ensure that the comparison analyzed elements generally representative of the region. Since variations appeared tied to the time of construction and the class origin of the user, these aspects were heavily considered in the buildings I included in the analysis; I documented existing site and building conditions through architectural drawings, measurements, and photographs at each site. Historical census data and existing documentation supported this

fieldwork and subsequent research on the buildings. In lieu of buildings belonging to the specific family, local dwellings typical to the period of emigration and class were utilized.

Genealogical research helped identify which socioeconomic class Endre Vik and Gunder Traaen belonged to before emigration. Therefore, I will outline the general characteristics and differentiators between these groups to frame the study. Many Norwegian emigrants, like the Vik family, had belonged to Norway's *husmann* or "crofter" socio-economic class. Their restricted ability to own land prompted them to escape generational poverty through emigration. The Traaen family, on the other hand, were *bønder* or freeholders from Rollag in Numedal Valley, Norway. Both crofters and freeholders belonged to the peasantry and, thus, remained at a lower status compared to higher ranks like the *embetsmenn*, or government officials.[37]

Whereas the Traaen family would have lived on an independently owned and registered farm, or *gård*, the Vik family would have lived on a *husmannsplass* or a crofter's holding.[38] The farm owned the crofter's holding, and the crofter worked and paid rent to the farm owner in the form of labor. The croft was never registered as a separate unit, and buildings on the crofter's holding were under the ownership of the main farm. As a result, crofters could not gain economic benefits from improving the dwellings or the land. Anything the crofter improved ultimately benefitted the farm owner, which inhibited the crofter's motivation to make significant changes or improve the croft beyond immediate repairs and essential buildings. Crofter's dwellings were often tied to the duration of their life unless otherwise stipulated by the farmer who owned it. When the crofters died, their houses were frequently moved to other farms, having to be rebuilt and subsequently changing over time (my translation).[39] While conditions of crofter holdings varied widely across the country, the elements outlined in this article describe those of Eastern Norway.[40]

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a shift began to take place. According to Norwegian scholar Arne Lie Christensen in his book *Den Norske Byggeskikken*, the population was growing rap-

idly, and crofts developed in large part due to this population growth and the "farm owners' growing need for labor" (my translation).[41] He goes on to say that "especially in the rich agricultural and forestry settlements in Eastern Norway, the tendency was that the farms were not divided up when the population increased, and instead a larger crofters' class was created…There the crofters were agricultural workers, forest workers, and craftsmen and were in a strong dependence on the master" (my translation).[42]

Crofter's holdings usually consisted of a small plot of land where subsistence farming could be carried out by the crofter and their family, as well as a small barn that could house a few animals (my translation).[43] Some crofts were similar to small farms that were kept up and passed down from generation to generation, but there were also holdings with poor conditions and a high turnover of inhabitants (my translation).[44] In contrast, the main farm was a registered unit dependent on human labor. The lower socio-economic classes of farm laborers, such as crofters, would have been the largest contributors. As a result, socioeconomic conditions and the desire to rise in status were often reasons for emigration.

Freeholder Dwelling Characteristics in Rollag in Numedal Valley

Prior to his emigration in 1853, Gunder Traaen lived on the Søre Traaen farm in Rollag, Numedal Valley.[45] Gunder's father, Guul, acquired the farm in 1829. Two years later, Gunder was born in 1831. The Traaen family's status as farm owners in Norway meant they could earn money from selling their farm in Rollag when they emigrated. This is a crucial distinction in nineteenth-century Norwegian peasant society.

The oldest dwelling on the farm is called *Gamlestugu* ("The old house)." It was built in 1693 (pictured in the center of the photograph, figure 6), has a three-room Akershus floor plan, and is one-story tall. The house is considered a *mønsåsstue* (a house type named for its unique roof construction). The roof construction features the *mønsåstaket*, or the "ridge roof…where the rafters are not only carried by the long walls but also by a colossal ridge beam at the top of the room" (my translation).[46] The presence of a *mønsås-*

stue built in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century on a freeholder's property was a common feature in Rollag. Several aspects of the house are also reminiscent of common eighteenth-century upper-class traditions in Rollag. This includes wooden stave columns at the entrance reflecting local traditions of decorative carving. Dwellings with similar characteristics are preserved in the Rollag *bygdetun* (Rollag open air museum), which verifies their alignment with local freeholder dwellings from the eighteenth century.

Importantly, Arne Lie Christensen points out that eighteenth-century upper-class dwellings influenced the development of the typical crofter dwelling later on:

> In many cases, the crofter's dwellings were miniature versions of the houses on the main farm. The typical croft in the 1800s was a type of house that had previously been common on the landowner farms but was replaced by larger houses with more rooms…In Eastern Norway, it was the Akershus [typology] that became the crofter's house (my translation).[47]

In short, the one versus two-story form became a consistent class indicator in the nineteenth century. This was further demonstrated during fieldwork at Glomdalsmuseet in Elverum, where I analyzed a crofter dwelling representative of Eastern Norway. It shared many characteristics with those seen in *Gamlestugu*. Both have an Akershus floor plan, the primary marker of which is the location of the front entry leading into the living room. Both had an attached storage area also serving as an outhouse (as seen from the front, located on the right end of the house–figures 4 and 5). The chimneys are located on the main structural wall between the living room and the smaller chambers, and both have a portico over the front entrances. The façade is symmetrical and exhibits traditional door locations and flanking windows. Lastly, in addition to a corner fireplace, each also has a stove in the living room, where

the chimney exits at the apex of the roof. The only difference is that the crofter building has one long chamber room adjacent to the living room instead of two. This characteristic, however, still aligns with historical precedent. In reference to the Akershus typology, the Valdres *bygdebok* states that the two small chamber rooms may be combined into one room that runs the depth of the house. The author cites this as a common finding of old, small houses and references it in Skattebustova from Øystre Slidre, built in the 1700s.[48]

Figure 4. Exterior elevation comparison between the croft dwelling at Glomdalsmuseet on the left and the Traaen Gamlestugu on the right. Drawing by Miranda Moen, 2022.

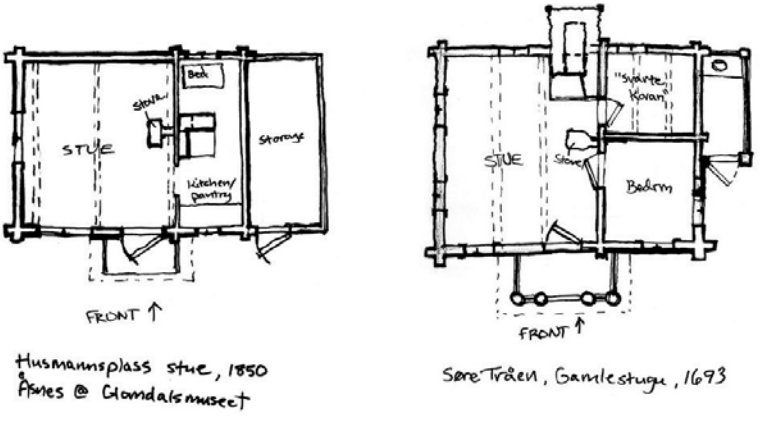


Figure 5. Floor plan comparison between the croft dwelling at Glomdalsmuseet on the left and the Traaen Gamlestugu on the right. Drawing by Miranda Moen, 2022.

Christensen outlines how the Akershus crofter dwelling was adapted to other areas of Norway:

> In Eastern Norway, it was the Akershus type that became the crofter [dwelling]. We find Akershus dwellings over a large area, also in Indre Sogn where the house type has long been incorporated on the farms. In Aust-Agder the crofter dwelling was often a one-room house with a *sval* and one-and-a-half floors, in Sørlandet and the coast of Western Norway a dwelling with a *forstuekjøkken* (front entry kitchen), in Trøndelag and the rest of Central Norway [it was a] three-room house with one and a half or two floors, [and] in northern Norway a one-room house with a *sval* or the Akershus dwelling. All these types of houses had been common on farms in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth century became synonymous with crofter dwellings, at least from Trøndelag and further south.[49] But if the types were the same as the farmers had previously had, the croft was usually much smaller. The house expressed the status of the residents, and from a long distance, people could see that this was a crofter's house (my translation).[50]

Three critical pieces of information are gathered from this excerpt: 1) dwellings reserved for the freeholder in the eighteenth century were commonly used by the crofters in the nineteenth century, 2) as time passed, the Akershus typology spread outside the regional diocese boundaries, and 3) the crofter dwelling often imitated the freeholder dwelling on a smaller scale. These aspects are found in the comparative study between the crofter house at Glomdalsmuseet and the Traaen *Gamlestugu*. Both houses are great examples of how the crofter houses reflected characteristics that belonged to older freeholder dwellings. Separated by one hundred

and fifty years, they share the same Akershus floor plan, building form, and façade arrangement. Class indicators specific to the crofter dwelling at Glomdalsmuseet are generally reflected in the small size of the house, lower quality materials including smaller diameter logs, protruding log ends, and less uniformity overall. Its form as a one-story house in the nineteenth century also indicates its lower-class stature.

Returning to Søre Traaen, a new dwelling was constructed beginning in 1835 when Gunder was four (seen on the right side of the photograph in figure 6).[51] The house was painted white and adorned with decorative Swiss-style trim details. It was originally one-and-a-half stories tall but was later renovated to two full stories. This also involved raising the roof, a common practice in Norway. According to Ina Backer in *Bygd og by i Norge: Buskerud*, vertical additions provided an easy way to circulate heat "almost for free through the joists and from the chimney" (my translation).[52] Historical records of the Traaen farm indicate that the renovation to two building stories likely occurred in 1930.[53]

This house has roots in the Akershus typology but features a newer, expanded floor plan called the *midtkammersplan* (middle chamber plan). Finn Ditlevsen in *Vest Oppland and Valdres* attributes the arrival of this development to upper-class Danish and German civil servants who came to Norway, and "the better-off [Norwegian] peasantry also followed suit, both in layout and details."[54] One of the two smaller chamber rooms associated with the Akershus form was transitioned into an entry vestibule in this configuration. Another *stue* could then be built on the end of the house, creating a symmetrical plan. One of the small chamber rooms became an entry vestibule as it was now in the center or "middle chamber" of the house. This plan became known as the "middle chamber house." Similarly, if the two small chamber rooms were instead one long room, it would be called the *midtgangsplan* or "middle aisle plan." Due to the economic prosperity of Numedal Valley in the nineteenth century, it was common for freeholder dwellings to expand the house to reflect this form, which Backer attributes to influences from the upper classes above the peasantry.[55]

Figure 6. Gamlestugu (center) and the newer Swiss-style farmhouse (right) at the Søre Traaen farm in Rollag, Numedal Valley. Photo from the late nineteenth century. Photo courtesy of Miranda Moen.

Figure 7. The Swiss-style farmhouse built in 1835 at the Søre Traaen farm in Rollag, Numedal Valley. Photo courtesy of Miranda Moen, 2022.

A localized survey of freeholders' houses in Numedal Valley (Rollag and Veggli) was chosen due to their relationship to the Traaen case study family. These dwellings included the neighboring Traaen nordre farm, several Risteigen farms, Gladheim søre, Gladheimkåset, and Høyseth nedre.[56] Like Søre Traaen, many of these farms had two dwellings: a *gamlestugu* (old house) and a *våningshus* (farmhouse) constructed around the mid-nineteenth century. The latter commonly consisted of a one-and-a-half-story "middle chamber plan" house with low-sloping roofs. From the exterior, stylistic elements commonly exhibited the Swiss or Empire styles. Renovations to two-story forms began around the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Interestingly, the Gladheimkåset dwelling, built in 1915, appears to be a two-story Akershus house.

Both Gamlestugu and the white Swiss-style farmhouse at the Søre Traaen farm align with socioeconomic and regional characteristics commonly found in Rollag. The stylistic details of both houses correspond to their period of construction. The newer Traaen dwelling shows how houses were adapted to modern needs by first expanding to a "middle chamber plan" and later adding a second story. Both became hallmarks of freeholder dwellings of the nineteenth century. Gunder Traaen emigrated in 1853, about 20 years after the newer Traaen farmhouse was built. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that he was familiar with the Akershus plan and the more modern and popular building customs, such as the "middle chamber plan."

Croft Dwelling Characteristics in Vestre Slidre in Valdres Valley

Turning to the field analysis in Valdres Valley, I examined both croft and freeholder dwellings in Vestre Slidre. As crofters, the Vik family would have been familiar with both, living at one and working under the main farm. I started the field study analysis by focusing on crofter dwellings and class differences among the houses in Vestre Slidre. Through genealogical research, I found that Endre Vik was born at Viksbergo croft in 1855.[57] This croft was under the ownership of the Øvre Vik and Nedre Vik farms until about 1880, when it was changed to solely Nedre Vik farm.[58, 59] Aligning with

the common practices of other emigrants, Endre likely took his surname because the main farm was called Vik, despite not owning the farm. Endre emigrated in 1877. According to his obituary, he first went to Decorah, Iowa, for a few days and then traveled to his uncle, Tollef Anderson's, in Newburg in Fillmore County.[60] Newburg was just west of Riceford, where he would later live in the vicinity.

It is clear that Endre had some family in the area before his arrival, and other sources confirm several of Endre's siblings also immigrated to the area later on. Conversely, his brother Arne, who remained in Norway, and his parents, Arne Nilsen and Ragnhild Endresdatter, moved to a croft under the Kvåle nedre farm called Smedplassen.[61] Research into the Smedplassen and Viksbergo crofts was conducted to identify characteristics that could shed light on the typical croft characteristics in Vestre Slidre.

Field research revealed that there is no longer a dwelling standing onsite at either location. This is not an uncommon finding as most buildings relating to crofts either disintegrated over time, were moved to other places without a record to trace them, or were torn down. The crofter system in Norway largely ended at the end of the twentieth century; therefore, the farming system no longer needed the buildings for the same reason.

Figure 8. A photograph of the Smedplassen croft under the Kvåle nedre farm in Vestre Slidre, Valdres, Norway taken in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Endre Vik's parents, Arne Nilsen and Ragnhild Endresdatter sit in the foreground. Photo courtesy of Miranda Moen.

Returning to Viksbergo, the outline of a small foundation was visible, but it was unclear whether it was the foundation of an outbuilding or a dwelling. The same conditions existed at Smedplassen, except a verifiable photograph of the croft helped differentiate the building footprints as the locations of a barn and blacksmith's shop. The photo (figure 8) shows the barn (left) and blacksmith building (right) in the background, as well as Endre's parents, Arne and Ragnhild, sitting in the foreground.

Smedplassen is one of the few crofts that were photographed and whose photograph was retained in a digital, searchable database. An almost identical picture was found on the DigitaltMuseum.no website, which links to the Valdres Folkemuseum collections. The second photo shows Ragnhild standing in the foreground and both buildings in the background. It is dated circa 1910, and the caption reads as follows:

> The place was cultivated by the blacksmith Arne Nilsen Jome around 1890. Here he lived until the beginning of the twentieth century. Then he moved to Haugen under Kvissel. The croft is also called Ådneplassen (my translation).[62]

This photograph reflects lower socioeconomic characteristics in the small building sizes, unpainted and unclad log walls, and the wooden, sawn-board roofs, which were less insulative than sod roofs. It is believed that the two buildings in the photograph are a barn and a blacksmith's shop, so no dwelling is represented. Furthermore, the caption reveals that Endre's father was known as Arne Nilsen Jome (also written as "Ådne Nilsen Johme"). The Jome farm owned the first croft he worked under. Documentation like this is somewhat rare and incredibly valuable in tracing crofter lineage. It also highlights the differences in surnames used by family members. In the nineteenth century, it was common for crofters that the surname acted more like an address than a fixed last name.

To examine common class-related characteristics of crofts, I studied the Øvre Fristad dwelling, built around 1750 and now pre-

served at the Valdres Folkemuseum. The house was originally from Vestre Slidre and served to establish a baseline of characteristics representative of Valdres crofts from the nineteenth century. The dwelling is a one-story log construction house with a three-room Akershus plan. The two smaller rooms are a *sengekleve* (bedroom) and a *vasskleve* (functions like a pantry and utility or storage room).[63] The wall dividing these two rooms is of wood plank construction, typical of the Akershus typology. The corner fireplace in the living room is located on the shared wall of the bedroom. Lastly, the exterior is unpainted and does not have cladding over the log construction walls. Besides the one-story form and log construction, all of these characteristics are reflected in the Vik house in Minnesota.

While Øvre Fristad does not have a *sval* at the front entrance, other dwellings with the older one-story form can be found. In *Gamal byggjeskikk i Vestre Slidre*, Ragnhild Dietrichson points to the one-story *stogo* dwellings at Øvre Magistad and Landsrud, which have typical *svaler.* [64] Secondly, she references "Gamlestogo

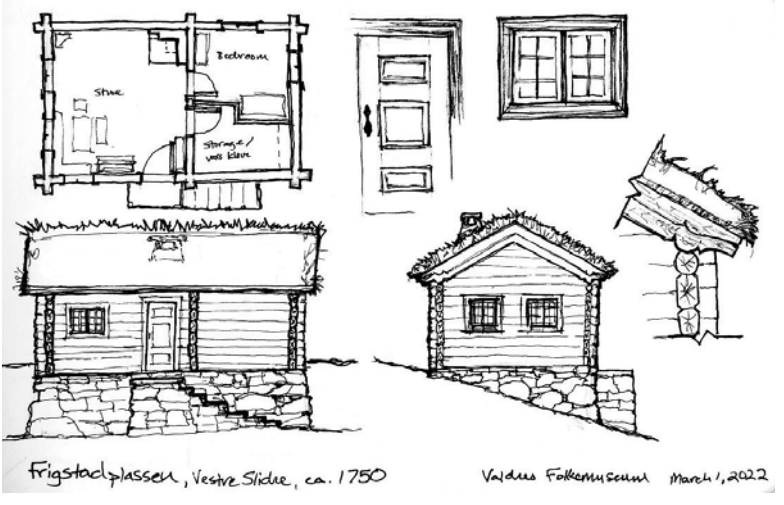


Figure 9. Drawing of Øvre Fristadplassen crofter dwelling at the Valdres Folkemuseum. Drawing by Miranda Moen, 2022.

in Raa" which has one long chamber room instead of two rooms.[65] This is a feature of the crofter's dwelling at Glomdalsmuseet as well. In summary, these characteristics represent the common traditions among the crofter class in Vestre Slidre.

Researching crofter dwellings proved difficult across various regions in Norway. Throughout this phase of work, there was a lack of data, drawings, and photographs of crofter dwellings represented in archives. Furthermore, most outdoor-air folk museums in Norway contained only one example of a croft, which hardly provides solid evidence of common characteristics in that region. Some local parish records give a few descriptions of crofts but are rarely accompanied by photographs. The most helpful information came from local historical societies and the annual *årbok* or "yearbook" publications they sponsor. In summary, the lack of data and representation of crofts created a barrier in research to understand the regional characteristics of this building class.

Haugen –From Croft to Registered Farm

Returning to the field study in Vestre Slidre, I identified one dwelling at the Haugen farm connected to Endre Vik's family that remained intact. The discovery of an existing house on a former croft was significant for this study. Historically, many were dismantled and moved after the crofter's contract with the main farm ended or was left to deteriorate. The former croft dwelling at Haugen likely survived because the place eventually became a registered farm–a *småbruk* or "small-holding" farm. Today, two houses are on the property, the eldest being the former crofter house (figure 10). In this project, I refer to the house as the Haugen dwelling since it is located on the Haugen farm registered as gnr. 13 bnr. 2 (farm #13 subdivision # 2, also written as 13/2). The present-day farm stems from the combination of two former crofts next to one another. The first was Mørke,[66] which was a croft that made part of the Nørdre Kvissel farm (North Kvissel farm) until 1861, when it was separated and became an independent farm.[67, 68] The second croft was called Haugen and was under the Oppigarden Kvissel (the Upper Kvissel farm) until 1857, when it became a freehold.[69] In 1894,

Arne Arnesen from the Smedplassen croft under Kvåle bought the property.[70] This was Endre Vik's younger brother. He later went by the name Haugen. Their parents, Arne Nilsen and Ragnhild Endresdatter, left Smedplassen at the turn of the century and moved to Haugen as well. In 1908, he bought the neighboring farm, Mørke, and the two farms merged.

The dwelling at Haugen is believed to have been built in the early to mid-nineteenth century. From the exterior, it is apparent several modifications were made over time. Based on its peculiar second-floor construction, it is likely that the house was originally one-story tall. Its floor plan reflects a variation of the Akershus typology documented in Valdres. One chamber room, in this case, the *vasskleve*, is extended to be flush with the front of the *svalgang,* an intermediate vestibule shielding the front door from cold air.[71] This vestibule was also used for storage and contained the staircase if the house had two stories. This is reflected in the Haugen house as well. Instead of the living room, the corner fireplace is in the *vasskleve*. This room was likely used as a kitchen. A stove was in the living room on the other side of the wall, sharing the chimney. Dietrichson's work supports the common finding of this variation in Vestre Slidre, referencing a one-story crofter's dwelling called Trilla."[72]

The addition of the second story gave the house a similar form to the upper-class Akershus house. In plan view, the locations of the windows and doors indicate an attempt at symmetry. This is obscured on the front façade due to the *svalgang* and is perhaps most immediately noticed on the side of the building facing outward toward the valley. This would have been the view most seen by the public as well. Likely due to financial reasons, only about one-third of the second story was built of log construction. It was likely used as a workshop and sleeping area and was located directly above the kitchen (*vasskleve*) and the adjacent chamber below. The chimney passed through this room, providing passive heating, and exited the roof at the apex of the gable. The other half of the second story was built in a lighter, less insulated construction. It was used for cold storage and was built of posts and beams

with horizontal wood planks as cladding. The stairwell from the *svalgang* below was accessed through this room.

The protruding log ends at the corner joints on the first floor, which indicates its older, less refined construction. As the house transitioned over time from a one-story to a two-story house, renovations were made that required the time and investment that came with ownership. The log portion of the second floor exhibits corner joints that meet cleanly and tightly at the corners. This is in stark contrast to its original construction. Likewise, the second floor has a large Swiss-style window on the gable side facing the hill, whereas the first-floor windows and doors reflect the earlier Empire style. The house's various renovations tell a story of change and adaptation from croft to independent farm. Clearly, the owners sought to emulate upper-class farms as they transitioned to farm owners themselves.

Figure 10. The old house at the Haugen farm (13/2), formerly a croft under the Oppigarden Kvissel farm (13/1) in Vestre Slidre, Valdres, Norway. Photo *courtesy of Miranda Moen, 2022.*

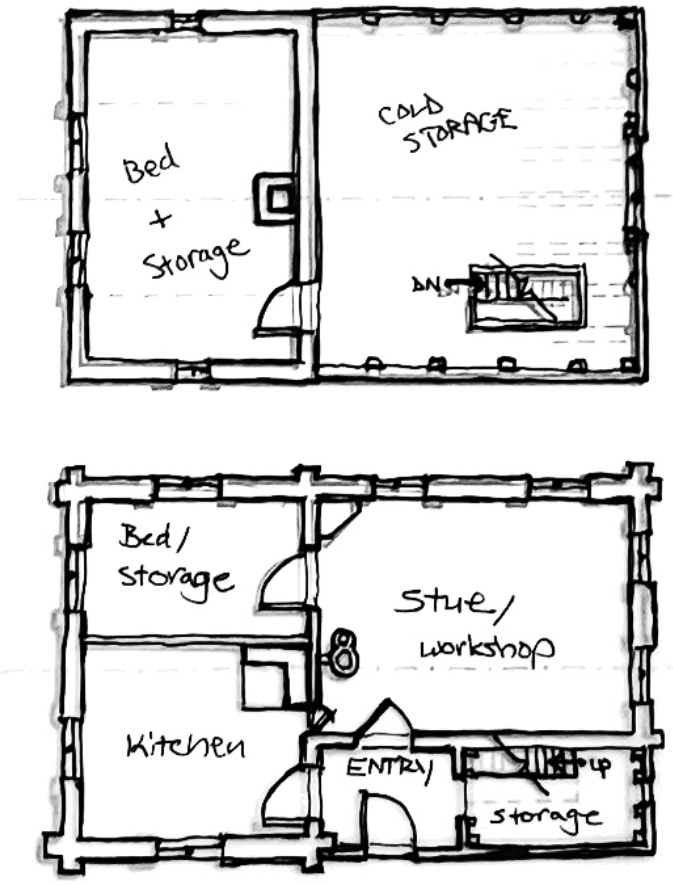


Figure 11. Floor plan drawing of the Haugen (13/2) house in Vestre Slidre, Valdres, Norway. Drawing by Miranda Moen, 2022.

Freeholder Dwelling Characteristics in Vestre Slidre in Valdres Valley

As for freeholder dwellings in Vestre Slidre, I chose to examine the Vik and Kvissel houses (figures 12 and 13). As previously mentioned, Endre Vik and his family worked as crofters for the Vik (Øvre and Nedre or "Upper and "Lower") farms. The Niegarden Kvissel (the lower Kvissel farm) is located near Haugen (13/2),

which Endre's brother Arne Arnesen Smedplassen would eventually own.[73] The houses have almost identical appearances and share the Akershus floor plan, two-story, rectangular building form, and façade organization. As mentioned, these were common features among nineteenth-century freeholder dwellings in Vestre Slidre. Stylistically, both have a stripped-down appearance compared to the Swiss style popular in Numedal Valley. According to Ragnhild Dietrichson in *Gamal byggjeskikk i Vestre Slidre*, the architecture in Valdres in the mid-nineteenth century was heavily represented by the Empire style. She writes, "…[this style] seeks the simple in contrast to earlier periods," and in Norway, "it had a great impact on wooden architecture [resulting in] simple house forms with simple and restrained carpentry details" (my translation).[74] While the Vik house in Minnesota does not display explicit Empire-style characteristics, but it does exhibit simple details and min-

Figure 12. Houses at the Øvre Vik farm (54/1, on the left) and Nedre Vik (55/1, on the right) in Vestre Slidre, Valdres, Norway. Photo courtesy of the Valdres Folkemuseum, photographed by Jens Embretsen Robøle circa 1900. (ID: VFF VS-16.20).

imal ornamentation. Whether this results from frugality or an intentional stylistic decision is hard to say, but it is clear both houses share similarities in broader strokes.

Compared to Numedal, I found aesthetic and architectural style variations to be the largest differences between freeholder dwellings in each valley. In Rollag, the presence of the Swiss style showed up earlier than in Vestre Slidre. Houses with low-sloping rooflines and extra ornamentation were commonly found in early to mid-nineteenth-century dwellings. Likewise, the middle-chamber plan was more heavily represented there. Ina Backer writes in *Buskerud* that there was an economic boom in the eighteenth century, especially in forested areas such as Numedal (my translation).[75] In *Vest Oppland and Valdres*, Finn Ditlevsen writes that the "characteristic features of an area's building customs are connected with the style or fashion common just at the time the area was in economic upswing and development" (translated).[76] This would have allowed farmers more financial access in Rollag to build more spacious homes and ornate building styles. Ditlevsen

Figure 13. The farmhouse at the Niegarden Kvissel farm (13/3) in Vestre Slidre, Valdres, Norway. Photo courtesy of the Valdres Folkemuseum, date unknown. (ID: VFF VS-52.35).

adds, "in Valdres and the more isolated rural communities, there are fewer precedents and the Akershus plan lasted longer" (my translation).[77] Despite these differences, the Akershus typology is still common among freeholder dwellings from each valley. Both valleys are characterized by single-story and two-story versions, with the time period determining whether either was built. The primary differences lie in the exterior expression and application of architectural styles.

Phase 3: Comparative Case Study Analysis

The Vik and Traaen families' second-generation homes depict several characteristics that are typical of nineteenth-century freeholder houses in Norway. First, both reflect the two-story Akershus form, historically linked to the Valdres and Numedal valleys. In this configuration, the chimney is located on the shared wall between the living room and the bedroom, allowing efficient heating. In both the Traaen and Vik houses, a stove was used instead of a corner fireplace, but this aligns with Norwegian precedent. The stove in the living room was as centrally located as possible, exiting at the apex of the roof. The second chamber room functioned as a pantry and storage room. The dividing wall between the two chamber rooms was a thin wooden plank wall instead of a structural frame, observed in numerous crofter and freeholder dwellings in Norway and is a key element of the Akershus typology. Since the Traaen house is still being used as a residence, the original wall dividing the rooms was partially removed and rebuilt during the bathroom installation. Therefore, we cannot verify this condition at the Traaen house, but it was likely of similar construction.

Other elements in the Norwegian-American houses align with the case study dwellings in Norway but are difficult to pin down as cultural indicators. This includes the presence of a gable window in the attic of both houses, as well as the stone foundation and secondary access door at the rear of the house. The gable window has been seen in every freeholder house examined as part of the Vestre Slidre and Rollag field studies, which suggests a connection. Like-

wise, several Norwegian examples show access to the cellar below through a hatch on the pantry/storage room floor.

C/ontrary to the widespread use of the "middle chamber plan" in Rollag at the time of Gunder Traaen's emigration, his second-generation house reflected the earlier three-room Akershus typology. However, a "T"-shaped addition was built later, which shared

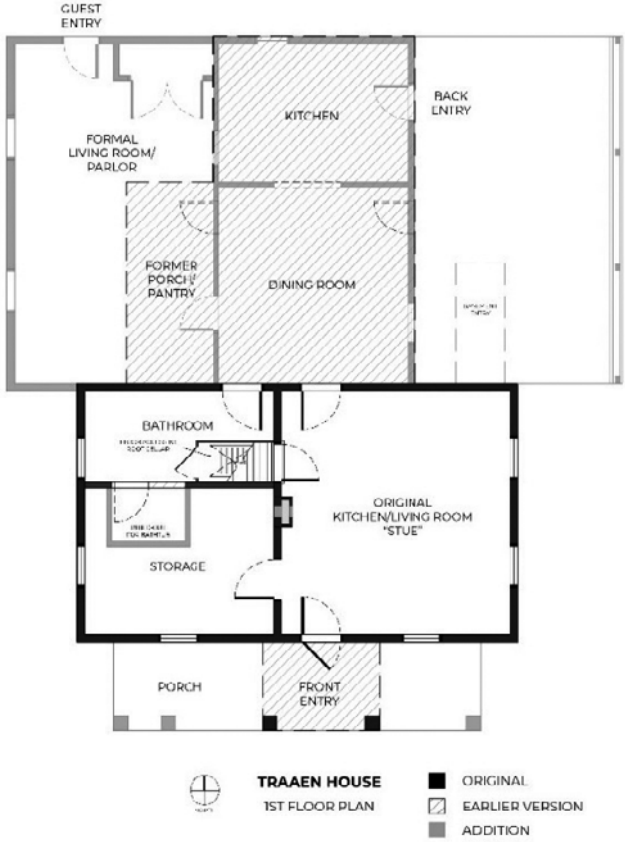


Figure 14. Floor plan drawing of the Traaen house in Minnesota showing the original three-room Akershus plan (black lines) and the additions added later (gray lines). Diagonal hatch lines indicate an earlier version of the house that has since been altered. The addition originally reflected the "T"-shape. Drawing by Miranda Moen, 2024.

the same functions as the "middle chamber plan" extension. Starting with the Akershus plan, the first-floor footprint was extended to add another s*tue* or living room. This was typically a *finstue,* or a "fine living room," for special events and holidays. Another room could be added by bisecting the *finstue* to create a "daily room." Instead, Gunder Traaen and Endre Vik built "T"-shaped house additions. In Gunder's house, the addition served as a parlor, or fine living room, and a dining room and kitchen. Secondly, while the "T"-shaped addition is commonly found among American farmhouse typologies, it is not solely an American tradition. For example, in his work, Eilert Sundt depicts a Norwegian one-story Akershus house that has a "T"-shaped addition.[78] As a result, the function of the "T"-shaped addition on the Vik and Traaen houses aligns with historical and cultural precedents.

The freeholder dwellings at the Kvissel and Vik farms in Vestre Slidre share a striking resemblance to the Vik house in the United States. All three reflect the same three-room Akershus floor plan, two-story, rectangular building form, symmetrical façade with a three-bay arrangement of windows. As a result, Endre Vik sought to construct a house that emulated the freeholder class, similar to his brother, Arne Arnesen, at the Haugen farm. In addition, the finer details of the Norwegian-American house portray a working-class background with minimal architectural details, both on the interior and exterior. Further information pertaining to style and socio-economic status will be examined later. In contrast to the Traaen house, it did not adopt the "fine living room" function of the addition. In Norway, distinctions between crofter and freeholder houses were reflected in the overall size of the house, the quality of materials and construction tightness, and the number of building stories. In the United States, a parallel appeared with Endre Vik building a house that emulated the broader characteristics of upper-class houses but reflected lower-class choices in the cladding material, economical construction, and minimal ornamentation.

American Construction, Norwegian Tradesmen

Despite similarities to Norwegian freeholder dwellings, the sec-

ond-generation houses also contain American characteristics. The balloon-frame construction system is an American invention that dates to Chicago in the 1830s. While it is most apparent in the Vik house, the balloon frame serves as the primary structural system under the brick veneer at the Traaen house. According to author Fred Peterson in *Homes in the Heartland,* the balloon frame was "economical and efficient to build, convenient and flexible in use, and in time proved to be strong and durable against the wear and tear of large families and the elements."[79] The adoption of this construction method in rural areas, however, took place gradually. Richard Perrin in *Historic Wisconsin Buildings: A Survey in Pioneer Architecture, 1835-1870,* remarks that the practice of "felling…trees, hewing, and curing of timber, and joining them into a heavy frame, remained standard practice for most rural buildings until about 1870."[80] This was largely because mill-made lumber and woodwork were less financially and physically accessible to rural farmers and builders until this time. Beyond this general context, Gunder Traaen's ledger lends an important insight into the construction of his second-generation house and the overall construction industry in the Spring Grove area.

Besides important information about where and what he bought to construct his house, the ledger details the people he hired to perform the work and stores where materials were purchased. This information made it possible to research the cultural backgrounds of the various carpenters, masons, and other tradespeople who worked on the house. For this work, I utilized land patents, the earliest available plat maps from the mid to late 1800s, and various historical records of general stores and tradesmen in Houston and Fillmore counties to identify the names and places listed in the ledger account records.

I could identify most of the tradespeople listed in the ledger through extensive genealogical and translation work. Beginning with the first entry dating to January 1875, Gunder Traaen paid Ole Kose and Peder Pladsen to drive 800 feet and 500 feet of lumber boards from Brownsville. This was the nearest marketplace, and Brownsville had a great advantage because it was situated along

the Mississippi River with ample access to lumber and sawmills. While I could not find Ole Kose in historical records, probably due to a changed spelling of his last name, I could find Peder Pladsen. The latter was born in Houston County, Minnesota, but his parents were from Nes in Hallingdal, making him a second-generation Norwegian American.

In June, Gulbrand Myrah was paid for "*kalk*," or lime, and Timan Gulbrandsen was paid for a few barrels of cement. Both are necessary for masonry work. Gulbrand Myrah (also written Gilbert Myhra) was born in Hadeland, Norway, and worked as a blacksmith and carpenter. He and his wife immigrated to the United States in 1854. Historical records show that in addition to being a farmer, he built all the buildings on the farm himself, did his own blacksmith work, and built the first schoolhouse in Spring Grove Township. Timan Gulbrandsen (also written Teman Gilbertsen) was from Nes in Hallingdal and immigrated to Rock Prairie, Wisconsin with his family. Just like Gunder Traaen, he came to Spring Grove in 1854, meaning they may have known each other before this time. In July, Lars Peders was paid to conduct masonry work on the basement. He is listed as "murrer"[sic!] or mason in Norwegian.[81] The same month, Gunder bought shingles from John Tarr, a lumber merchant born in England, at the Larsen and Aslesen general store in Brownsville.[82,83]

In July, Gunder went to Cluss and Hoegh, a hardware store in Brownsville, for doors, glass, and nails.[84] Charles Hoegh was born in northern Norway near the Kaafjord copper mines in Finnmark County. He was educated in Norway and had four years of working experience in a general store in the north of Norway until 1866 when he immigrated to America.[85] John Cluss was of German descent. The carpenter listed the most in the ledger was a man named "Nils Store," as Gunder wrote. This was "Nils N. Storre," born in Skogn, Levanger, Nord-Trøndelag, Norway in May 1848. He was a carpenter by trade and immigrated to the United States in 1870. Shortly after, he came to Spring Grove, where he remained until 1877.[86]

Other tradesmen listed included "Elling Maler," the name that Elling A. Flaskerud went by professionally. According to O. S.

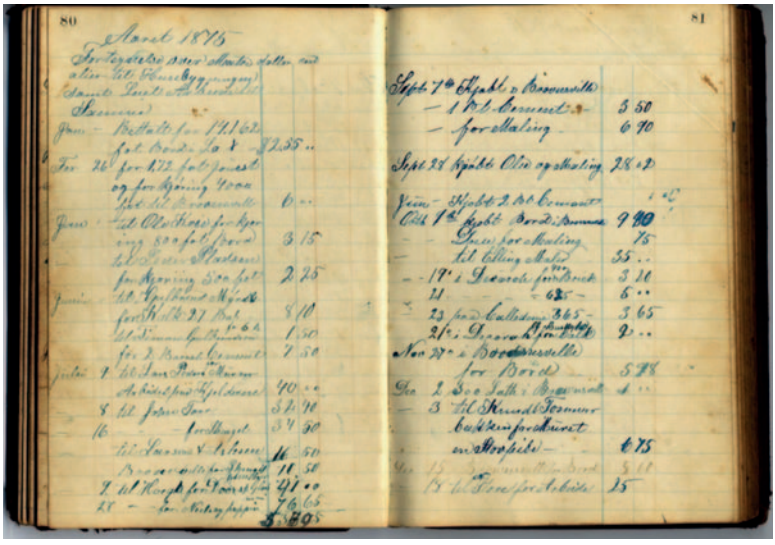


Figure 15. Gunder Traaen's ledger entry from 1875 describing housebuilding materials and the local tradesmen he paid to work on his home. Photo courtesy of Miranda Moen.

Johnson in *Nybyggerhistorie fra Spring Grove og omegn*: *Minnesota* or *A Pioneer History of Spring Grove and the vicinity: Minnesota*, Elling was a skilled painter by trade, which aligns with his nickname. He was born on the Flaskerud farm in Soknedalen, Ringerike.[87] In October 1875, he was paid for painting work. Lastly, a Knudt Tømmerbakken was paid in December 1875 for plastering the chimney (my translation). His origin is difficult to locate, but it is safe to say that his surname points to Norwegian descent. Another Tømmerbakken in Spring Grove is listed as being from Hadeland, likely a relation.[88]

The list of tradespeople in Gunder Traaen's ledger verifies that he primarily used Norwegian Americans to construct and finish his second-generation house. Whether intentionally or not, the tradesmen's origins are mainly from Eastern Norway, within the Akershus diocese boundaries, where the Akershus typology was the predominant house form. These findings strengthen the hypothesis

that the Traaen house in Spring Grove Township contains cultural influences from Norway. Furthermore, in *History of Norwegian Settlements*, Hjalmar Holand states that the inhabitants in Spring Grove and nearby Wilmington Townships are mostly from Hallingdal, Sigdal, Valdres, Ringerike, and Hadeland.[89] As a result, the regional backgrounds tied to the tradesmen in the ledger represent the area's population.

Architectural Style as a Classification

As previously mentioned, this project primarily examined houses by floor plan and exterior shape, form, and massing, which includes the façade organization. Although I did not delve deeply into comparing architectural styles in a transnational sense, the subject of house styles has been touched on throughout this paper. In this project, architectural style is often reflected in the exterior, applied expression of a building. However, they are also tied to form and floor plan. Moreover, various styles may differ in each valley depending on the period of analysis and socioeconomic conditions. As a result, it is impossible to separate them from my analysis completely.

Various researchers in Norway and the United States provide snippets of information about architectural style in vernacular buildings. In his analysis of early Wisconsin architecture, Richard Perrin writes that many early nineteenth-century buildings were "variations of the so-called Federal style…generically related to the post-Colonial and Greek Revival, the Federal style was characterized by lack of ornament and extreme simplicity, amounting almost to severity."[90] He goes on to say that "as was the case with every American architectural period, the Federal style also had European counterparts." This description is similar to Dietrichson's description of the Empire style, which was heavily represented in Valdres and seen in many of the dwellings examined in Vestre Slidre.

The Vik and Traaen houses in Minnesota generally align with these descriptions, exhibiting relatively stripped-down exterior appearances. On the interior, the Vik house shows less ornamentation through its use of relatively simple trim moldings, doors, and simple wood plank walls. In contrast, the Traaen house contains more

stylistic details. This is especially apparent in the living room with paneled wainscoting and unique door and window trim profiles. The wainscoting design is simple yet uniform, appearing similar to the *fyllingspanelt brystning* (roughly translating to "infill panel wainscoting") reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Empire style depicted in *Gamle Trehus: Historikk, reparasjon, vedlikehold*, the quintessential reference book on wooden architecture in Norway.[91] At window locations, the wainscoting height aligns with the windowsills, and the panels correspond to the window opening size. According to *Gamle Trehus* this design was common in Norway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[92] While the exterior is relatively simple, he took time to create a modern living room that reflected upper-class ideals. Likewise, the ledger indicates his financial access to hire craftsmen and painters. Based on these observations, the Traaen house likely contains more intentional stylistic elements than the Vik house.

The transnational connection between carpentry details and interior design styles was outside this project's scope. Nevertheless, future research on this topic would be fruitful, especially regarding class and regional origin in Norway. Marion Nelson notes that early immigrants would have had to build their own furniture and that many pieces from that period reflect "neo-classicism which dominated upper-class furniture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries," referred to as "peasant empire style."[93] Comparing the impacts of the time period, the generation of the Norwegian immigrant associated, and their access to stock products versus custom-built furniture would shed more light on their potential transnational relationships. Perrin and Nelson's work suggests simple architectural characteristics were common among the early immigrants. Holzhueter's work provides one example of an exceptional craftsman who made the choice to include both American and Norwegian characteristics in his Wisconsin house. The degree to which this was a common occurrence among craftsmen remains to be seen. Especially since most houses are analyzed solely by exterior expression, it is not surprising that potential cultural indicators contained within could be overlooked in past studies.

Throughout this project, I found it apparent that in the rural areas of the Upper Midwest, varying decorative styles available to immigrants depended upon what was locally available at lumberyards or local craftsmen. Similarly, in her analysis of the architectural styles observed in Vestre Slidre, Dietrichson reminds us that buildings "often have features from several different periods" and that "many styles came later to Valdres than elsewhere in the country" (my translation).[94] She cautions against relying on architectural style as a method of categorization. This also pertains to how and when the style was present in the home country before emigration. Accordingly, I advise transnational architectural studies to first analyze broader characteristics, such as floor plan, exterior shape, form, and massing, before investigating stylistic qualities.

Fred Peterson adds an interesting observation to the connection between Norwegian-American homes in Minnesota and folk practices in Victorian-era Norway. In *Homes in the Heartland,* he describes common building customs in mid-nineteenth-century Norway and immigrant-built farmhouses in Minnesota. He analyzes the Ness and Holtan families, Norwegian Americans who emigrated from Norway as young adults.

> Although each structure can be characterized as an American Victorian home, each also exhibits ethnic qualities translated from Norway to the New World. A family resemblance exists between the Ness and Holtan farmhouses and manors in rural Norway. From the 1780s to the 1870s, neoclassical styles dominated Norwegian architectural taste and practice. Public and residential buildings exhibited a three-bay division with emphasis placed upon the central section to strengthen the balance and symmetry of the classical designs. This tendency toward symmetry and balance in the façade of a house was also evident in folk building in Norway.[95]

He adds that the Swiss style became popular in the mid to late nineteenth century across Norway, and was reflected primarily in the larger, estate farms in the countryside.[96] I have found this true

in my studies, but the localized field studies in Valdres and Numedal reveal subtle differences in the period they were observed in each valley. According to Peterson, both farmhouses they built reflected "the formal symmetry of the neoclassical architecture of Norway and specifically the picturesque qualities of the manors built in the Swiss style." He came to the same conclusion that it makes sense the young Norwegian immigrants remembered the larger estates of Norway and desired to emulate them in their American houses. The styles in Norway that immigrants had admired do not necessarily dictate the style found in their American house. Among other reasons, stylistic details were primarily informed by locally available products and what local craftsmen built.

Counterarguments and Future Research:
Pattern Books and other European Architectural Counterparts

To understand other potential influences on the Vik and Traaen houses in Minnesota, I studied various building types that could resemble the Norwegian Akershus typology. These included the English Georgian, hall-and-parlor form, and related "I"-house and central-passage house forms. The plans associated with these houses were typically employed in architectural pattern books, which have a long history in the United States, beginning in the 1790s alongside the onset of the architectural profession.[97] Given the construction dates of the case study houses, the most relevant pattern books are those dating from the 1870s to 1900. Most of the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s featured large, complex plans, mainly asymmetrical, with an enormous amount of ornamentation and detail. This contrasts sharply with the modest three-room plan in Minnesota's Vik and Traaen houses.

The pattern books of the 1850s included more modest-scale buildings. The most relevant designs were often referred to as "cottage houses" or "cheap dwellings" by the authors. A few three-room houses were featured in these books, but most included more elaborate "Georgian" or "I"-house plans, common in late eighteenth-century America. According to Dell Upton, in *Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic*

Architecture in America, 1800-1860, "while the Georgian plan and its derivatives were the most widely employed vernacular forms, others even more firmly rooted in tradition were offered in pattern books. The two-room hall-and-parlor house with central or end chimneys was widely used for small houses."[98] In *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts,* Henry Glassie points out that the hall-and-parlor form was common in Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He reports that this house type dates back to "a Cornish longhouse as early as the thirteenth century."[99] Most of the resources I reviewed attribute the hall-and-parlor house to earlier "hall house" typologies found in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland in the Middle Ages. In plan, this typology appears strikingly similar to the "hearth house," or *årestue*, commonly found in Norway in the same period.

In colonial America, variations in the hall-and-parlor form were observed based on location and climate. Northern colony traditions often reflected a two-story form with a central chimney, while southern examples were one-story tall with gable-end chimneys (the latter depicted in figure 16).[100] These adaptations are documented to have taken place as early as the seventeenth century. Elements such as the quantity and location of fireplaces in colonial hall-and-parlor houses seemed to change freely instead of the rather fixed location

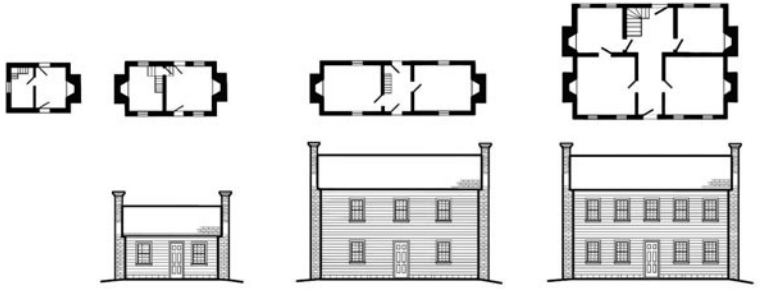


Figure 16. Floor plan and elevation drawings of the Hall-and-Parlor house (left) and "I"-house typologies (middle and right). Drawings by Miranda Moen, 2024.

in the Norwegian Akershus typology. However, there are some similarities with the smaller, two room Akershus form such as the crofter dwelling at Glomdalsmuseet. The hall-and-parlor form is traditionally two rooms wide and one deep (figure 16). Both feature an entry door that opens directly into the largest room and the wall dividing the two rooms creates a one-third to two-third ratio of the building's footprint. In the hall-and-parlor form, the larger room is called the "hall," and the smaller room is the "parlor."

The aforementioned "I"-house is derived from the hall-and-parlor house plan. There are many variations of the "I"-house form, but the principal features include "side-facing gables, one room deep, a minimum of two rooms wide, and two full stories high."[101] In plan, a common "I"-house variation resembles the central-passage house form where a central passageway is situated between the hall and parlor rooms. This plan results in a three-bay façade organization when viewed from the exterior. Without considering the floor plan, the three-bay façade organization, two-story form, and side-facing gables appear almost identical to the Norwegian-American case study homes. As a result, the main differentiator between the English derivatives and the Norwegian-American form is the three-room Akershus plan.

Interestingly, the central passage "I"-house plan shares similarities with the Norwegian "middle chamber plan" and "middle aisle plan." that was analyzed in this study. Given the evidence that upper-class European architectural trends influenced wealthier freeholder homes across Norway, it is reasonable that these plans share common roots. Finn Ditlevsen and Ina Backer both corroborate this in their examinations of freeholding dwellings in Valdres and Buskerud. Another differentiator between English colonial and Norwegian-American Akershus houses is the latter's slightly asymmetrical placement of openings on the façade. This is due to the off-center location of the wall that separates the living room from the two smaller chamber rooms. This inhibits the symmetrical placing of the windows and doors along the three-bay façade. In contrast, the interior organization of the three-room central passage plan and other English derivatives tend to maintain this symmetry.

It is unlikely that Vik and Traaen houses in Minnesota were influenced by architectural pattern books of their era. Most pattern books featured large, elaborate designs that were highly influenced by English trends. The English hall-and-parlor form, which is perhaps the most relevant in this study, is documented to have started evolving in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of colonial America. This evolution gave rise to larger Georgian and other classically-inspired colonial home designs commonly used in the mid-nineteenth century. These house designs were outsized and complex in comparison with the typical second-generation Norwegian-American homes observed in this study.

Secondly, despite the presence and known influence of architectural pattern books in the United States, Upton's research in *Pattern Books and Professionalism* suggests a discrepancy between the designs the pattern books espoused and those built by local contractors. His research found that builders were likely to strip down the examples of the pattern book houses, resulting in the core of the building being represented. A critical case study in this book shows how builders took the root of the design "A Laborer's Cottage" from A. J. Downing's *The Architecture of Country Houses* from 1852 and built a stripped-down version.[102] In short, if a pattern book inspired the building, builders often changed elements of plans during construction. This calls into question the direct comparison of built dwellings to pattern book examples.

As previously demonstrated by the similarities between certain English and Norwegian house forms, similarities can be observed in other European examples. Norway has a long history of upper-class officials and civil servants from Denmark and Germany. Past scholars, such as Ina Backer, Finn Ditlevsen, Gunnar Jahn, and others, have written about the international influence and the probable origins of Norwegian house typologies. Most suggest influences came into Norway from the coasts through trade and the influx of upper-class officials in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead of being influenced by pattern books, the Norwegian-American farmhouse is more likely to show similarities with other immigrant groups of European descent.

Fred Peterson writes about a relevant typology in *Building Community, Keeping the Faith: German Catholic Vernacular Architecture in a Rural Minnesota Parish.* He points to the German-American house belonging to the Zenzen family, who emigrated from Germany in 1868. According to Peterson, their balloon-frame dwelling is linked to the Niedersachsen "Pfostenwohnhaus" from northwestern Germany, which dates back to the twelfth century. He describes the house as "a folk design dating to the early-medieval period that included a multipurpose room and two subordinate spaces for sleeping and storage."[103] Similar German-American houses in his book, such as the Imdieke farmhouse, whose plan has similarities with earlier Norwegian dwellings, consisted of a one-and-a-half story dwelling with two rooms (one-room deep) with a one-third to two-thirds ratio and entry leading directly into the largest room. The larger Illies farmhouse has a three-room floor plan almost identical to the Norwegian Akershus typology. Therefore, it is reasonable that the German Pfostenwohnhaus and the Norwegian Akershus could share a common ancestor. Moreover, these house types and the English hall-and-parlor house could stem from a common peasant class dwelling in medieval Europe. This question ultimately becomes about the categorical boundaries of cultural architecture and the period in which it's observed. Overall, the Akershus typology has a long and well-documented history in Norway, and given the evidence in this study, it is reasonable to claim it as a Norwegian cultural influence in Norwegian-American houses.

Conclusion

At the outset of this project, I sought to investigate potential Norwegian influences reflected in second-generation houses. This prompted me to examine how class and regional building customs impacted the appearance of Norwegian traditions in immigrant-built houses, reflecting a hybrid American architecture. I chose to first analyze the Akershus typology due to the numerous examples I observed in the Spring Grove area and similar findings in past material culture studies. Most notably, the work of William Tishler,

Marion Nelson, and Reidar Bakken identified the Akershus typology in houses around the tristate area of northeast Iowa, southeast Minnesota, and southwest Wisconsin. In Spring Grove Township, I suggest that the common use of the Akershus house is a factor of the widespread use of the typology in Norway across many generations and contractor familiarity with the type before emigration.

I found that identifying the period of emigration and understanding the associated architectural details in Norway is essential for a sound transnational analysis. The overall floor plan, exterior shape, form, and massing of Minnesota's Vik and Traaen houses reflect higher-status ideals commonly observed in nineteenth-century Norway. Their occurrence alongside American customs, such as construction type and locally available materials and products, has obscured their appearance as cultural indicators. Importantly, both Vik and Traaen dwellings display freeholder dwelling characteristics common to Valdres and Numedal despite only the Traaen family coming from that socioeconomic group. As a result, Endre Vik likely built a house to emulate upper-class houses he did not have access to in Norway. This was demonstrated in the photograph of Endre Vik and his family standing in front of his house (figure 2). As photographs were uncommon then, they were likely intended to be sent back to his family in Norway, providing evidence of his success in America.

Despite the similarities seen in the Vik and Traaen houses, Gunder Traaen made architectural decisions to indicate a higher-class status. The first is seen in materiality, demonstrated by his decision to clad his house in brick and the decorative paneling on the inside. The second was the addition to the house, consisting of the formal parlor, dining room, and kitchen, the function of which parallels the upper-class "middle chamber plan" that was popular in Rollag at that time. In contrast, the Vik house was made solely of balloon-frame construction with wood siding as cladding, which is closely associated with economy. The reasoning behind the houses' similarity could indicate using the same tradespeople or the close-knit construction network in the Spring Grove area. Most likely, it is influenced by their family connection and the shared

familiarity with the Akershus house among the Norwegian-American tradespeople.

The degree to which the findings in this study persist in other immigrant houses is a subject for further exploration. The rapid disappearance of the second-generation Norwegian-American house puts this research at risk, making documentation of these houses of the utmost importance for preservation. Furthermore, key elements outside this project's scope would be essential in future research. First, not all second-generation Norwegian-American houses exhibit the Akershus floor plan. Therefore, what caused some immigrants to employ this typology and others to use American plans informed by pattern books or "catalog homes" remains unknown. Likewise, are there other regional typologies used in immigrant homes besides the Akershus form? Secondly, the makeup of a town's ethnic concentration may reveal crucial insight into the resulting architecture. Spring Grove has a majority Norwegian background, but if more ethnicities and cultures are represented, would it be less likely for immigrant-built dwellings to reflect a specific culture? Thirdly, research into the cultural influences of house interiors may shed light on the immigrant's attitude towards assimilation or their emulation of higher-status stylistic details in Norway. Therefore, further research into the interior stylistic details of both Norwegian-American and homes in Norway, especially regionally, could be fruitful.

In conclusion, Norwegian influences found in Norwegian-American houses vary in representation due to many factors, resulting in a hybrid portrayal of cultural heritage. Following the immigration path of one family from Norway to Minnesota and tracing the transnational relationship between their homes pre- and post-emigration aids in finding elements of cultural heritage within them. Historical conditions that affected these structures, such as ethnicity, socio-economic background, class, and regional building styles, allow us to better understand the elements that shaped immigrant-built architecture. In this work, it is essential to remember that the transference of material culture does not show up as a "copy-paste" in another country; instead, it reflects a hybrid archi-

tecture that requires specific knowledge to identify the origins of its cultural influences.

Glossary

Norwegian:

Bonde or *selveier*: farm owner, refers to someone who operates a freehold or *gård*. It was part of nineteenth-century Norwegian peasant society—*bønder* for plural usage. They may also be referred to as freeholders.

Bygdebok: a farm and genealogical history book published by many municipalities in Norway.[104]

Embetsmann: refers to an upper-class civil servant or government official. They were higher than the Norwegian peasantry (*bønder* and *husmenn*) in socioeconomic status and social grouping.

Finstue: a formal living room used for special events and holidays.

Forstuekjøkken translates literally to "entrance hall kitchen." The entry hall was a common component of three-room houses in Norway; in this case, it also served as the kitchen.

Gamlestugu: translates literally to "old house," but refers to the elder dwelling on the farm. In Numedal, *gamlestugu* is used, while *gamlestogo* is used in northern Valdres.

Gård: an independently registered farm.

Gårdsnummer/Bruksnummer (Gnr./Bnr.): The *gårdsnummer* (farm number) and *bruksnummer* (farm unit number) refer to a classification system in Norway's official real estate register. All properties listed in the public register are thus taxable. A farm number refers to an original farm. With subsequent subdivisions from the original farm, the subdivided units receive individual numbers from 1 and upwards for subsequent subdivisions. These subdivided units receive rising farm unit numbers (*bruksnummer*) while the farm number from which the units were subdivided remains unchanged.[105]

Husmann: crofter, suggests someone who does farm labor on land owned by another, typically the *bonde*, usually a freeholder (*selveier)* in Norwegian peasant society. Historically, it could also

refer to a married couple who worked and lived on a *husmannsplass*.

Husmannsplass: a "crofter's holding" or where the crofter's dwelling and small farm were situated. It was typically located on the outskirts of a farm owner's land. Variations existed within this group between geographical regions and historical periods.

Klassesamfunn: class society. The categorization of people into social groups by economic status, organized horizontally, where social ties are managed between those of equal status.

Kleve: translates to a small room or chamber. This word is locally used in Valdres. It could have various prefixes, such as *sengekleve*, which indicates a bedroom, or *vass-kleve*, which suggests a pantry or utility and storage room. The same word is *kove* in Numedal.

Midtgangsplan: the "middle aisle plan."

Midtkammersplan: the "middle chamber plan."

Murer: mason or bricklayer.

Mønsåstaket: a "ridge roof."

Mønsåsstue: a house typology named after the giant ridge beam carrying the roof.

Småbruk: a "small holding" farm.

Standssamfunn: estate society. The categorization of people by social stratum via their positions of rank and power. This structure was vertically organized, meaning "social ties of duty, loyalty, and responsibility ran between superior and subordinate."

Stue: translates to "living room," but it refers more to a heated multi-use room and, in some cases, to the dwelling as a whole. Other word variations include *stogo*, *stugu*, and *stove*, which could also refer to the older, smaller houses on the farm.

Sval: an unheated vestibule attached to the outside of the dwelling that shields the entrance from cold air. The plural form is *svaler*.

Svalgang: functions the same as the *sval* but extends the entire length of the wall.

Vindfang: windbreak, a small passage room immediately inside the entry to block cold air or wind from entering the dwelling.

Årbok: translates to "yearbook" but references the annual historical

society book publication that documents and disseminates the area's local history.

Årestue: translates to "hearth house," where a hearth was located in the middle of the floor; this predated the Akershus typology.

English:

Brick veneer: a brick veneer wall comprises overlapping stretcher bricks (laid horizontally, with the long edge exposed).[106]

Cash Entry: land within the public domain and paid for with cash by the applicant.

Patent: the legal document that conveys the title of the land to the applicant after having satisfied all requirements for gaining the title.

Wythe: a continuous vertical section of a masonry wall that is one brick unit thick.[107]

Notes

[1] Knut Hermundstad, ed. "Den akershusiske stova," [The Akershus dwelling] in *Valdres bygdebok. 5 no. 2: Næringsvegane.* (Leira: Valdres bygdeboks forlag, 1965), 464.

[2] Ernest J Vick. "An Autobiography of my Life and Ministry" (manuscript, Oct. 2, 1993) typescript. Endre and Kjersti Vik purchased 98 acres of land in Sections 7 and 8 of Spring Grove Township where their home was located.

[3] Geo. E. Warner and C. M. Foote, *Spring Grove Township,* Scale 2 Inches to the Mile, in *Plat Book of Houston County, Minnesota*, Red Wing, Minn: Warner & Foote, 1878. Digitized reproduction, Historic Map Works Rare Historic Maps Collection, accessed March 27, 2024, https://historicmapworks.com/Map/US/478584/Title+Page/Houston+County+1878/Minnesota/.

[4] O. S. Johnson. *Nybyggerhistorie fra Spring Grove og omegn*: *Minnesota*, [A Pioneer History of Spring Grove and the vicinity: Minnesota] (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Forfatterens forlag, Folkebladet trykkeri, 1920), 11, HathiTrust.

[5] Marene Baker, "Cash Entry," *History Hub*, accessed September 3, 2024, https://historyhub.history.gov/land-records/b/land-records-blog/posts/common-terms-used-by-the-general-land-office.

[6] Gunder G. Traaen (Houston, Minnesota), State Volume patent no. 1875; "Land Patent Search," digital images, *General Land Office Records* (https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=MN2310__.240&docClass=STA&sid=m1kqa142.xju : accessed February 25, 2021).

[7] Marene Baker, "Patent," *History Hub,* accessed September 3, 2024, https://historyhub.history.gov/land-records/b/land-records-blog/posts/common-terms-used-by-the-general-land-office.

[8] Houston County, Minnesota, Patent, United States to Gunder G. Traaen. Dated

April 2, 1855, Recorded in Book F: 442, Jan. 16, 1874; Abstract, in possession of private owner. Description: "Grants the E ½ NE ¼ Sec. 7 and the W ½ NW ¼ Sec. 8, Twp. 101 Range 7 West, Containing 160 acres."

[9] Gunder G. Traaen (Houston, Minnesota), State Volume patent no. 3156; "Land Patent Search," digital images, *General Land Office Records* (https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=MN2330__.481&docClass=STA&sid=ll0nlnjz.vtl#patentDetailsTabIndex=0 : accessed February 25, 2021). Land Patent, Certificate No. 3156: NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 7, Township 101, Range 7 West.

[10] "Gunder Traaen Ledger 1869-1920," digital reproduction of original handwritten accounting ledger, https://davidmindel.smugmug.com/Moen-side/Traaen/Traaen-Vik-Ledger.

[11] "Gunder Traaen Ledger," digital reproduction, 80, https://davidmindel.smugmug.com/Moen-side/Traaen/Traaen-Vik-Ledger/i-pV8z7R8/A.

[12] "Gunder Traaen Ledger,» digital reproduction, 82, https://davidmindel.smugmug.com/Moen-side/Traaen/Traaen-Vik-Ledger/i-B6K72BS/A.

[13] Building Media Inc, "CE Center - Lumber by the Numbers," n.d., https://continuingeducation.bnpmedia.com/courses/areditorial/lumber-by-the-numbers/#:~:text=A%20common%20estimate%20is%20that,wood%20materials%2C%20such%20as%20sheathing.

[14] Knut Djupedal. "The Kindred Log Cabin at the Norwegian Emigrant Museum" (unpublished manuscript, August 31, 2023, typescript), 31 and 41.

[15] John O. Holzhueter, "Aslak Lie and the Challenge of the Artifact," in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 70, no. 1 (1986): 19, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4636013.

[16] Terje M. H. Joranger, "Building America: Building patterns among Norwegian immigrants in the Upper Middle West," ed. Turid Haye, *Amerikafareren* published in conjunction with Knut Djupedal's 60th anniversary (Undated, independent publisher, 2008) 87-104.

[17] Joranger, "Building America," 96. Joranger references research done by Mark Knipping and Richard Fapso on the Kvaale homestead.

[18] Reidar Bakken, "Two Museum Houses: A Microanalysis of Cultural Adaptation in the Upper Midwest in the Late Nineteenth Century," trans. C. A. Clausen. *Norwegian-American Studies* 32 (1989): 145. Log homes were not the only pioneer-era construction type in the Upper Midwest. Other typologies were utilized based on the available materials in which the immigrants found themselves. Whereas heavily wooded areas allowed for log construction, the vast open prairies lacked timber resources. As a result, many who settled in those areas built dugout homes.

[19] Bakken, "Two Museum Houses," 145.

[20] "The Homestead Act of 1862," National Archives, June 2, 2021, https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/homestead-act.

[21] Bakken, "Two Museum Houses," 122.

[22] Marion J. Nelson, "Folk Art Among the Norwegians in America," in *Norwegian Influence on the Upper Midwest: Proceedings of an International Conference*, ed.

Harald S. Næss (Duluth, Minnesota: University of Minnesota, Continuing Education and Extension, May 22-24, 1976), 75.

[23] Nelson, "Folk Art," 75.

[24] Bakken, "Two Museum Houses," 145.

[25] Nelson, "Folk Art," 75.

[26] Det Norske Akademis Ordbok (NAOB) "Klassesamfunn," accessed April 6, 2025, https://naob.no/ordbok/klassesamfunn; Jan Eivind Myhre, "Fra stand til klasse," *norgeshistorie.no*, published November 25, 2015, last modified December 20, 2023, accessed April 6, 2025, https://www.norgeshistorie.no/industrialisering-og-demokrati/1501-fra-stand-til-klasse.html.

[27] Det Norske Akademis Ordbok (NAOB) "Standssamfunn," accessed April 6, 2025, https://naob.no/ordbok/standssamfunn; Jan Eivind Myhre, "Fra stand til klasse," Norgeshistorie, published November 25, last modified December 20, 2023, accessed April 6, 2025, https://www. norgeshistorie.no/ industrialisering-og-demokrati/1501-fra-stand-til-klasse.html.

[28] "Inntektsutviklinga i Norge i et historisk perspektiv," *Innlandet fylkesarkiv - IKA Opplandene*, accessed April 6,

2025, https://www.visarkiv.no/artikler-og-kildeomtaler/inntektsutviklinga-i-norge-i-et-historisk-perspektiv/2/.

[29] Reidar Bakken, "Acculturation in Buildings and Farmsteads in Coon Valley, Wisconsin, from 1850–1930," in *Material Culture and People's Art among the Norwegians in America,* ed. Marion John Nelson (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1994), 76-77.

[30] Ina Backer, "Byggeskikker" [Building Customs], *Bygd og by i Norge: Buskerud*, ed. Snorre Evensberget (Olso: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1977), 344.

[31] Backer, "Byggeskikker" in *Buskerud*, 344.

[32] Bakken, "Acculturation," 81.

[33] Bakken, "Acculturation," 81.

[34] Nelson, "Folk Art," 71.

[35] Nelson, "Folk Art," 71.

[36] Thomas C. Hubka, *Houses Without Names: Architectural Nomenclature and the Classification of America's Common Houses*, ed. Thomas Carter and Anna V. Andrzejewski (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013), 16.

[37] Knut Dørum, Jon Gisle, Signy Irene Vabo, "Embetsmann," in *Store Norske Leksikon*, published January 10, 2023, accessed September 25, 2023. https://snl.no/embetsmann.

[38] See *Gårdsnummer/Bruksnummer* in the glossary for information on the farm registration numbers and system in Norway.

[39] Arne Lie Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken: Hus og bolig på landsbygda fra middelalder til vår egen tid* [Norwegian building customs: Houses and housing in the countryside from the Middle Ages to our own time] (Olso: Pax, 1995), 246.

[40] In this project, this area includes the former Oppland, Buskerud, Hedmark, and Akershus counties.

[41] Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken*, 242.

[42] Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken,* 242.
[43] Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken,* 242.
[44] Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken,* 242.
[45] The *gårdsnummer* (farm number) for the Søre Tråen farm is #45, and the *bruksnummer* (farm unit number) is #5, written as 45/5 in the registration for the farm.
[46] Backer, "Byggeskikker" in *Buskerud*, 344.
[47] Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken*, 244.
[48] Hermundstad, *Valdres bygdebok*, 465.
[49] Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken,* 242. *Gårder* was written which indicates freeholds.
[50] Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken,* 244.
[51] Knut Hoff, *Rollag bygdebok: ætt og gard og grend* (Rollag: Rollag Bygdeboknemnd, 1989), 457.
[52] Backer, "Byggeskikker" in *Buskerud*, 345.
[53] Hoff, *Rollag bygdebok,* 457.
[54] Finn Ditlevsen, "Hus og Byggeskikker" [Houses and Building Customs], *Bygd og by i Norge: Vest Oppland og Valdres*, ed. Snorre Evensberget (Olso: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1982), 440.
[55] Backer, "Byggeskikker" in *Buskerud*, 346.
[56] O. T. Bjanes, "Traaen, Søre," in *Norsk gardsbruk: Buskerud fylke* 2, ed. Wilhelm Dietrichson, and Lars Berg (Oslo: Forlaget Norske Gardsbruk, 1948), 1413. Photos referenced for other farms on the following pages:

Traaen nordre farm (45/1), 1413.

Risteigen farms (10/1, 2, 3, 6), 1405.

Gladheim søre (19/1, 7, 9, 10), 1390.

Gladheimkåset (19/6), 1391.

Høyseth nedre (15/1), 1395.

[57] Ancestry.com. *Norway, Church Records, 1812-1938* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2020. From The National Archives of Norway – Arkivverket, *Church Books 1815-1960*; Reference Number: SAH/PREST-136. https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/481367:61757?ssrc=pt&tid= 110621919&pid=390083474814 (accessed March 27, 2024). Viksbergo croft was also referred to as Bergene, Bergo, and Viksberge in various historical texts.
[58] Knut Hermundstad, "Husmannsplassar i Slidre og Lome" in *Årbok for Valdres: Pisil og Passop*, ed. Ivar Aars (Fagernes: Valdres Historielag, 2021), 137.
[59] Farm unit numbers are as follows: *Øvre Vik* (54/1) and *Nedre Vik* (55/1).
[60] "Endre A. Vik," obituary, *Spring Grove Herald (Spring Grove, Minnesota),* 9 May 1946. Print.
[61] *Gårdsnummer/bruksnummer* (farm registration numbers): Kvåle nedre farm (40/13)
[62] Ivar O. Hovi, photographer. "Smedplassen i Vestre Slidre," photograph (Fager-

nes: Valdres Folkemuseum, ca. 1910) VFF VS-1.07. From DigitaltMuseum: https://digitaltmuseum.no/ 021017944023/smedplassen -i-vestre-slidre (accessed September 14, 2023).

[63] Ragnhild Dietrichson, *Gamal byggjeskikk i Vestre Slidre: rapport frå registreringa av hus bygde før 1900.* (Valdres Folkemuseum: Vestre Slidre kommune, 1996), 30.

[64] Dietrichson, *Gamal byggjeskikk*, 31.

[65] Dietrichson, *Gamal byggjeskikk*, 31.

[66] The name "Mørke" refers to a plot of land in shadow from the sun and was likely named such because of this feature.

[67] *Gårdsnummer/bruksnummer* (farm registration numbers):

Mørke (12/4)

Nørdre Kvissel (12/1)

[68] Geir Beitrusten, *Gardar og slekter i Vestre Slidre, ed.*Ivar Aars (Valdres Bygdeboks Forlag, 1979), 113.

[69] Beitrusten, *Gardar og slekter i Vestre Slidre,* 123.

[70] Beitrusten, *Gardar og slekter i Vestre Slidre,* 123.

[71] Hermundstad, *Valdres bygdebok,* 478. Illustration "Stove på Ellingbø, Nedigarden i Vang," shows the same floor plan as the Haugen (13/2) dwelling. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2016050208023.

[72] Dietrichson, *Gamal byggjeskikk*, 31.

[73] *Gårdsnummer/bruksnummer* (farm registration numbers):

Øvre Vik (54/1)

Nedre Vik (55/1)

Niegarden Kvissel (13/3)

[74] Dietrichson, *Gamal byggjeskikk,* 16.

[75] Backer, "Byggeskikker" in *Buskerud*, 345.

[76] Ditlevsen, "Hus og Byggeskikker" in *Vest Oppland og Valdres,* 413.

[77] Ditlevsen, "Hus og Byggeskikker" in *Vest Oppland og Valdres,* 429.

[78] Eilert Sundt, "Om Bygnings-skikken på Landet i Norge" [On the Building Customs of the Norwegian Countryside] in *Verker I Utvalg 6,* ed. H. O. Christophersen, Nils Christie, and Kaare Petersen (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1976) 62, fig. 30.

[79] Fred W. Peterson, *Homes in the Heartland: Balloon Frame Farmhouses of the Upper Midwest, 1850-1920* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 1.

[80] Richard W. E. Perrin, *Historic Wisconsin Buildings: A Survey in Pioneer Architecture 1835-1870.* 2nd edition revised (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1981), 61.

[81] Written *murer* in Norwegian. Could also indicate a bricklayer.

[82] "Register of Deaths Houston County 1894," Genealogy Trails History Group (website), accessed September 3, 2023, https://genealogytrails.com/minn/houston/deathregister1894houstoncounty.html. Transcribed by Angie Lietzau from

Houston County, Minnesota Register of Deaths Film #007552367.
[83] "1878 Business Directories and Gazetteer, Brownsville," Genealogy Trails History Group (website), September 9, 2023, http://genealogytrails.com/minn/houston/directories.html.
[84] "1878 Business Directories and Gazetteer, Brownsville."
[85] Charles S. Bryant, "Charles Hoegh," in *History of Houston County*. (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Company, 1882), 475, HathiTrust.
[86] No author. *History of Mitchell and Worth Counties, Iowa.* (Springfield, Illinois: Union Publishing Company, 1884), 742.
[87] Johnson, *Nybyggerhistorie,* 69.
[88] Johnson, *Nybyggerhistorie,* 64.
[89] Holand, Hjalmar R. *History of Norwegian Settlements: A translated and expanded version of the 1908 De Norske Settlementers Historie and the 1930 Den Siste Folkevandring Sagastubber fra Nybyggerlivet i America.* Translated by Malcolm Rosholt and Helmer M. Blegen. Edited by Jo Ann B. Winistorfer. (Waukon, Iowa: Astri my Astri Publishing, 2006), 194.
[90] Perrin, *Historic Wisconsin Buildings,* 65.
[91] Drange, Tore, Hans Olaf Aanensen and Jon Brænne, eds., *Gamle Trehus: Historikk, reparasjon, vedlikehold,* 5th ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 209.
[92] Drange, Aanensen, and Brænne, eds., *Gamle Trehus*, 209.
[93] Nelson, "Folk Art," 78.
[94] Dietrichson, *Gamal Byggjeskikk*, 13.
[95] Peterson, *Homes in the* Heartland, 168.
[96] Peterson, *Homes in the* Heartland, 168.
[97] Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," in *Winterthur Portfolio* (University of Chicago Press, 1984), 107.
[98] Upton, "Pattern Books," 133.
[99] Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 75.
[100] Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 160. Some examples of the Northern tradition can be found in Massachusetts, while southern traditions can be found in Virginia.
[101] "I-House," *Oklahoma Historical Society*, accessed April 6, 2025, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=IH001.
[102] Upton, "Pattern Books," 143.
[103] Fred W. Peterson, *Building Community, Keeping the Faith: German Catholic Vernacular Architecture in a Rural Minnesota Parish* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press), 38.
[104] *Det Norske Akademis Ordbok (NAOB)* "Bygdebok," accessed March 25, 2024, https://naob.no/ordbok/bygdebok.
[105] Gunnar Eriksen and Thor Falkanger,"gårdsnummer," *Store norske leksikon*, https://snl.no/gårdsnummer, last modified November 25, 2024, accessed April 7, 2025. A standardized rural land register (*matrikkel*) based on the taxable property

value was established in 1665, although registration of real estate dates back to the Middle Ages.

[106] Francis D. K. Ching, "Masonry Bonding," in *Building Construction Illustrated* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2014) 5.26-5.27.

[107] Ching, "Masonry Bonding," 5.26.

Two Very Different Sides of the Same Coin: Nordmanns-Forbundet *during World War II*

Daron W. Olson

The Greek philosopher Heraclitus used the phrase two sides of the same coin to express the concept of two opposing things or ideas being linked to each other.[1] During World War II, there were two versions of the publication *Nordmanns-Forbundet* (the Norse Federation) and the Janus metaphor is appropriate for describing the journal's existence during those years. Founded in 1907, *Nordmanns-Forbundet* was an organization dedicated to creating closer cultural and social ties between Norway and its emigrated population, especially in the United States. Headquartered in Oslo, it had published a monthly journal that featured articles on Norwegians in the homeland and abroad. After Nazi Germany's invasion and occupation of Norway in 1940, the puppet government took over Norway's media, and *Nordmanns-Forbundet* met this fate in September 1941. To counter this reality, the leadership of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* relocated to the United States, and a competing version of the monthly journal was published there from December 1941 until June 1945.[2]

A study of the two competing journals reveals the distinctive visions each had for Norway. The *Nasjonal Samling* (NS) version projected an image of Norway as a partner in a Greater Germanic confederation, one that would serve as the protector of Western Civilization against the evils of Russian Bolshevism. Its national identity for Norway would be of the national romantic variety with a strong emphasis on the glory of Norway's past during the Viking Age and early medieval period. It also located the idealized true

Norwegian character as residing with the peasantry, and the NS journal urged Norway to embrace the rugged values associated with the nation's pristine mountains and wooded environments.

In contrast, the American or free version of the journal strove to defy this *völkisch* identity[3] in favor of one that valued Norway's love of democracy, freedom, and a proclivity for a progressive society. Its symbols were Norway's democratic King Haakon VII, the Constitution, and May 17, and the Storting, the symbol of Norway's deep commitment to democracy and freedom. The American version likewise depicted Norway as an active, fighting ally alongside the fellow democracies of the United States and Britain in their struggle to rid the world of the barbarism known as the Third Reich.

This paper analyzes three areas for comparison, namely how each publication treated the war, the symbols employed, and the long-term objectives of each journal. The study of these three areas best illustrates the contrasting visions of the two journals and, in addition, reveals the ideological clash between the two sides. This clashing of values, moreover, presents a case study of how the two sides approached the war, especially the effort to win over Norwegians around the world to each side. Before that analysis, the background on *Nordmanns-Forbundet* and the war will be examined.

Nordmanns-Forbundet and the German Occupation

Established in 1907, *Nordmanns-Forbundet* was part of a larger European movement that Norwegian historian Ruth Hemstad has identified as cultural diplomacy, by which the emigrated population of Norway served as vehicles in promoting the national interests of the homeland abroad. Other nations that engaged in this process included Germany, France, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland.[4] The organization used its publication by the same name to foster closer ties with emigrated Norwegians around the world, including the large and important Norwegian population within the United States. As exemplified by its 1932 publication, *Et større Norge* (a greater Norway), *Nordmanns-Forbundet* aimed to create "a Greater Norway" that would bolster Norway's standing culturally and economically.[5]

The German invasion of Norway created a shakeup in the leadership of *Nordmanns-Forbundet*. The federation's president, Carl J. Hambro was also president of Norway's Storting (parliament) and along with the royal family and the Norwegian government evacuated to Britain. In his stead, Didrik Arup Seip, president of the University of Oslo, assumed the presidency of *Nordmanns-Forbundet*. The office of Vice President was also open after the death in early April of the Reverend N. B. Thvedt and Betzy Kjelsberg served as acting vice president. Initially, the *Administrasjonrådet* (the Administrative Council), which was sanctioned by the German forces, acted as a Norwegian authority of the German-occupied territory of Norway. It was abolished, however, in September 1940 by *Reichskommisar* Josef Terboven who decreed that *Nasjonal Samling* (NS, Norway's national socialist party) would be the sole legitimate political party in Norway. According to historian Odd S. Lovoll, who has authored the history of *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, this action marked the beginning of the Nazification of Norwegian society.[6] It should be noted, though, that Quisling had initiated this process as early as April 9, 1940, in conjunction with his coup on state radio.

For the first seventeen months of the occupation, *Nordmanns-Forbundet* retained its independent board. Led by Seip, the board instructed the journal to steer clear of material that would be considered inflammatory or controversial to the Nazis.[7] The day-to-day operations remained in the capable hands of Secretary Arne Kildal and Editor Ludvig Saxe.

Nasjonal Samling had larger plans for *Nordmanns-Forbundet* and made early attempts to enlist the federation in its efforts to contact Norwegians abroad, especially seamen. Cloaked in the respectability of the federation, the *NS* messages would not be perceived as political propaganda. Lovoll observes that this *NS* attempt to reach thousands of Norwegians around the world served the Nazi "dream of some kind of Norwegian-German supernationalism." On December 9, 1940, the Board of *N-F* met to hear a presentation by a representative from *NS*. The representative tried to enlist the federation in its supernational cause, but it was "firmly and bravely

rejected." A few months later, during the summer of 1941, the *NS* made a second attempt to gain cooperation, when it asked the federation to assist in arranging the *Normannafolket* (the Normanner people, a reference to Norwegians during Old Norse times) exhibition in Oslo. At its meeting of July 15, 1941, the Board unanimously voted neither to take part nor allow the name *Nordmanns-Forbundet* to be used. Lovoll contends that it was the federation's firm stand in these two instances that led to NS taking over the operation, a fate that likewise befell other voluntary organizations in Norway that protested Nazification.[8]

As noted by historian Ole Kristian Grimnes, efforts to control Norwegian organizations and activity expanded after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June, 1941. Although a kernel of the political and security apparatus had been present since the April days of 1940, the role of the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, or Protective Squads) increased greatly during 1941. The key instrument in the Nazification of Norwegian society was *Sikkerhetstjenesten* (*Sicherheitsdienst*, abbreviated SD), which was a political overwatch agency that charted and controlled the expression of opinion in Norwegian society. Grimnes notes that the SD was under German central control via the *Hovedkontoret for rikssikkerhet (Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, abbreviated RHSA, or the Reich's Main Security Department), and hence the Norwegian SD answered to the chief of the RHSA, Reinhard Heydrich.[9]

On September 11, 1941, Norwegian radio reported that government authorities had removed *Nordmanns-Forbundet's* board and functionaries from office. At a hastily convened meeting the next day, a German officer and Finn Støren, the *NS* representative and formerly Norway's consul to Panama showed up. Støren announced that the Board was dismissed. Upon hearing the news, Editor Saxe and Secretary Kildal resigned immediately. Støren became the commissary leader, the position which replaced that of president of the federation; a Nazi Board was installed, and the Nazi Norwegian state official Ingolf Hoel was temporarily employed as editor. According to Lovoll, the era of Nazi rule in Norway meant "a dead hand was placed over *Nordmanns-Forbundet*."[10]

Information about the target audiences for each publication would provide a good indication of the purpose of the journal. Although subscriber information was not available in the *Nordmanns-Forbundet* archives—possibly the information was lost or in the case of occupied Norway likely destroyed—there are clues as to the intended audience of each journal. For example, in a letter dated February 7, 1942, the general secretary of the *NS* version contacted Judicial President (*rettspresident*) Michael Hansson of Lillehammer. In the letter, the author refers to a letter received from Hansson in which the jurist had declined a lifelong membership in *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, citing various reasons for not doing so. The author acknowledged that the new leadership of the journal possibly had not been members of *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, but those that had realized the great importance of the journal. The author then gives a little dig to Hansen noting that these "old" members in the association were not offended at the time he (Hansson) had joined. The author then provided a strong sales pitch to the jurist:

> The new men are in agreement that our countrymen abroad must obtain the true information about the spirit which today grows strongly in our fatherland among the genuine Norwegians who in spite of everything are saving us in this time. And we find inspiration not in today's world, but by looking back in our history.
>
> It was out of this vision that I implored them to close ranks around that which is Norwegian, concerning everything that characterizes us as a race and a people. And, I also did that today precisely in recognition of your earlier contributions for the association, not in contradiction, to what you believe.[11]

From this letter, it becomes apparent that the *NS*-controlled *Nordmanns-Forbundet* wanted to win over influential persons in Norway. Its larger goal was to use the journal to reach Norwegians living abroad, especially by convincing them of the "new spirit" that was renewing the greatness of Norway.

As for the audience of the American version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, it is possible to infer its target audience in a similar fashion. In a letter dated July 28, 1945, the office manager for the newly freed *Nordmanns-Forbundet* in Oslo addressed Aksel H. Holter of Ashland, Wisconsin. The author conveyed how those still working for the *NS*-controlled *Nordmanns-Forbundet* in Oslo had learned via illegal channels of the free version of the organization in the United States. They also mentioned how the American version of the journal had been sent to new members in the non-occupied lands (this would have included the United States, Canada, Britain, etc.) and this process had netted many new members. Near the end of the letter, the author reveals his reason for contacting Mr. Holter: the organization had lost contact with many of its older members in the United States and hoped that Mr. Holter would be able to provide them with as many as possible of the old addresses of these older members so that the organization could reestablish contact with them.[12]

This information suggests that as part of its strategy the American version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* had sought out new members in the non-occupied countries (with good success) and that the old members were not necessarily the intended target. A likely reason is that the American leadership of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* believed it could count on the support of its old members but wanted to reach new members and thus gain access to a larger audience to whom it could promote Norway's wartime cause.

As a wartime asset, the control of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* was of high importance. The Nazi-directed takeover of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* in Oslo set off alarm bells within Norway's exile government in London. On January 12, 1942, Jens Bull, an official working for the exile government sent a memo to Norway's Foreign Affairs Department (*Det kongelige Utenriksdepartement*) and a copy of the newspaper *Aftenposten* from December 16, 1941. The *Aftenposten* article was titled "Norwegians in foreign nations must obtain information on the valuable work which is happening at home" and it was an interview with Finn Støren. In the article, Støren stressed the importance for *Nordmanns-Forbundet* to make contact with the emigrated Norwegians, "especially the great conti-

nent of our countrymen in the United States" and to win them over though he lamented the difficulty in reaching them. In his memo, Bull noted how after the German occupation editor Ludvig Saxe, longtime editor of the journal prior to the Nazi takeover, had tried to steer an apolitical course for the journal and not make it inoffensive to the occupiers. Bull warned, however, that with the journal now being controlled by *Nasjonal Samling* it would assume a much more political [and obviously] pro-Nazi character. He also noted that its new editor was the "bureau head" [Ingolf] Hoel.[13]

Thus, the most important target audience for both versions of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* was the large body of Norwegian Americans. For the Norwegian government in exile, it was of paramount importance to get their message to the Norwegian-American audience and convince them that liberating Norway—including the assistance of the United States—was in the best interests of Norway and Norwegian America.

Norway's leaders in the United States wanted to promote a strategy, aimed at the American media, in which Norway offered a test case of how Nazism operated and how it could be resisted. In an untitled letter from February 7, 1941, Carl J. Hambro writes in English to an unspecified recipient in London. In the letter Hambro states the following:

> However, it would be of the utmost importance for the American press to be informed of what is going on in Norway. In the first place, because Norway is a country where the German Nazis—supported by a small group of traitors—are trying to Nazify the whole country. To follow developments in Norway is consequently a means of getting a deep insight into the nature and methods of Nazism. The vast majority of the Norwegian people are making an heroic passive resistance against this Nazification, and out of this daily struggle between the German conquerors on the one hand and the Norwegian people on the other hand come many incidents of dramatic interest.[14]

Hambro goes on to say that among the German-occupied countries,

Norway was in the most favorable position for getting news of internal developments to the outside world owing to Norway's long common border with Sweden where Norwegian press representatives could continue their work.[15] Norway's close proximity to Britain was likely also a factor in promoting the nation as the best candidate.

Treatment of the War

From its inaugural issue, the American-produced version of Nordmanns-Forbundet (*N-F*) made World War II its primary focus. This journal had its headquarters in Princeton, New Jersey, and it was published by Holt Publishing of Grand Forks, North Dakota. Henry Holt, the Lieutenant-Governor of North Dakota, was of Norwegian ancestry and the owner of the publishing firm. The cover of the December 1941, journal featured a Norwegian flyer giving a skyward salute as he stands at attention in front of his airplane. No longer would the tranquil landscapes of Norway grace the covers. Furthermore, the cover replaced the previous slogan, "Enige og tro" (united and faithful), which the *Nasjonal Samling* version continued to use, with a circular picture of King Haakon VII in military dress under which was printed his rallying cry for the country, "Alt for Norge" (All for Norway). Successive issues of the American-based journal would uphold this martial orientation, signifying the importance of Norway's war effort and the goal of liberation. Military planes, naval ships, flyers, sailors, soldiers, and other photos of Norway's fighting forces would be prominently displayed.[16]

Despite having its government in exile in England, Norway made a significant contribution to the Allied war effort, and the American version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* devoted substantial coverage to Norwegian forces. The December 1941 issue featured the Royal Norwegian Air Force and its training center, Camp Little Norway, in Canada. Written by the camp's commander, Major Ole Reistad, it described how Norway's pilots were preparing to liberate Norway.[17]

The pilots were among Norway's greatest war assets, and Re-

istad predicted that their motivation and intelligence would make them highly successful. His prediction proved accurate for in 1943, *Norsk Jægereskvadron* (the Norwegian Attack Squadron) was the top-scoring squadron in the British Royal Air Force with over 160 German planes shot down. In the June 1944 issue of the American version of *N-F*, a member of the squadron described their successful dogfights against German Focke-Wolfs, a further testimony to the bravery of Norway's forces.[18]

Norway's other great asset was its merchant marine, which Reistad termed "Norway's greatest factor in the war today." The 1943 anthology *Tusen norske skip* (A Thousand Norwegian Ships) stated that the war materials carried by Norway's merchant marine were significant to the Allied war cause. A common idea of the time was that the Germans considered Norway's merchant marine to be worth a million-man army to England. After the victory over Germany, *N-F* in America concluded that the performance of the fleet was an overwhelmingly prideful chapter in Norway's history.[19]

Not to be forgotten was Norway's army. In a 1943 article, the American *N-F* announced the status of Norway's "new army," which was undergoing strenuous training with British forces in Scotland. Noting that the Norwegian infantryman was among the most educated of any foot soldier in the world, the Norwegians were anxious for the opportunity to use their battle skills against the Germans.[20]

The American version likewise depicted resistance to the Nazi regime in Norway. It noted how several editors of Norway's newspapers had gone to prison rather than submit to the occupiers' demands. The Norwegian Lutheran state church, led by Bishop Eivind Berggrav, had taken a revolutionary stand against interference by the Quislings. Norway's teachers, university professors and students, and athletes had strongly resisted the puppet government, and their actions earned acclaim from the American version of *N-F* for their defense of "Norway's existence as a civilized people."[21]

At the center of its occupation strategy, the Nazi-controlled state attempted to enlist Norway's state Lutheran Church as another appendage of its rule. During 1941, the *NS* Ministry of Religion

and Education urged the church to adopt the following: 1) become detached from all non-spiritual affairs, 2) install Nazi doctrine in the church schools, 3) emplace Nazi sympathizers to the most important church offices, including the bishops, and 4) to discredit pastors who opposed the occupying powers and replace them with "loyal" pastors. In February, 1942, when Quisling became head of the government, he declared himself the Supreme Bishop of the church. He denounced Berggrav and replaced the Dean of Trondheim with a loyal supporter of the Nazi party. In response and in defense of civilization, seven anti-Nazi bishops resigned their offices as church administrators, but they retained their roles as bishops in care of the clergy of their diocese. This action created a de facto "free church" as 93% of Norway's clergy resigned their administrative function. Directed by Berggrav, this mass resignation occurred on Easter Sunday, April 5, 1942. Berggrav further argued that the constitutional relationship between the church and state made it clear that there was a right for Norway's clergy to refuse to obey a totalitarian state. The Norwegian Lutheran Church thus spearheaded the resistance to the occupiers from a position of moral conscientiousness.[22]

Although the American version of *N-F* seemed to ironically espouse militarism and violence to a far greater extent than its *NS* counterpart, the phenomenon known as "virtue systems" explains the difference. According to Jonathan Leader Maynard, those who wrote within the pages of the American *Nordmanns-Forbundet* used its content to socialize "certain types of identity" and thereby get individuals to support "explicit and implicit codes of expected and valorized behavior associated with those identities." He further maintains that the codes of behavior generated by this process "generate potent drives towards certain forms of action so as to obtain positive moral self-identity."[23] The message of the American *N-F* was clear: Norwegians and their allies, including Norwegian Americans, would have to fight the bitter fight to liberate Norway, but Norwegian culture and society were worth the cost and justified in a moral sense.

Within the pages of *Nasjonal Samling's* version of *N-F*, cover-

age of the war was virtually nonexistent, or mentioned only in the general sense. The most open referral to the war came in a January 1942 article by Finn Støren, the *NS* leader who had become the president of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* in Norway in September, 1941. He acknowledged that the events of the war in 1942 would determine the future of Norway. Readers of *Nasjonal Samling's* version, however, would find little mention of the war during the remaining years of publication. Most references were brief and often buried in the back pages. In the May-June 1942 issue, a short note described Minister President Quisling's flight to the Eastern Front to visit with Norwegians serving in the *Waffen SS*. The September issue of the same year described Minister Rolf Fuglesang's tour of the Eastern Front to review the *Den norske Legion* (The Norwegian Legion).[24]

Almost as rare in the *NS* version were references to Vidkun Quisling. The earliest issues attempted to portray the puppet leader in a positive light. The March 1942 issue hailed the new regime in Norway, quoting Quisling's speech from February 1, 1942, when he assumed the title of Minister President. Quisling proclaimed that his regime represented the latest step toward full national freedom and independence for Norway. The journal likewise painted a positive picture of Quisling's visit with Adolf Hitler in Berlin on February 11 of that year.[25] But coverage of Quisling declined rapidly in successive issues, a clear indication of the *fører's* massive unpopularity.

For the American version of *N-F*, Quisling proved an easy target, a symbol of the hated puppet regime. In an article from June 1942, the Norwegian historian Jacob S. Worm-Müller denounced the journal's takeover by the *Nasjonal Samling* regime. On the arrest of Didrik Arup-Seip, the president of *N-F*, who was subsequently imprisoned, he commented wryly that Quisling and Støren had realized that "no Norwegian was for sale." As the end neared for Quisling, the American *N-F* noted in February 1945, that his position was more and more uncertain. The recent murder by the Norwegian Resistance of the leader of the *Hird,* Quisling's personal guard, was a harbinger of the fate that awaited the hated *fører* for his reign of brutality.[26]

Symbols and Identity

In the battle over Norway's future control of the nation's symbols was paramount. The Quisling government wanted to appropriate as many as possible of Norway's cherished national symbols to lend legitimacy to its cause. A fascist, Quisling espoused a race-conscious, corporatist view of society, and those symbols that emphasized militarism, masculine virility, and *völkisch* characteristics were the most attractive.[27]

The *NS* version of *N-F* devoted considerable attention to Viking-age symbolism. The most dramatic expression occurred about every three months when the publication would contain full-color inserts of images from Norway's Viking Age and early medieval history, which often referred to scenes from victorious battles. These were reprints of tapestries created mostly by Harald Damsleth, and often contained short descriptions, noting how the Vikings had founded kingdoms and established cities. Viking-age heroes and heroines such as Gange-Rolf, Leif Eriksson, Gudrun, St. Olav and Harald Hardråde were featured during the 1942 issues. In subsequent years, the inserts were devoted to Norway's medieval kings, including Sigurd the Crusader, Sverre, and Håkon IV. Moreover, Quisling deliberately appropriated Viking-age symbols for his own use, such as naming his personal bodyguard the *Hird*, the traditional Norwegian Royal Guard for his own bodyguard, and the adoption of the *Solkors*, or Sun Cross, a prominent Viking-age fertility symbol.[28]

Efforts by the Quisling regime to employ Viking and medieval symbolism were duly reported by the *NS* version. The regime attempted to appropriate Norway's celebration of St. Olav, its great king who died a martyr at the Battle of Stiklestad in 1030, by tying it to the celebration to Norway's resurgence under *Nasjonal Samling* and by claiming a direct connection between the king and Quisling. In 1942 the Norwegian Historical Documents Institute (*Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institutt)* published a two-volume study of St. Olav, which had begun in 1917. The product of Norwegian historian Dr. Oscar Albert Johnsen and Icelandic professor Dr. Jón Helgason, the *NS* version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* published an

article about the book in its February 1942 issue. The article gave a fairly balanced account, yet it ended by stating "Now more than ever could ever appreciate how the sympathy becomes strong and the bonds steadfast between the various branches of the Norwegian and Nordic peoples."

The Norwegian fascists viewed the prior depression era as one of decline and contended that the New Order would make Norway great again as she had been during the Viking Age and early medieval era. The apogee of this attempt came at the 1944 celebration that featured the unveiling of a new monument to St. Olav at Stiklestad, sculpted by Wilhelm Rasmussen. The *NS* publication likewise printed several articles glorifying Norway's Viking and medieval past, including the November 1943 issue in which Leif Eriksson, the great Norwegian-American hero, was portrayed as a symbol for the new era, i.e. a *Nasjonal Samling* hero.[29]

A glorification of Norway's traditional peasant culture was another common motif in the *NS* version. A common theme was that Norway's beautiful but rugged terrain had imbued its peasantry, the most racially pure Norwegians, with toughness and resolve. It paid attention to the importance of Norwegian folk music and *bunads*, which had helped to preserve the best of Norwegian culture.[30]

A good example comes from an article by J. Falck-Andersen titled "The Discovery of the Hidden Norway" (*Oppdagelsen av det skjulte Norge*) in the July-August 1943 issue. Referring to the year 1814, the author argues that Norway's newly won freedom at that time owed much to the Norwegians who lived among the nation's mountains and forests where a blue-eyed, somewhat naïve, patriotism took hold. He urged a rediscovery of this hidden Norway which inspired the great romantic works of Norway by such men as violinist Ole Bull, composer Halfdan Kierulf, and Ludvig Lindeman who composed the folk melodies associated with the folk tales of Asbjørnsen and Moe. Falck-Andersen concludes his article by quoting Henrik Wergeland, the nineteenth-century cultural personality and poet of Norway: "Our hearts know, our eyes see, how good and beautiful Norway can stand as a motto for the new age, that which leads forth from the hidden Norway."[31]

These themes are consistent with *Nasjonal Samling*'s overall attempt to remake Norwegian society. For example, the party called for "a new spirit in the schools" that would reflect its ideology. Developed by the Ministry for Church and Educational Affairs, led by *NS* minister Ragnar Skancke and chief inspector of schools, Jørgen Bakke, the new program clearly reflected the impact of the German model, which emphasized character-building of students over the acquisition of professional knowledge. Especially important for the indoctrination of pupils and to emphasize the greatness of their nation of Norway, the new standards adapted Norwegian history to the national socialist model. History in Norwegian schools was expected to refer to the Viking Age, especially when legendary King Harald Fairhair united Norway into one realm. This program of education emphasized Quisling and *Nasjonal Samling's* slogan "Norway is a realm—we shall become one people" and *NS* education would project into schooling patriotism, nationalism, the people's community, a sense of belonging to the "Germanic race," a will for combat, and the role of the "Führer principle." [32]

In a 1941 radio speech in May 1941, Skancke described how Norwegian schools had to guarantee that pupils could develop their biological aptitudes as fully as possible. Moreover, each child had to learn that every human being was part of a larger unity, or the people's community. He stressed that schools had to create a "strong and healthy youth, in accordance with the doctrine of biological heritage and race." The ultimate goal was to create an "ideal type of race." Nicolas Karcher notes, however, that this statement was not specifically Norwegian or informative about achieving a corresponding education in practice. Instead, it was merely a repetition of central National Socialist principles as they were promoted in Germany.[33]

In more modern guise, the *Nasjonal Samling* version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* emphasized a return to the land as a way to renew the spirit of Norway and its people. In November 1941, the *NS* version presented an article on labor service for Norway, which envisioned a labor service modeled on the one in Nazi Germany, though it was also compared to the Civilian Conservation Corps

being utilized in the United States. The *Arbeidstjeneste* (Labor Service) would feature a military-style organization. For men it proclaimed that they would sing and march from the camp where the split Norwegian flag waved. As they marched, they would swing their hoes and spades. At the end of the workday in summer, they would take brisk baths in nearby rivers or lakes. The evenings would consist of warm comradery on the base. From this work on the farms, Norway's male youth would achieve an invigorating faith in the Norwegian people and their future. The solidarity of shared work would lead to an uplifting of Norway's people.[34]

The presence of this sentiment in the *NS* version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* aligns with the principles of the National Youth Service of *Nasjonal Samling* (*Nasjonal Samlings Ungdomsfylking*), which since its inception in 1933 had widely corresponded to the Hitler Youth (*Hitlerjugend*), espousing the ideas of National Socialist education. In addition to education and the National Youth Service, the Labor Service or Fatigue Duty (*Arbeidstjeneste*) was a third branch that promoted National Socialist principles. Its purpose was to shape Norwegians through outdoor work and thereby connect them, especially Norwegian youth, more closely to their nation, their people, and practical life rather than schooling based on theory.[35]

The attempt to impose a German Nazi-style *Arbeidstjeneste* was central to the struggle against the German occupation force. Leaders of Norway's resistance aimed to strengthen the Norwegian population's resistance to the labor service and to defend Norwegian national identity. It was crucial to get Norwegians to reject the racial aspects of the service and its attempt to militarize Norway. Sabotage was a favored tactic used to thwart Nazi aims of controlling Norway's labor force.[36]

These ideas reflected an extreme interpretation of conservative nineteenth-century National Romantic ideas. One must mention that nineteenth-century national romanticism had greatly influenced Norway's national identity, especially an emphasis on the nation's Viking-age past and peasant culture.[37] The *völkisch* ideology of *Nasjonal Samling* made the appropriation of these romantic symbols self-evident. The Quisling regime encountered great dif-

ficulty, however, when it attempted to appropriate the latter-day symbols of Norway's national identity.

In response, the *Nasjonal Samling* version attempted to vindicate the takeover of modern Norwegian symbols. The puppet regime located its offices in the *Storting* (parliament) building. During its September 1942 public celebrations in Oslo, on the ninth anniversary of *Nasjonal Samling*, the festivities included events in the National Gallery, the University building, and the National Theater, and a parade down Karl Johans Gate, on which was located the Royal Palace and the *Storting*. The regime also attempted to erase annual celebrations of May 1 (Labor Day) and May 17, Norway's constitution day. Instead, the regime attempted to create substitute celebrations. In early 1945 for example, Wilhelm Rasmussen sculpted his *Eidsvollsøylen* (Eidsvoll Pillar), a monument in honor of Norway's constitution, which was to be placed near the *Storting*, but was never realized.[38]

As noted by Anthony D. Smith, the process of reappropriating one's culture through historical reappropriation is a common tactic of modern nationalists and Norway's attempt to emphasize its Viking Age and peasant past is a notable example. For Germany, however, there was limited historical material for this process to succeed. Instead, Nazi Germany recovered its ancient ethno-history by appropriating Norway's ancient past, which, as Smith observes, is the starting point for the process of vernacular nationalist mobilization, or the creation of a national identity that would appeal to all levels of German society.[39] This German appropriation, furthermore, reflected a common tactic of nationalism, which Smith has also identified. He contends that nationalism often "inhabits" other ideologies and belief-systems and channels their ideals and policies to nationalist ends.[40]

In stark contrast, the American version of *N-F* emphasized latter-day symbolism to counter the tainted Nazi symbolism. Norway's love of freedom became a significant symbol, and the aforementioned resistance by homeland Norwegians to the Nazi government served to drive the point home. The exiled author, Sigrid Undset, wrote for *N-F* in March 1942 about the close affinities

between Norwegians and Americans, two peoples with an historic craving for freedom. Halvdan Koht, historian and Norway's former Minister of Defense, echoed similar ideas in noting that Norwegians who had emigrated to America found a natural home owing to their love of freedom.[41]

Norway's latter-day identity was strongly tied to a respect for law and democratic government. As such, the American version pointed to Norway's parliament and constitution as the foundations of modern Norwegian society and its values. In a May 1942 article, Johan Nygaardsvold, Norway's Prime Minister in exile, observed that as a constitutional monarchy, Norway's king and constitution were among its foremost symbols since they were the moral basis and foundation of the will of the people. At a speech given on the anniversary of the German occupation of Norway, Carl J. Hambro, the Secretary of the American *N-F*, identified "the moral power in our people," whose society "was built upon the values of the oldest constitutional society in Europe." In a December 1944 article in *N-F*, Editor Torolv Kandahl praised Hambro, president of the *Storting*, for his resolute opposition to the German invaders and his decision to fight the war in exile. The behavior of Hambro and other members of the Norwegian *Storting* demonstrated the strong constitutional bonds between the democracy that was and the one that would return once the war was over.[42]

By linking the civilizational values of Norway to the United States, Norway's leaders engaged in what H. D. S. Greenway has identified as "kin-country" syndrome. Through this process, leaders of Norway and Norwegian America engaged in a process of "civilizational rallying" in which groups or states belonging to one civilization that become involved in a war with people from a different civilization try to rally support from other members of their own civilization.[43] The Allies, including Norway, frequently presented the war as a battle between civilization and the barbarism of Nazism. Presented in this fashion, the defenders of Norway could argue that Norway's struggle was more than a traditional one based on the acquisition of territory or considerations of the balance of

power. It was instead a battle over the very nature of humanity, a battle with soulful consequences.

Moreover, the condition of being in exile allowed homeland Norwegians to emphasize their cultural nationalism, especially the way it generated strong bonds between Norway and Norwegian Americans. Laura Hilton stresses that displaced persons or persons in exile for whom the legitimacy of their national identity has been challenged (as per a foreign occupation), will often rewrite shared traditions, history, and culture to provide them with a sense of place and self, as well as providing a useful outlet for survival and fighting back against the enemies of their nation. Exiled people, like displaced people, exercise these actions to present a positive identity to receptor states.[44] Both homeland Norwegian and Norwegian-American defenders of Norway revised the self-image of the homeland to both fight back against Nazi Germany and to enhance Norway's identity within the United States. Through the pages of the American version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, exiled Norwegians and Norwegian Americans could learn about the altered identity of Norway and then disseminate its symbols and meanings to the larger American public.

Perhaps the strongest latter-day symbols for the American version of *N-F* were King Haakon VII and May 17. The king was a beloved, national hero for his refusal to acknowledge the Nazi government and his willingness to fight the war from abroad. In 1942, the year of King Haakon's seventieth birthday, *N-F* in America heaped lavish praise on him, calling him the people's king in "the most democratic land in the world." In recognition of his fighting spirit that same year, the United States dedicated an anti-submarine vessel as his namesake on September 15. On the occasion, President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his famous "Look to Norway" speech, in which he identified Norway as the exemplary nation that embodied the reasons the United States was fighting tyranny. King Haakon VII frequently graced the pages of the American version of *N-F,* and his inspirational words cemented his role as a symbol for a free Norway. In the January 1944 issue, for instance, he greeted all Norwegians for whom the war "is steadily being won," and promised that "hope would soon return."[45]

The effort to repudiate the Nazi appropriation of Norwegian symbols such as the Viking and romanticized peasants, while simultaneously refashioning the cornerstones of Norway's national identity closely resemble what Anthony D. Smith has termed *ethno-symbolist* approach to nationalism. In particular, he notes that the process of nation-formation is not so much one of construction or deliberate invention, but of *reinterpretation* of pre-existing cultural motifs and of *reconstruction* of earlier ethnic ties and settlements.[46] Hence, Norway's WWII identity-makers reinterpreted their national identity in terms of cultural motifs (love of democracy, the Constitution, the Storting, and the King) at the expense of Vikings and romanticized peasants because the former symbols excluded Germans and German or Germanic nationalism, while the latter symbols could not. In addition, Norwegian identity-makers also attempted to remake the Vikings into stalwarts of liberty in a further effort to stave off Nazi appropriation. One example occurred in December 1941 when Norway's envoy, Wilhelm Morgenstierne, gave a talk in Minneapolis to the local *Nordmanns-Forbundet* chapter. In his talk the envoy referred to Norway's merchant marine as "modern Vikings" whose activities supported Norway's free fighting forces.[47]

The latter-day symbolic synthesis came together in the special May 1944 issue of the American *N-F*, the one hundredth and thirtieth anniversary of Norway's constitution. The cover featured a flight of birds flying a "v" formation towards Norway, which symbolized the "triple v" slogan of the home front, *vi vil vinne* (we will win), and King Haakon VII. Dedicated to Norway's constitution day, the issue affirmed May 17 as a powerful symbol of Norway. In his tribute to "our constitutional day," Carl J. Hambro explained that the *Storting* was the "living expression of the constitution, as its active symbol," and that May 17 represented the public spirit that made the nation great. In the same issue, Prime Minister Nygaardsvold reflected that May 17 showed respect for the constitution that had "shaped our independence and freedom." Minister W. Neuman of the diplomatic corps simply stated that "Norway is freedom," while President Roosevelt hoped that the next celebration of May

17 would take place in a Norway again free and democratic. King Haakon VII contended that May 17 represented Norway's cause to liberate itself from Germany's attempt to impose a slave-state.[48]

A Greater Germany versus a Greater Norway

The Quisling regime had seized control of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* because it viewed it as a propaganda tool. At a practical level, it was hoped that the journal might influence Norwegians living abroad to return to Norway, especially once the war was over. In Quisling's dreams of a future Nazi-Norway, he hoped that the nation's population would reach ten million by the year 2000 through an emphasis on larger families and return migration. An article from the February 1943 *Nasjonal Samling* version was especially blunt in its assessment that Norway needed to increase its number of births if it were to survive. In January 1942, it urged Norwegian women to return to working the land. The article was accompanied by a picture of happy, robust, farm girls weeding potatoes and smiling in the glorious sunshine.[49] Within the article, the NS version idealized the farm and the need for women to do agricultural work. Encouraging women to realize the character-building efforts that came with hard work:

> All Norwegian young women should get out and work with the earth. Most do not like it to begin with, but when they are stricken with stiffness and water blisters, and they become accustomed to the work, most are comfortable with it. They learn to respect the farmer and his work and see that his life is hard toil and exhausting year after year, and yet he is content with his existence. They discover that it must be something exceptional in God's free nature. They learn to work for work's sake, and then they place a much greater worth both on themselves and that which they work for.[50]

Despite being at war with the United States, the *NS* version steadfastly promoted positive images of Norwegian America. It took every opportunity to congratulate Norwegian-American leaders on

their birthdays or to pay tribute to milestones reached by Norwegian-American institutions such as newspapers, colleges, and churches.[51]

More importantly, though, was the need for the regime, including *N-F*, to persuade Norwegians that the nation's fortune was tied to the good fortune of Hitler's Germany. *N-F* in Oslo quoted speeches from *Reichskommissar* Josef Terboven and Quisling on February 1, 1942. Terboven predicted that the Norwegian people would be united and strengthened through National Socialism, becoming an "indispensable part of the Germanic fellowship." The *fører*, meanwhile, stressed the need to build Norway on national socialist principles: Norway had become "one regime, it shall become one folk." Yet he maintained that Norway's fate was tied to Germany, for "Germany's victory is Norway's victory."[52]

According to scholar Nicola Karcher, when the "new order" was established on September 25, 1940, the Nazification of Norway became the main task of *Nasjonal Samling* and the main goal was to transform Norway into a racially pure "people's community" that would be integrated as an equal partner in the "Greater Germanic Reich," albeit under the leadership of Nazi Germany.[53]

This promotion of Norway's role in "a Greater Germany" or "some kind of Norwegian-German supernationalism" was a common theme in the *NS* version of the journal.[54] Writing in January 1942, Støren observed that *Nordmanns-Forbundet's* mission supported everything that characterized Norway as a race and a people, namely the desire to be united (based on national socialist principles). In the October 1942 issue, Rolf Fuglesang claimed that the future relationship between Germany and Norway would allow Norway to receive its free and rightful position in the new Europe. In February, 1945, the *NS* version of *N-F* reported that Quisling and his ministers had traveled to Germany to learn from Hitler about Norway's place in the Germanic people's future. The January 1945 issue expressed concern that Norway's promising future would be abruptly terminated before the end of 1945—that the National Socialist revolution would be uncompleted owing to an Allied victory.[55]

The Greater Germany concept attracted numerous responses from the American *N-F.* In its first issue, Hambro attacked the concept of a Norwegian-German super-nationalism as a ruse for having Norwegians serve a greater Germany. He compared the Nazi takeover of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* as an attempt to smuggle a Nazi virus among Norwegians all over the world, especially by promising to restore to Norway its medieval possessions such as the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Isle of Man, and northern Scotland. Sigrid Undset wrote mockingly in 1942 that the Germans' desire to be part of the Nordic race, by appropriating Norway's proud past, were suspect owing to the racial blending of peoples. More importantly, she added, the desire for freedom and democratic government were the true characteristics of the Nordic nations, something lacking in Germany.[56]

In place of the Greater Germany concept, the American version offered the Greater Norway concept, which called for close ties between a democratic and free Norway and its emigrated population living in other areas of the world. The American *N-F* was careful to distinguish the difference. It published an interview with the Norwegian Foreign Minister in exile, Trygve Lie, in April 1943. Lie emphasized that Norway had no territorial ambitions and was a steadfast member of the Allies. In an article from January 1942, Jacob Worm-Müller stressed that *Nordmanns-Forbundet* existed to promote greater cultural and economic ties between Norway and Norwegians living abroad. The cultivation of those close ties, especially between Norway and Norwegian Americans, proved crucial to Norway's war effort. Einar Lund, the editor of *Decorah-Posten,* wrote in *N-F* in November 1942 about the connection. "Norway's influence in the war," he observed, brought "feelings of pride in the Norwegian heritage" and that Americans of Norwegian ancestry would take the lead in rebuilding "our fathers' land." In an article appearing in *N-F* after the war, the new Prime Minister of Norway, Einar Gerhardsen, gave thanks to America, especially Norwegian Americans, for their relief efforts. He noted that the struggle against common enemies had created strong bonds between the Norwegian people and the United States of America.[57]

Two considerations arise from this formulation. The first involved the need for Norwegian and Norwegian-American identity-makers (both part of the Greater Norway) to tie their national identity to a code of morality. In describing the essential differences between Norwegian greater nationalism and German greater nationalism, the proponents of the Greater Norway linked Norway's identity to the identity of the United States, especially its perceived commitment to liberal values. As noted by Catherine Frost, this espousal of a liberal nationalism meant that there was "a trade-off relationship with the qualities we associate with nationalism."[58] In other words, the American *Nordmanns-Forbundet* signaled that Norway's national identity would abandon its territorial (nationalist) ambitions in favor of a liberal international order that valued justice and the process of law.

The second issue is the very framework of the Greater Norway, which suggested that Norway's orientation would be based on internationalism after the war, a position that would move away from traditional Nordic neutralism. This effort created a type of national identity that Marcus Nicolson termed cosmopolitan nationalism in his recent chapter of Scottish nationalism and the appeal of transnational European structures such as the European Union. He argues that modern Scottish national identity is outward-looking and reliant on the continued cooperation of other European nations.[59] In a similar vein, the Nazi occupation and subsequent resistance by Norway created a reappraisal of Norway's national identity, and Norway's identity-makers, as evidenced by the pages of the American version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, chose an identity that was outward-looking and favorably disposed to international cooperation.

Treatment of the Jews

In April 1940 2,173 Jews lived in Norway, mostly in Oslo and Trondheim where they owned businesses or worked in the professions or crafts. Immigration rules for Jews in Norway, as elsewhere in Europe, were restrictive as well. In May 1940, one month after the start of the occupation, the first anti-Jewish measure was intro-

duced when the radios owned by Jews were confiscated. Soon after, the occupying regime registered Jewish property and firms, and these were confiscated. In January 1942, the authorities required Jews to have a "J" stamped on their identification papers and arrests followed shortly thereafter. Beginning in October of that year, the authorities in Norway arrested Jewish men and they were sent to concentration camps, where they suffered murder, execution, or suicide. As a result, many Jews fled Norway and between these two actions the Jewish population of Norway severely declined. Among those trying to escape Norway, at least 900 Jewish refugees made their way across the border to Sweden.[60]

Neither the *NS* version nor the American version of *N-F* had much to say about the treatment of the Jews. In its back pages, the *NS* version would post short notices, usually about the restrictions on the Jews in Norway or sometimes notices to report to a local *NS* authority. The American version hardly touched the subject. One exception was an article from February 1945 by the writer Johan Borgen, which raised issues about how Norwegians had traditionally treated the Jewish population of Norway. Borgen was an intellectual with leftist political leanings who was imprisoned in the Grini detention camp near Oslo during the war for writing epistles in newspapers with hidden anti-German messages. After the war, he submitted articles for the Sosialistisk Folkeparti's newspaper *Orientering*.[61]

Borgen pointed out that Norway was massively anti-Semitic. While he observed that Jews were generous, full of initiative, energetic, and displayed polite mannerisms, Norwegian sources (even prior to the Nazi occupation) seldom depicted them that way in everyday life. Borgen contended that these racist attitudes and the resulting murder of the Jews had created a dark stain over Norway's history. He insisted that Norwegians must take responsibility for allowing antisemitism to reside in the souls of the people. The author admonished Norwegians in the future to work for social justice as the basis of a future Norway.[62]

Norwegian antisemitism prior to the war likely arose out of similar structural conditions to those happening in Central and Eastern Europe, albeit on a lesser scale. William Hagen's com-

parative work on antisemitism in Germany and Poland during the interwar period identifies the "embourgeoisement" of the Jewish middle classes at this time as they sought advantageous positions in the economy and professional life. Their success provoked a counterreaction on the part of the non-Jewish middle classes who were also striving for status and advancement. Those members of the non-Jewish professional classes in Germany and Poland, including lawyers, physicians, teachers, engineers, and other highly-trained technicians as well, seized upon antisemitism to improve their prospects of employment and mobility, regardless of whether they accepted Nazi policies of "Aryanization with equanimity or enthusiasm."[63] Borgen observed both types of behavior, which he termed familiar chauvinism (prejudice) and antisemitism, noting that they were not the same. But he noted that both types of behavior are present in situations of ill-intentioned agitation towards the Jews. He also noted that such behavior manifested more commonly after the formation of the modern middle classes brought Jews and non-Jews into closer contact with each other,[64] a seeming confirmation of Hagen's analysis.

Antisemitism had deep historical roots in Norway. For example, the 1814 Eidsvoll Constitution originally banned Jews and Jesuits from entering the country, though the ban on Jews was lifted in 1851. In the late 1800s conservative religious groups promoted negative stereotypes of Jews. During the 1920s and 1930s conspiracy theories about the Russian Revolution spawned negative portrayals of Jews in Norway. Perhaps the culminating act was in 1929 when the Norwegian Storting voted 88 to 21 in favor of a law that banned "schächting," or the Jew's ritual slaughter of animals. The debates surrounding the vote were harsh and anti-Semitic. A key element of *Nasjonal Samling*'s propaganda was the idea of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy that would overthrow modern civilization.[65]

Although Norway's Lutheran church spearheaded the resistance movement against Nazi rule, it was largely silent in protesting the treatment of Norway's Jews. The only public declaration was on November 10, 1942, when a letter of protest—signed by the entire church leadership—was read out in all the churches of Norway.

The letter stated that the Jews were being punished for their biological origins, a denial of their human rights, and a contradiction of the Word of God. The letter urged Quisling to stop the persecution of the Jews and to "bring to an end the racial hatred which through the press is spreading in our land." In 1941, Berggrav had also protested the condemnation of mixed marriages with Jews and that any attempt to assert the racial superiority of one race over another was contrary to the constitution of the church.[66]

Norway traditionally has not addressed its role in the Holocaust. Until the mid-1990s, the "National Consensus Syndrome" of Norway's World War II narrative intoned a strict division between the King and the Homefront as symbols of resistance on one hand and Quisling and his Nazi party as symbols of treason on the other.[67] That narrative received a strong jolt when a photo of Akershus harbor in Oslo on November 26, 1942, appeared in *Aftenposten* in January 1994. The photo had been discovered in an old desk at *Aftenposten* by journalist Liv Hegna and it was part of an article titled "The death-trip of the Jews with 'Donau.'" The photo captured the German ship *Donau* leaving the harbor at 2:55PM with more than 500 Norwegian Jews on board as several Norwegian citizens watched.[68] The photo and article triggered an examination of Norway's true role in the Holocaust.

Over twenty years later, in 2018, Marte Michelet published her book *Hva visste hjemmefronten? Holocaust in Norge: Varslene, unnvikelsene, hemmeligholdet.* (What Did the Homefront Know? The Holocaust in Norway: Warnings, Evasions, and Secrets)
The book created a firestorm of controversy in Norway as the author accused Norway's resistance movement (the Homefront) of failing to act in time to save the deportation and ultimate murder of nearly half of Norway's Jewish population despite advanced warning of the massive arrests. The book triggered a controversial debate in Norway about the degree of responsibility that Norway bore for the Holocaust and the degree to which Norwegian society was and continued to be anti-Semitic. Several of Norway's historians rushed to condemn the book. Øystein Sørensen and Kjetil Braut Simonsen, the editors of *Historie og Moral* (History and

Morality) noted that the Michelet book made moralistic judgments based on questionable sources. Three other historians—R. Berggren, Bjarte Bruland, and Mats Tangestuen—pointed out that Michelet's interpretation was based on misleading and selective sources.[69]

The more conventional interpretations, however, while not going as far as Michelet, do not exonerate Norway's role in the Holocaust. Bjarte Bruland, for example, observes that while German authorities favored the policy of rounding up Norway's Jews, it was Norway's leadership under Quisling—whose government ordered the arrests—and the implementation of the arrest by Norway's State Police officers, officers from the Oslo Police, and selected members of the *Hird* and the Norwegian SS that initiated the first action in the deportation of Norway's Jews. In effect, it was Norwegians, not Germans, who carried out the dirty work. Despite the chaotic way the arrests were carried out, the effort meant that 772 of Norway's approximately 1,536 registered Jews were deported and only 34 survived, which brought the overall number of victims to 766—a murder rate of 49%. Only the Netherlands and Germany had a higher total. Bruland also notes how the German authorities tended to hold back on aggressive policies, including the publication of anti-Jewish decrees, closing Jewish shops, and painting anti-Jewish slogans because they were not well received by Norway's civilian population and, in fact, these actions increased sympathy for the Jews.[70] And yet this sympathy should not be mistaken for solidarity. As stated by Ole Kristian Grimnes in his study of Norway and World War II, the Danes were willing to rescue Danish Jews because the Danes viewed an attack on the Danish Jews as an attack on themselves. Contrarily, he writes, the Jewish arrests "were not understood as an attack against Norwegian society, but a defined group within this society."[71]

Against this historical backdrop, the historian must view the free or American version of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* as an example of the "National Consensus" interpretation of the war in which King Haakon, the Homefront, the government in exile, and Norway's military assets were the good guys and Quisling and his Nazi

party were the bad guys. While the American version portrayed Norway's war effort in a favorable and highly effective manner, it should not blind us to the reality that Norwegians during the war were not totally innocent of responsibility for the Holocaust. With the exception of the Borgen article, the historical irony is that both versions of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* largely ignored the Jews, an irony with deadly consequences.

Conclusion

The ideological clash waged by the two versions of *Nordmanns-Forbundet* revealed the extent to which Norway had become a modern, progressive, and democratic nation. Although nostalgia for the Viking Age and romanticized peasant culture had formed the initial Norwegian national self-image in the nineteenth century, they alone could not form the basis for a comprehensive national identity. The Nazi regime did have some success in its appeals to Norway's romantic and mythical past, but for most Norwegians those symbols were not adequate. Mid-twentieth century Norwegians might be proud of being descended from Vikings and peasant-stock, but their national identity was just as strongly tied to their concept as a free, democratic, and modern people. For them, symbols such as their parliament, May 17, and King Haakon VII, albeit highly romanticized themselves, proved just as important, if not more so, than the Viking-Age and peasant symbols favored by Quisling and his regime.

The ideological constructs employed and developed by the American-based *Nordmanns-Forbundet* adumbrated the features of Norway's postwar identity. The *Nasjonal Samling*-tainted symbols of the Viking Age and the mythical peasant would be downplayed or ignored, while the symbols of liberation—the *Storting*, May 17, and King Haakon—would be the primary symbols of Norway's postwar identity. A strong anti-German sentiment would be a significant component as well.[72] The misappropriation of the Viking heritage and symbolism would long leave a certain distaste for that part of Norway's identity following World War II; thus, skewing the nation's self-image in the direction of the "modern, pro-

gressive Norway" theme. Finally, the war solidified the relationship between Norway and it emigrated compatriots, especially those living in America, and it validated the Greater Norway concept, which *Nordmanns-Forbundet* already had worked to promote for many years.[73] Yet, as critics like Borgen remarked, Norway would need to work on crafting a more just society.

Notes

[1] https://www.thecollector.com/panta-rhei-heraclitus/. Accessed on May 18, 2022.

[2] Odd Sverre Lovoll, *Celebrating a Century: Nordmanns-Forbundet and Norwegians in the World Community 1907-2007* (Oslo: Nordmanns-Forbundet, 2009), 88-93.

[3] Völkisch is derived from the German word Volk, meaning the people. Unlike its English counterpart, folk, it connotes having exclusive racial characteristics that define a people by ethnic and cultural homogeneity. See Alexa Lenz, "'Völkisch' and 'Überfremdung.'" Public Seminar, July 14, 2017. https://publicseminar.org/2017/07/volkisch-and-uberfremdung/ Accessed on March 2, 2025.

[4] Ruth Hemstad, "A Colonial Empire of the Future. Scandinavian experiences of cultural diplomacy through nationals abroad" in *Media Tactics in the Long Twentieth Century*, eds. Marie Cronqvist, Fredrik M. Norén, and Emil Stjernholm (Abingdon, U.K. and New York: Routledge, 2024) 1-17.

[5] *Et større Norge: fra Nordmanns-Forbundets arbeidsmark, artikler, og taler*. Red. Wilhelm Morgenstierne (Oslo: Aschehoug and Co., 1932), 6-7; Hemstad, "A Colonial Empire," 2-3.

[6] Lovoll, *Celebrating a Century,* 87-88

[7] Lovoll, *Celebrating a Century*, 91.

[8] Lovoll, Celebrating a Century, 88-89.

[9] Ole Kristian Grimnes, *Norge under andre verdenskrig 1939-1945* (Oslo: Aschehoug and Co, 2018), 126-127. In a 2022 conversation between the author and Knut Djupedal, former director of Norsk utvandrermuseum (the Norwegian Emigration Museum), Mr. Djupedal indicated that the Germans in Norway were at first light-handed in their treatment of the Norwegians because of their string of victories and because they hoped to win over the Norwegians to their side. By the fall of 1941, however, the setbacks faced by Nazi Germany meant a change of policy and Heydrich ordered a crackdown in the occupied territories, including the takeover of previously free Norwegian organizations such as *Nordmanns-Forbundet*.

[10] Grimnes, *Norge under andre verdenskrig*, 89-90.

[11] Letter from General Secretary (PB) to Judicial President Michael Hansson, February 7, 1942. Nordmanns-Forbundet Archive Box C6 1937-1945. Norsk utvandremuseum, Ottestad, Norway.

[12] Letter from Nordmanns-Forbundet Kontorsjef [Office Manager, likely Arne Kildal] to Aksel H. Holter of Ashland, Wis., July 28, 1945. Nordmanns-Forbundet

Archives Box C6 1937-1945. Norsk utvandrermuseum, Ottestad, Norway.

[13] Facsimile of "Nordmenn i utlandet må få underretning om de verdifulle som skjer hjemme," *Aftenposten* 16 desember 1941. Memo from Jens Bull to Det kongelige Utenriksdepartement, 12 january 1942. Nordmanns-Forbundet Archives Box N.F. Amerika 1940-1945. Norsk utvandrermuseum, Ottestad, Norway.

[14] Carl J. Hambro, Untitled Letter in English dated February 7, 1941. Nordmanns-Forbundet Archives Box N.F. Amerika 1940-1945. Norsk utvandrermuseum, Ottestad, Norway. The author discovered this letter in the folder for Carl J. Hambro, which consisted of his correspondence to London.

[15] Hambro, Untitled Letter in English dated February 7, 1941.

[16] *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks, ND] (Dec. 1941): cover. Successive issues of the American-based production maintained this military orientation; see the issues from Jan., 1942 through June, 1945. As a contrast, the *Nasjonal Samling* version from late in the war, April 1945, featured a Norwegian couple fishing in a stream. See *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo, Nasjonal Samling (NS)] (April, 1945): cover.

[17] Major Ole Reistad, "Norge og norske flyvere i kamp," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (December, 1941): 196-198.

[18] Kristen Johansen, "Norsk Jagereskadron [sic] toppscorer I 1943" *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (June, 1944): 137-139.

[19] Reistad, "Norge og norske flyvere i kamp," 198. Kaptein Erling Hostvedt, "Camp Little Norway og Den norske marine," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Jan. 1942): 6; *Tusen norske skip: en antologi over norske sjøfolks innsats i den annen verdenskrig*, ed. Lise Lindbæk (New York: Arnesen Press, 1943), 9-218; *Nordisk Tidende*, 21 May 1942. "Norge til sjøs," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (June-July, 1945): 226.

[20] Einar Diesen, "Norges nye hær," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Oct. 1943): 251-253.

[21] Torolv Kandahl, "Den norske presse under okkupasjonen," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Sept. 1942): 217-218; George A. Stausland Møller, "Norges kirke og dens kamp," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (May 1943): 117-126; "Måneden i Norge" *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Aug. 1942): 213. John Sannes, "Studentene i Oslo," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Feb. 1944): 33-36; Olav Paus Grunt, "Nazismen og den norske skole," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (June 1942): 136; Jørgen Juve, "Norges idrett under Nazi okkupasjonen," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Feb. 1944): 41-45, and continued in N-F (March 1944): 71-75.

[22] Edwin Robertson, *Bishop of the Resistance: The Life of Eivind Berggrav, Bishop of Oslo, Norway* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 2002), 113-122.

[23] Jonathan Leader Maynard, "Identity and Ideology in Political Violence and Conflict" *St. Anthony's International Review*, Vol. 10 No. 2. The Resurgence of Identity Politics (February 2015): 35.

[24] F. Støren, "Det nye år," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Jan. 1942): 2; "Ministerpresident Quisling," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (May-June 1942): 116; "Minister Fuglesang," Nordmanns-Forbundet [Oslo-NS] (Sept. 1942): 161.

[25] "Nytt statsstyre i Norge," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [NS-Oslo] (March 1942): 26; "Norsk besøk i Berlin," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (March 1942): 49.

[26] Jacob Worm-Müller, "*Nordmanns-Forbundet*," Nordmanns-Forbundet [Grand Forks] (June 1942): 5; "Quislingenes stilling," *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, [Grand Forks] (Feb., 1945): 61.

[27] For a full description of Quisling's fascist ideas, see Oddvar K. Hoidal, *Quisling: A Study in Treason* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1989), esp. 165-221, 292-308, 545-594; and Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Quisling: A Study in Treachery*, trans. Anne-Marie Stanton-Ife (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 71-76, 208-250.

[28] See the inserts for *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] Jan. 1942; April 1942; Sept. 1942, March 1943 and subsequent issues. Most of the tapestries were created by Damsleth but the tapestry honoring St. Olav, from 1943, was drawn by Arnold Thornam and woven by Sigrid Mohn. On Quisling's use of symbols see Hoidal, 189-190, 653, 658; and Dahl, 104-108, 122, 190; and Haakon Hoch-Nielsen, "Sol-ur i sagatiden," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (July-Aug. 1942): 135-136; Hans Fredrik Dahl, Bernt Hagtvet, and Guri Hjeltnes, *Den norske nasjonalismen: Nasjonal Samling 1933-1945 i tekst og bilder* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 1982), 163. Hans Fredrik Dahl, *De store ideologienes tid, 1914-1955*, in *Norsk idéhistorie*, vol. 5, eds. Trond Berg Eriksen and Øystein Sørensen (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2001), 304-305.

[29] "På Stiklestad," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Sept. 1942): 163; "På Stiklestad," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Jan. 1943): 21; "På Stiklestad," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (May-June 1944): 128; "Stiklestad-Stevnet," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Sept. 1944): 179; Kaare Keilbau, "Norsk billedhøggerkunst," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Oct. 1942): 171, 173; Gunnar Gran, "Traveling in Lovely Mid-Norway," *The Norseman* (2: 2007): 56. Articles on Viking-Age and medieval topics included: Knut Knutson Flane, "Soga om Olav den Heilage," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (March 1942): 35-36; Othar Frode Bertelsen, "Dronning Ragnhilds drøm," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (April, 1942): 74-76; and "Minnsesmerke over Eirik Raude—Leiv Erikson?" *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Nov. 1943): 199-202.

[30] Kristian August Ingulstad, "Heimlandet," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Dec. 1942): 217-218; Jim Johannessen, "Norsk folkemusikk," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Sept. 1942): 145-148; "Norske folketoner," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Sept. 1943): 161-162; Lif Barfoed, "Norske bunader," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Jan. 1943): 2-4.

[31] J. Falck-Andersen, "Oppdagelsen av det skjulte Norge" *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [NS-Oslo] (July-August 1943): 126-128.

[32] Nicola Karcher, "A National Socialist school for Norway: concepts of Nazification during the German occupation." *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 56 No. 5 (2020): 669-671.

[33] Karcher, "A National Socialist school for Norway," 671.

[34] "Arbeidstjeneste for Norge," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [NS-Oslo] (Nov. 1941): 243, 245-246.

[35] Karcher, "A National Socialist school for Norway," 671.

[36] See especially Lars Borgersud and Inge Bjørnar Eriksen, *Sabotører i vest: sa-*

botasjeorganisjasjonen på Vestlandet 1940-1945 (Bergen: Bodoni Forlag, 2015).

[37] Oscar J. Falnes, *National Romanticism in Norway* (1933; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1968), 123-124.

[38] "Statsstyret i Norge," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [NS-Oslo] (Oct. 1942): 169-170; "Den 17 mai," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (May-June 1943): 120; "1. mai," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (May-June 1942): 126; "Eidsvoll søylen," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Feb. 1945): 49.

[39] Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1995), 64-66.

[40] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. Second Ed. (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2010), 27.

[41] Sigrid Undset, "Vi står på felles grunn, "*Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (March 1942): 57-59; Halvdan Koht, "Nordmennene i Amerika," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (April 1942): 90-92; Sigrid Undset, "Nytt år 1944," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Jan. 1944): 2-3.

[42] Toralv Kandahl, "Interview med statsministeren," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (May 1942): 111; C. J. Hambro, "Niende April, Tale i sjømannskirken i Brooklyn," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (April 1942): 83; Torolv Kandahl, "C. J. Hambro 60 år," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Dec. 1944): 306.

[43] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72. No. 3 (Summer 1993): 34. In his article, Huntington cites H. D. S. Greenway, an American journalist who coined the term "kin-country" syndrome. The phenomenon occurs when groups or states belonging to one civilization become involved in a war with people from a different civilization and try to rally support from other members of their own civilization.

[44] Laura Hilton, "Cultural Nationalism in Exile: The Case of Polish and Latvian Displaced Persons" *The Historian*, Vol. 71 No. 2 (Summer 2009): 286.

[45] C. J. Hambro, "Til Kongens 70 årsdag," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (July 1942): 169; Ingeborg Barth, "Jageren 'King Haakon VII' skjenket Norge," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Oct. 1942): 257-259; *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, compiled with special material and explanatory notes by Samuel I. Rosenman, vol. 11, 1942: *Humanity on the Defensive* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950), 377-378; "Hilsen fra Kongen," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Jan. 1944): 1.

[46] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, 90-93.

[47] See Daron W. Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic: Emigration and the Building of a Greater Norway, 1860-1945* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 195-200. "Merchant Fleet Wins Praise of Norway Envoy" *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN) December 2, 1941.

[48] C. J. Hambro, "Vår grunnlovsdag," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (May 1944): 34-36; Johan Nygaardsvold, *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (May 1944): 39; W. Neuman, "Norge er frihet, *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (May 1944): 52-53; Franklin D Roosevelt, letter to *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, Nordmanns-Forbundet [Grand Forks] (May 1944): 27; King Haakon VII, *Nordmanns-*

Forbundet [Grand Forks] (May 1944): 25.

[49] Dahl, *Quisling*, 211; "Livslengde og barnetall," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Feb. 1943): 31-34. Tordis Bergquist Andresen, "Kvinnelig Arbeidstjeneste," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Jan. 1942): 3-4.

[50] Andresen, "Kvinnelig Arbeidstjeneste," 4.

[51] For example, see "Et kapitel slutt," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (May-June 1942): 110-111; "Den norske kirke i Amerika er 100 år." *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (March 1943): 60-62; "St. Olaf college 70 år," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Oct. 1944): 187-188; "Det største bygdelag," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Nov. 1944): 224; "Sønner av Norge," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Jan. 1945): 5-6.

[52] "Nytt statsstyre i Norge," 25-27.

[53] Nicola Karcher, "A National Socialist school for Norway: concepts of Nazification during the German occupation." *Paedagogica Historica* Vol. 56 No. 5 (2020): 663.

[54] Lovoll, *Celebrating a Century*, 88.

[55] Støren, "Det nye år," 2; "Statsstyret i Norge," 169-170; "Ministerpresident Quisling," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Feb. 1944): 46-47; "Det nye år," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Oslo-NS] (Jan. 1945): 26.

[56] C. J. Hambro, *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (Dec. 1941): 193-194. Undset, "Vi står på felles grunn," 58-59.

[57] Dr. Edvard Hambro, "Interview med utenriksministeren," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (April 1943): 83-85; Worm-Müller, "Nordmanns-Forbundet," 4-5; Einar Lund, "Norsk og amerikansk," Nordmanns-Forbundet [Grand Forks] (Nov. 1942): 276; "En takk til Amerika," Nordmanns-Forbundet (Sept. 1945): 310. For a full explanation of the development of the Greater Norway concept, see Daron W. Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic*.

[58] Catherine Frost, *Morality and Nationalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 175-176.

[59] Marcus Nicolson, "'Leave a Light on for Scotland': Examining Cosmopolitan Nationalism in Scotland," in *Contesting Cosmopolitan Europe: Euroscepticism, Crisis and Borders*, eds., James Foley and Umut Korkut (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022), 131-133, 137-138.

[60] Preeta Nilesh, "Norway and World War II: Invasion, Occupation, Liberation." *Proceedings of the Indian History Conference* Vol. 73 (2012): 1121.

[61] Johan Borgen – Store norske leksikon Microsoft Word - 141109 Komplett master-mac2.docx Accessed March 2, 2025.

[62] Johan Borgen, "Forgiftning," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* [Grand Forks] (February 1945): 40-42.

[63] William W. Hagen, "Before the 'Final Solution': Toward a Comparative Analysis of Political Anti-Semitism in Interwar Germany and Poland," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (June 1996): 378-379.

[64] Borgen, "Forgiftning," 41.

[65] Ministry of Local Government and Modernization, "Action plan against antisemitism 2021-2023—a continuation" (Government of Norway, 2021), 15.

[66] Robinson, *Bishop of the Resistance*, 120-121.
[67] Annette H. Storeide, "Local and Transnational Memories of WWII in a Transnational Age: the Case of Norway," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society,* Vol. 32 (2019): 463.
[68] Storeide, "Local and Transnational Memories," 464-465.
[69] Jan Heiret, "Hva kan vi vite om det norske holocaust?," *Historisk tidsskrift* Vol 82 no. 1 (2023): 7-8.
[70] Bjarte Bruland, "Norway's Role in the Holocaust." Chapter in *The Routledge History of the Holocaust*, edited by Jonathan C. Friedman (London: Routledge Publishers, 2010), 236-237.
[71] Ole Kristian Grimnes, *Norge under andre verdenskrig*, 364-365.
[72] Hans Fredrik Dahl, *De store ideologienes tid, 1914-1955*, in *Norsk idéhistorie*, 265-267; Dahl, Hagtvet, and Hjeltnes, *Den norske nasjonalismen*, 98-102, and esp. the color inserts between 176 and 177.
[73] See Daron W. Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic*, 221-224; Dahl, *De store ideologienes tid, 1914-1955*, 354-371, 410-411; Interview by author with Øystein Sørensen, Professor of History, Historisk Institutt, University of Oslo, in Oslo, 18 February 2004. For a treatment of how *Nordmanns-Forbundet* promoted a greater Norway, see Odd S. Lovoll, "A Greater Norway," *The Norseman* (1: 2007): 6-31.

"It's hard to stop a Trane": A Case Study of Norwegian-American Ingenuity and Identity

Ann Marie Legreid

"It's hard to stop a Trane" is the story of an entrepreneurial family in the American Midwest whose roots rest in Norway. Their ingenuity in heating and cooling technologies is summarized as a pretext to examining their dual consciousness as Norwegians and Americans. The Trane story is told with comparisons to another Midwestern family, the Adolf Gundersens, also of Norwegian heritage. The Gundersens pioneered group medical practice in the U.S. and provided medical services to a broad patient base in the Midwest, with special importance to the Norwegian American community. Both families established their services in La Crosse, Wisconsin, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and both families pioneered methods and technologies that have had far-reaching impacts transcendent of ethnic and national boundaries.

Immigrant identities

An immigrant's identity is multi-faceted, dynamic, and socially constructed within a historical timeframe and process. Ethnic identities, like personal identities, operate on a sliding scale and never develop within a vacuum. Identity develops within the process of adaptation to a host society and in response to both internal and external forces, changing through the process of acculturation. It is complex and malleable, responding to changing societal and personal conditions. More specifically, ethnic identity is shaped by the mingling of historical memories, values, and traditions from the home country, interactions with other immigrant groups, and the

myriad influences in a transnational context. Individuals respond to these internal and external forces in varied ways and with a range of outcomes, that is, from strongly overt ethnic expressions to those that are more subdued or not visible at all.

The immigrant generation is generally characterized by primordialist or natural expressions of ethnicity as evidenced by such things as the ethnic language, folk music, and traditional foods. Second and subsequent generations are more commonly characterized by constructivist or contrived expressions of ethnicity. Ethnic celebrations, for example, become constructivist through time, a hybrid of American and Old World preferences and traditions. Similarly, personal identities can contain elements of constructivist ethnicity influenced by a wide range of cultural and personal factors.[1]

Assimilation theorists have studied and demonstrated the importance of European traditions on the development of American identities.[2] Jon Gjerde's work on immigrant settlement and adjustment provided new ways of looking at histories and theories of identity formation, addressing both national and ethnic identifications.[3] He proposed "complementary identities" or dual consciousness as a description of the identities he saw in the rural Midwest. Rather than a melted common identity, conflict between American and European settlers produced complex, multiple, sometimes contradictory, conceptions of identity. In that respect, he noted differences between and within American and European communities. European communities were characterized by more conservative, ethnicized conceptions of identity, and the American more liberal and individualized. A common thread in the literature is the complexity of the transnational, societal, and personal forces that influenced the formation of these identities.[4]

"National identity" is generally broken into ethnic and civic, the former based on identification with bloodlines and traditions and the latter on common laws and principles. "Personal identity" may have an ethnic component, sometimes very strong, combined with other factors such as gender, family, culture, and individual socialization. Scholars have also recognized "relational identities,"

those that come into play in our relations to others, either inside or outside of our group. Psychologists note that ethnicity can be central to self-concept and identity. They have studied ethnic identity as a process of exploration, resolution, and affirmation, noting that identity changes during the process of acculturation. Psychologists also note the importance of social context in identity development, and contextual factors in ethnic identity retention. A common thread in these studies is the recognition that the relationship of ethnic identity to acculturation is complex and that these concepts need to be studied using numerous overlapping indicators.[5]

The Trane story: immigrant entrepreneur

The Trane story begins in Målselv Parish, Troms, Norway with a young printer, Rasmus Michael Trane, and his wife, Christiane Semine Berg Heggelund, and their three children. They were domiciled at Forhaabningshaug, Målselv Parish, with Rasmus listed as a young farmer on property that was heavily cultivated and hosted numerous sheep, a few cows, and a horse. Three young émigrés originally from the parish wrote glowing letters home to their families causing the America fever to flare early and vigorously in this region. From the 1860s sail ships picked up passengers from Trondheim to Tromsø to transport to the New World with many joining the exodus from Troms.[6]

Rasmus Michael Trane and his family left Norway in 1864 as shown in the Målselv Parish emigrant register.[7] Rasmus and Christiane were accompanied by their three sons, Jens/James, seven years, Nicolai, five years, and Ernst two. After sailing eight to ten weeks by sail ship across the Atlantic, they entered the Midwest from New York City, eventually settling on a small farm in western Wisconsin, not far from La Crosse. There Jens/James and his brothers worked the family farm and grew to young adulthood. Not content to turn the soil, Jens/James left the family farm at age 14 to seek his fortunes in nearby La Crosse where he apprenticed with the W. A. Roosevelt Company working as a plumber and steam pipefitter, thus learning the basics of plumbing engineering. Following his apprenticeship, he worked as a journeyman in La Crosse

until he opened his own business in 1886. He was united in marriage to Mary (nee Miller) of Brownsville, Minnesota, a woman of German and Methodist Episcopal background. Their marriage produced a son and three daughters, Susan, Jessie, Reuben, and Stella. Reuben, was born in 1886, the same year James opened his Trane plumbing firm on Pearl Street in downtown La Crosse, not far from the docks on the Mississippi River. La Crosse at that time was a bustling river city, fast growing, host to steady steamboat traffic, and an emerging commercial hub. Chartered in 1856, La Crosse grew by leaps and bounds with the lumber trade which relied heavily on water transportation. The steady influx of immigrants, combined with a strong commercial base, provided an ideal business site for a budding young entrepreneur.[8]

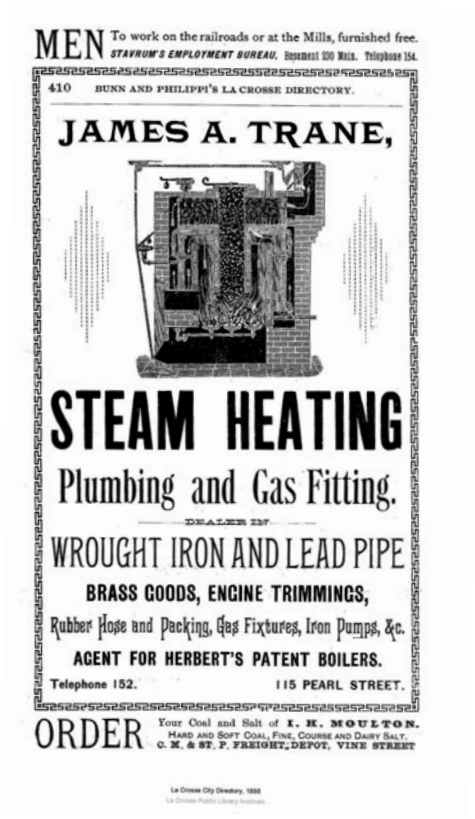
La Crosse, Wisconsin, 1873. Contributor: George H. Ellsbury, Milwaukee Lith. And Engineering Co., U.S. Library of Congress, Digital "Cities and Towns" Collection. (No copyright issues)

James demonstrated a bold entrepreneurial spirit in the La Crosse community, growing his business with a combination of hard work, mechanical knowhow, and marketing genius. He was described in the local newspaper as having "an enviable reputation as a workman, which is verified by his excellent business." [9]

Trane Plumbing Company, 118 Pearl Street, La Crosse, Wisconsin. Courtesy of the La Crosse Public Library Archives.

Norwegians in La Crosse constituted a sizable share of his clientele, but he did not limit his services to Norwegian Americans. He advertised broadly and aggressively, almost daily in the regional newspaper, *La Crosse Tribune*, and built a broad clientele from across the greater La Crosse community. His brother, Ernest, worked with James in the family business, while the third brother, Nicholas, also became an engineer and resided in St. Paul, Minnesota.[10]

Young Reuben worked with his father in the plumbing business after graduating from high school, and saved his earnings to fund engineering studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Reuben studied mechanical engineering and upon completion of his degree in 1910, he worked for a time with a Milwaukee machine tools firm, learning the business end of industrial production. He then re-joined his father in the plumbing business in La Crosse, where they changed the direction of their company from plumbing to heating. James had invented the low-pressure vapor heating system and was eager to market his new product. In 1913, with a cap-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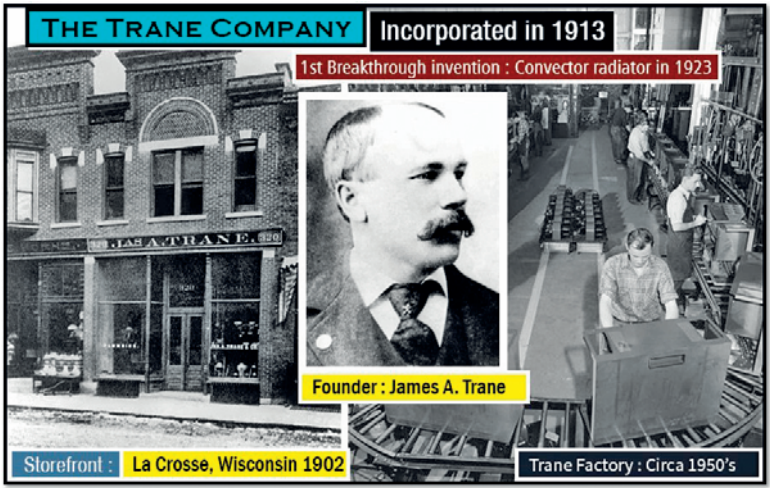
La Crosse City Directory, 1888

Trane Ad, La Crosse City Directory, 1888, 410. La Crosse Public Library Digital Archive, Courtesy of the La Crosse Public Library Archives.

italization of $20,000, and a half dozen employees, father and son incorporated the Trane Company. In 1916 they moved to Sixth Street in La Crosse, discontinued all plumbing activities, and concentrated on the production of the vapor heating system, specifically steam radiator traps and valves. Within three years they had outgrown their facility on Sixth Street, built a factory at Second Street and Cameron, and grown to 40 employees. Norwegian Americans were among the employees of the Trane Company, but they did not dominate the company's work force. La Crosse was home to a large number of Germans, Dutch, and other west Europeans and Old American workers, and the employment profile of the Trane Company was ethnically mixed from its earliest years.[11]

In 1925 Reuben Trane introduced a novel approach to industrial design and production, an approach that became the company's cornerstone, "human engineering," i.e., a student training program at the La Crosse location geared to graduates recruited from the strongest engineering programs in North America, e.g., MIT, University of Wisconsin, Virginia Polytech, Michigan State, and Georgia Tech. Students were given detailed technical knowledge of Trane products as well as instruction on their applications. They received additional training as sales engineers in the company's field offices. Utilizing top talent was a part of his long-range plan for the company, to always aim for the cutting edge in engineering and business practices.[12] He was clearly motivated by the intellectual skill around him, and "worked along with his engineers, often sitting at a drawing board hours at a time while he worked out his own ideas for solving problems." [13] Reuben wrote: "If the choice were mine, I'd rather lose my business…but keep my engineers together." [14] In those early years Trane was clearly a family affair, with Reuben as President and General Manager of the firm; his



The Trane Company, incorporated in 1913, La Crosse, Wisconsin. Courtesy of the La Crosse Public Library Archives.

father, James, as First Vice President; and his brother-in-law, Frank Hood, as Treasurer.[15]

Growth of the Trane Company

Cold Wisconsin winters and World War I provided a combination of favorable conditions for growth of the company. Homes as well as military barracks and war-time factories were ready markets for the new vapor heating systems. In 1923 Reuben invented the "convector radiator" which he called "a heat cabinet" with a fin-and-tube coil, a new system for heat transfer known to be highly efficient in the dissipation of heat. It was quiet and lightweight in comparison to the older, noisy, and bulky cast iron radiators. Markets around the world eagerly absorbed the new concept in heating. In the post-World War I era, Frank Hood, brother-in-law of Reuben, became the director, assistant general manager, and treasurer of the Trane Company. His vision and skill developed financial policies that propelled the company forward for decades to come, achieving success in some of the toughest international markets.[16]

Business boomed in the 1920s and by 1930 the company erected a new, much larger factory at Sixteenth Street and Bennett in La Crosse. The Depression brought stresses and strains to the company, but loyal employees remained with the firm, and undeterred and obviously excited by the challenge, the father-son team pressed on with new, innovative ideas. The company began producing fans during the Depression, for example, intended mainly for Trane's own central station heating and ventilation systems.[17]

In 1931 Reuben found that his fin-and-tube coil system for heating could also be used for cooling, extracting heat from the air. Thus, in the depths of the Great Depression, the Trane air conditioning industry emerged. For the company, it would become a game-changer. The Tranes put their company into the production of reciprocating and centrifugal refrigeration compressors, specifically, the Turbovac water chiller in 1938, the forerunner of the CenTraVac large commercial air conditioning system. James Trane, founding father of the company, died in 1936, but not before seeing

his company make giant strides in product innovation, with a global presence in both heating and cooling technologies.[18]

With World War II, the Trane Company turned its full attention to production for the war effort, employing at that time 1,500 in its La Crosse plant. Reuben Trane, active in the Liberty Loan campaign, was known to work long hours alongside his company engineers, intent on solving problems, bringing new ideas to fruition on the "home front." Trane engineers developed a method of brazing thin sheets of aluminum to make military aircraft lighter by one-third at half the cost of former production. "Other war projects included development and production of the first all-aluminum aircraft radiator for liquid cooled engines; and equipment to help prevent ice formation on wings, cool plane cabins, distill sea water for drinking, along with regular heating, cooling and ventilating equipment for ships and war plants." [19]

After the war, Reuben pioneered the invention of mechanical refrigeration for railroad freight cars, experimenting with the Santa Fe Railroad to carry assorted perishables including frozen foods. The 1950s saw the company expand into other facets of air conditioning, i.e., passenger cars, trucks, and buses, and truck-trailer refrigerated vehicles. The company moved into the atomic age by providing heat exchangers needed to harness atomic energy for power, first supplying the Hanford, Washington, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee, plants. In 1954 the company dedicated its new Trane Research and Testing Laboratory, also known as the House of Weather Magic, with focus on the future role of Trane in atomic energy. They also entered the space race, providing technology to the lunar rover in the 1970s.[20] The Trane philosophy has been to stay in tune with societal trends and human needs.

In the company's early years Reuben Trane and brother-in-law Frank Hood were visionary in their plans for international markets. They led the way in establishing dozens of branch offices and factories within and outside of the U.S.; by 1927, there were 23 offices in the U.S. supplemented by offices in London, Tokyo and Shanghai, and factories in the U.S. and Canada. By 1945 there were 66 Trane offices in the U.S. with 200 sales engineers and their early

global presence had expanded greatly. Each branch office was staffed with top-notch engineers with training in sales, graduates of Reuben's training program in La Crosse. From a capital investment of $20,000 and a few dozen employees in 1913, the company grew to $45 million in sales by the mid-1950s. Unlike most of its competitors, the company did not install equipment, but focused on innovation, testing, production, and marketing; installation was left to architects and contractors.[21] In 1982 Trane acquired the Central Air Conditioning Division of General Electric and in 1984 it acquired American Standard Inc. American Standard subsequently broke up and in 2008 Trane became a subsidiary of Ireland-based Ingersoll-Rand. Acquisition and merger resulted in the creation of Trane Technologies in 2020, combining Trane with ThermoKing, now with headquarters in Dublin, Ireland. The company reports 29,000 employees in 28 countries with products sold in about 100 countries.[22]

Trane Technologies stands tall as a global giant in heating and cooling technologies to the present day, with annual sales exceeding $8 billion, and more than 20 manufacturing locations around the world. In recent years it has become a leader in renewable energy projects and energy conservation. The Channel Tunnel or "Chunnel" between Folkestone, England and Coquelles, France is cooled by Trane, the largest cooling system in the world. Trane technology also cools the Kremlin and other well-known structures such as the Statue of Liberty, Washington Monument, SeaWorld, the World Trade Center in China, and the Athens Olympic Sports Complex.[23] Still strongly associated with La Crosse, Wisconsin, Trane remains one of America's great success stories for both its technical genius and business finesse. Their motto has been quoted and promoted for decades: *"It's hard to stop a Trane."*

The Trane Company blossomed as the result of a brilliant combination of human engineering, business finesse, entrepreneurial spirit, and mechanical ingenuity. James and Reuben were innovator-engineers and, between them, they filed 30 U.S. patents. Since its inception in 1913, the Trane Company has designed, tested, manufactured, and strategically marketed its own products. Led by

the Trane family and staffed by expert engineers and marketers, Trane technologies are utilized throughout the world.[24]

Reuben Trane, described as "a genius with a vision" by George Hoel, a former employee, died in 1954 at the age of 67. Former manager of billing, Philip Beckley, remembered him this way: "Reuben stood tall, and was a very fine manager. He knew how to delegate to get things done. He hired good people in key positions, and I believe this is why The Trane Company has been successful." Ed Cline worked in the convector department for many years and remembered Reuben this way: "He was tall, had a husky voice that commanded attention, knew his way around, and he was all engineer, all inventor." [25] A *La Crosse Tribune* article described him as "a renowned civic leader." [26] Committed to education, Reuben Trane endowed engineering scholarships for post-graduate students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and was a charter member and director of the University of Wisconsin Foundation. Many of the company's executive, engineering, and sales personnel have been graduates of the post-graduate program established by Trane.

James M. Ritter provided these insights into Reuben as a company leader: "Until his health prevented it, Mr. Trane was always eager to join the company picnics; he enjoyed the people who worked with him, and even when the company had grown beyond his earlier dreams, he could still call hundreds by their first names. He had worked side by side with many of them, for Mr. Trane could operate any of the machines in his factories and occasionally did so in order to demonstrate a point." [27]

Upon the dedication of the new Trane building in 1954, La Crosse Mayor Ahrens, lauded the contributions of the Trane Company to the La Crosse community: "This company puts money into the pockets of every one of us in La Crosse and the surrounding area. It means jobs and paychecks." ($11 million a year into worker paychecks) "This money goes to the grocer, who spends money with the man at the filling station, who spends money at the drug store, and so on. The barber, beauty operator, department store, restaurant–everybody shares in the business Trane Company payrolls create." [28]

Articles, interviews, and obituaries refer repeatedly to the Norwegian roots of the Trane family. Certainly "word of mouth" built a client base for Trane in the Norwegian-American community, both within and outside of La Crosse, but the company's Norwegian heritage was not overtly marketed to the public. An article in the *La Crosse Tribune* in 1954 noted: "A fact not too commonly known is that the father (James) was a Norwegian." [29] The Tranes actively participated in the La Crosse Chamber of Commerce, YMCA, Badger Lodge of the Masonic Order, the La Crosse Country Club, and numerous other non-ethnic organizations.[30] There is no mention anywhere of participation in Nordic associations such as Sons of Norway or a *bygdelag* or any of the German-American organizations.

The Gundersen story

Trane family identity contrasts in notable ways to that of another prominent La Crosse family, the Gundersens, a family with roots in Åsnes, Solør, Norway. Adolf Gundersen took his medical training at Christiania University (Oslo), and completed his medical degree in 1890. Intent to erase his medical debts, he answered an advertisement in a Norwegian newspaper for a medical doctor needed in La Crosse, Wisconsin, one to assist Christian Christiansen, M.D. Gundersen arrived in La Crosse in 1891 and although he was reticent to remain in the city, which he considered a crude outpost of civilization at the time, he recognized the value of American medical freedom. Moving up through the ranks in medicine would take much longer in Norway than in the American Midwest. Following a trans-Atlantic courtship, Gundersen returned to Norway to marry his Norwegian sweetheart, Helga Sara Isaksaetre, also from Solør, Norway.

Adolf Gundersen was entrepreneurial and visionary in medical practice and established a strongly positive reputation in medical circles. He founded the first *group* medical practice in America, the Gundersen Clinic. He was the first medical director for the Norwegian Lutheran Hospital in La Crosse (1899), and he started the La Crosse Lutheran Hospital Training School for Nurses. "The Ap-

pendectomy Limited", a train running between Minneapolis and La Crosse, unloaded patients near Norwegian Lutheran Hospital where Dr. Gundersen removed inflamed appendices, a pioneer of that surgical treatment. He was among the first to recognize ectopic pregnancies and to advance spinal anesthesia and the treatment of lung diseases.[31]

The Gundersen family was a reminder to Norwegians in the community of the old traditions and social system of their homeland. They were much respected by their fellow countrymen and filled a need for ethnic leadership and identity. The Gundersen medical practice in its first decades was largely a family-run business, intent on helping Norwegian immigrants, shielding them from the perceived excesses of American doctors. Adolf and Helga raised seven sons and a daughter; six of the seven sons practiced medicine (four in La Crosse), and the daughter married into the Midelfort medical family of Eau Claire, Wisconsin. The elder Gundersen advised his doctor sons to "take care of your Norwegian clients." [32]

Helga was a well-educated and experienced teacher prior to marriage and once married she emerged as the center of authority and matriarch of the Gundersen family. Helga cherished and promoted her Norwegian heritage throughout her lifetime. She insisted on visiting their homeland regularly, raising her children in the Norwegian language and culture, and keeping alive the cultural traditions brought from her homeland. As a family they read and studied the Bible and literature in Norwegian. Helga paid her children to learn poems in Norwegian and hired a tutor to prepare those children for study in Norway. She established the Ibsen Club in La Crosse, which met on Friday afternoons for fifty years, and she was deeply involved in philanthropic and social activities in the greater La Crosse area. To local residents Helga was known as Mother Gundersen and Mother Norway, but she preferred the titles Mrs. Gundersen or the Norwegian form, Mrs. Doctor Gundersen.[33]

The Gundersens were enthusiastic hosts throughout the year, but especially during the Christmas season. In 1897 they entertained 48 guests on Christmas Day, "only Norwegians" as Helga

reported to her mother. Their home was a veritable revolving door of guests, a good share of them from Norway and Norwegian America, including distinguished guests such as Roald Amundsen, Fridtjof Nansen, Carl Hambro, and Crown Prince Olav and Princess Märtha of Norway.[34]

The Trane and Gundersen identities

The Tranes and Gundersens shared many commonalities of experience. The founding fathers set-up their first practices in downtown La Crosse in modest accommodations. Both insisted on strict standards for research and practice. They were innovative in methods and technologies, engaged with the broader community in charitable work, and were steered through the decades by well-educated, forward-looking family dynasties. Both families were counted amongst La Crosse's genteel population and came together in various social and civic activities. From the early 1900s a member of the Trane family operated the Trane Tea Room, hosting social events, receptions, and wedding dinners and receptions, clearly catering to La Crosse's socially affluent. When the house closed in the 1950s, it was described as "a legendary place to dine for genteel society." Helga Gundersen loved to host parties and entertain her

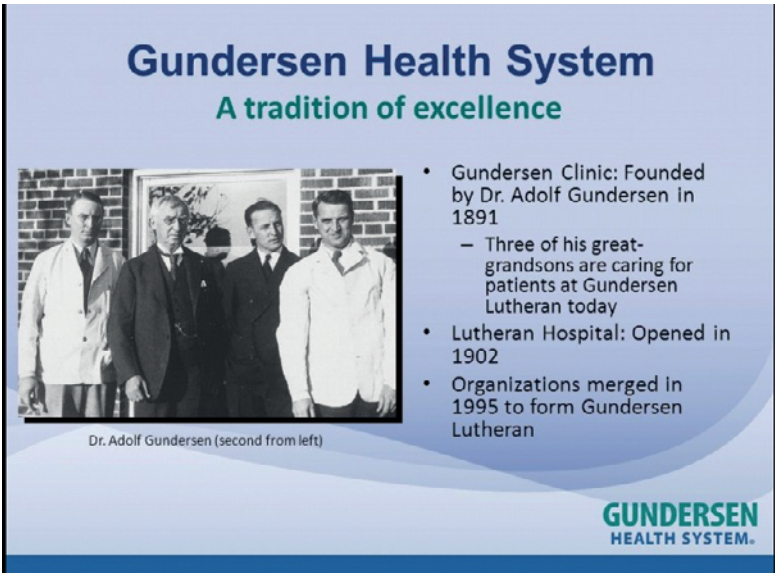
Trane Tea Room, La Crosse, Wisconsin. Courtesy of the La Crosse Public Library Archives.

guests at the Trane Tea Room.[35] In addition to purely social gatherings, these families engaged in philanthropic causes such as the "clean milk campaign" and the La Crosse Home for Children.[36]

The Trane family through its company reached far beyond normal ethnic boundaries; they and their company thrived in a multicultural world, adapting quickly and aggressively to the American business environment. Ethnic roots were not overtly expressed in the Trane industry, but ethnic roots most certainly impacted Trane family identity, particularly in a region permeated by Norwegian views and values. Frank Hood Trane, grandson of the founder, died in 2021; his obituary includes the sentence: "Frank's grandfather had emigrated from Tromsø, Norway in 1864, and with Frank's father (Reuben) incorporated the Trane Company in 1913." [37] Thus, a degree of ethnic consciousness/identity is expressed in the third generation. The Gundersens also thrived in a multi-cultural environment but, somewhat different than the Trane family, the Gundersens were known for their overt and ongoing pride and practice of Norwegian heritage. The Gundersens have maintained a strong sense of ethnic identity through the generations. As one of many examples, the Gundersen farmstead was transitioned into Norskedalen Nature and Heritage Center, an open-air museum of early Norwegian-American life near Coon Valley, south of La Crosse.[38]

Adolf Gundersen, Gundersen Health System, La Crosse, Wisconsin.

Helga Gundersen and children in traditional bunads, Gundersen Health System, La Crosse, Wisconsin.

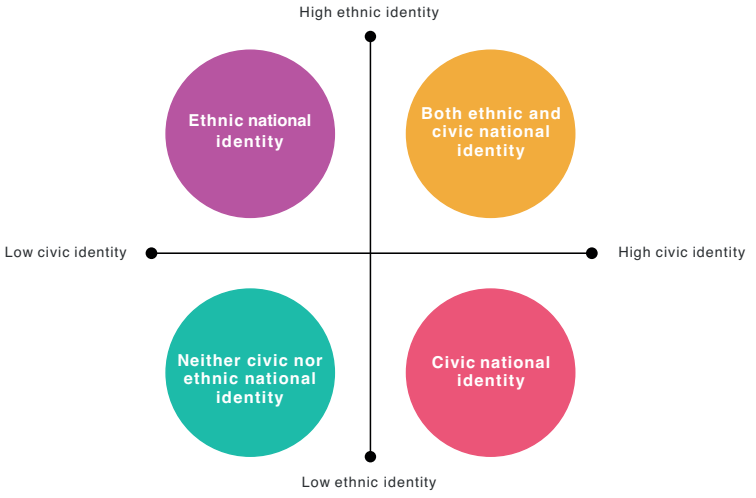


Gundersen Health System, La Crosse, Wisconsin.

National and personal identities

"National identity" can be defined by two dimensions: civic and ethnic, divided into quadrants, i.e., ethnic national identity, both ethnic and civic national identity, neither civic nor ethnic national identity, and civic national identity.[39] From the available evidence, the Gundersens appear to be in the quadrant of high ethnic and high civic identity, whereas the Tranes are in the realm of high civic, but lower ethnic identity. Obituaries of the Tranes and Gundersens note their high levels of civic engagement as well as their philanthropic natures, with many examples of support for charitable, religious, educational, and medical causes.

The founding fathers of the Trane Company each married non-Norwegians, i.e., James married a German-American Episcopalian. Reuben married Helen Katherine Hood, a non-Norwegian Episcopalian, and they raised their three children within Episcopalianism.



"Figure 4.1 The two dimensions of national identity" from Zsolt Kiss and Alison Park, "The concept of national identity" in British Social Attitudes, NatCen Social Research, 31st edition.

All three of Reuben's sisters married men who were non-Norwegian. The Gundersens married primarily within the group in the first and second generations. They also maintained strong and intimate linkages with their home community in Hedmark, Norway, visiting often. There is no evidence that the Trane family made regular visits to Norway, nor did they remain within Lutheranism. Did the ethnic identity of the first generation Tranes give way to second ethnic generation rebellion and third generation rediscovery? What seems feasible is that the Trane's ethnic identity, a hybrid Norwegian and German, diluted their Norwegian ethnic identity across the generations. Ethnic identity retention was obviously strong among the Gundersens. The Gundersen's "Norwegian" identity is well-known even today in the region, whereas few people in the region would associate any ethnic identity with

Trane. The Gundersens were culturally and romantically Norwegian; the Tranes were bi-cultural on the sliding scale of ethnic identity.

Personal identity refers to the self-concept or self-image that people derive from their culture, ethnicity, gender, family, and process of individual socialization.[40] Ethnicity constitutes one dimension of personal identity; it varies from person to person and changes during the process of acculturation. Scholars have distinguished between internal and external aspects of ethnic identity. Internal aspects such as common values and perspectives may not be obvious to the outside observer. External aspects of ethnic identity would be overt expressions of ethnicity such as ethnic foods and festivals. The Tranes engaged to some degree in ethnic socialization with extended family and friends in the La Crosse community. As they moved up the social ladder, they maintained strong Trane family leadership and influence on the Trane Company. "The company" was certainly an integral part of their self-identification. For the Gundersens, the Gundersen Clinic was most certainly a central element in their self- and family identities. We cannot examine mental processes, what happens inside of the human mind, but we can speculate that the Trane family members held some degree of pride in heritage, and that heritage impacted their personal identities. Undoubtedly, their ethnic identities evolved from one generation to the next, changed in response to contextual factors, and continued to play a role in their socialization within the community.

Summary

In summary, the ethnic identities of these two families represent social constructs that evolved from ongoing negotiation with a multi-cultural America. The findings are consistent with Gjerde's model of dualism and complementary identities. Both families expressed pride in ethnic roots, identification with Norway, the Gundersens more deliberate and overt in their ethnic expressions than the Tranes. Both families took an active role in civic affairs and engaged in local and national civic campaigns. The study raises

questions about ethnic identity retention through the generations, and the relationship of ethnic identity retention to contextual factors and acculturation. How did marriage outside of the group impact, perhaps dilute, a sense of Norwegianness? Did religious affiliation outside of Lutheranism diminish ethnic identity? How did social mobility affect the Trane concept of ethnicity? Was it created and re-created at the level of everyday interactions? How did ethnic hybridity impact personal identity? These are questions with complex answers, where research is ongoing and results often ambiguous. Good research requires integrative and correlative approaches, sorting out the overlapping variables to tell a fuller story. To some of these questions, there may never be answers, because the researcher cannot penetrate the minds of those who lived in years past. The Trane and Gundersen entrepreneurs each made significant, lasting, and transnational contributions, far beyond their early endeavors in La Crosse, Wisconsin. Both stories are rich with material to inform us on the Norwegian-American experience while also deserving of a place in the larger literatures on ethnic identity formation and retention.

Notes

[1] Reference to the monograph by psychologist Maykel Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity,* Chapter 3, European Monographs in Social Psychology (New York: Routledge, 2005), 74-90.

[2] For an overview of the history of assimilation theory, see Donna Gabaccia, "Is Everywhere Nowhere? Nomads, Nations, and the Immigrant Paradigm of United States History," *Journal of American History*, v. 86, n. 3 (1999): 1115-1134.

[3] Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997); *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway to the Upper Middle West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[4] Several classic works address identity formation in both rural and urban settings as, for example: John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); and Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Making Their Own America: Assimilation Theory and the German Peasant Pioneer* (Providence, Rhode Island: Berg Publishers, 1990). For a sociologist's perspective, see Ewa Morawska, "The Sociology and Historiography of Immigration," in *Immigration Re-*

considered: History, Sociology, and Politics, ed. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, 187-241 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[5] For examples of this work, see: Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture," *Social Problems,* v. 41, issue 1 (1994): 152-176; J. S. Phinney, "Ethnic Identity and Acculturation" in eds. K. M. Chun, P. Balls Organista, and G. Marin, *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (American Psychological Association, 2003)*,* 63-81. Others have noted the distinction between internal and external aspects of ethnic identity and the variation between ethnic groups in ethnic identity retention through the generations. See, for example: Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Giuliana Colalillo, and Tomoko Makabe, "Ethnic Identity Retention," Research Paper 125 (Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1981).

[6] Målselv sokneprestembete, Ministerialbok nr. 3, Statsarkivet i Tromsø 1853-1863, baptisms 27, 42, 73; Målselv sokneprestembete, Ministerialbok nr. 3, Statsarkivet i Tromsø 1853-1863, weddings 169; Rachel Gibson, "Trane. Ancestors of Jens Alexander Martin Rasmusen Trane," 2018, 1, manuscript at the La Crosse Public Library Archives, La Crosse, Wisconsin.

[7] Målselv sokneprestembete, Ministerialbok nr. 4, Statsarkivet i Tromsø 1863-1872, Inn- og utflyttede, 228. Rasmus Trane died in 1888, and his remains were interred with a Lutheran ceremony in a cemetery near La Crosse, Wisconsin. His widow, Christiane/Kristine, age 76, is listed in their son's household (James and Mary) in the 1900 La Crosse County census.

[8] Gibson, "Ancestors of Jens Alexander Martin Rasmusen Trane," 1; James A. Trane obituary, *La Crosse Tribune,* January 25, 1936, 1. La Crosse City Directories, online 1866-1924, yielded useful information on the Trane family and company. See also, *Historic La Crosse: Architectural and Historic Record* by Joan M. Rausch and Richard H. Zeitlin (La Crosse: Historical Researches, Inc. and Architectural Researches, Inc., prepared for the La Crosse City Planning Department).

[9] *La Crosse Tribune,* July 29, 1910, 31.

[10] Gibson, "Trane. Ancestors of Jens Alexander Martin Rasmusen Trane," 1-2.

[11] James M. Ritter, "History of the Trane Company," manuscript, La Crosse Public Library Archives, 1984, 1.

[12] Reuben Trane's "human engineering" approach is mentioned in numerous sources as, for example, *La Crosse Tribune,* April 24, 1927, 13; *La Crosse Tribune,* September 7, 1954, 1; and *La Crosse Tribune,* April 28, 1946, 9.

[13] James M. Ritter, "The History of a Person. Reuben N. Trane," manuscript at the La Crosse Public Library Archives, 1993, 4.

[14] *La Crosse Tribune*, September 7, 1954, 1.

[15] *La Crosse Tribune*, April 24, 1927, 13.

[16] Trane Technologies, "Our History," https://www.tranetechnologies.com/en/index/our-story.html and James Ritter, "History of the Trane Company," 1-4.

[17] James M. Ritter, "History of the Trane Company," 1. See also, Mick Schwedler, Eric Sturm, and Jeanne Harshaw, "100 Years of Trane History: An Applications Engineering Perspective," *The Trane Engineers Newsletter,* v. 42, n.1, 2013.

[18] James M. Ritter, "History of the Trane Company," 1.

[19] James M. Ritter, "The History of a Person. Reuben N. Trane," 4.

[20] James M. Ritter, "The History of a Person. Reuben N. Trane," 2-4. The Trane Company publication, *Weather Magic,* includes a summary of the growth of the company up through 1945, including floor space, sales, and branch office locations, "The Story of Trane," 1945.

[21] "Biographical information on Reuben N. Trane, President of the Trane Company", prepared by Campbell-Mithun, Inc., August 4, 1954 and revised August 10, 1954, page 6, held in the La Crosse Public Library Archives.

[22] "For over a century, Trane has seen more than the building. We've seen opportunities to build life," from the Trane Company website; and "Trane" from Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trane

[23] "Famous Trane Buildings" from *Wayback Machine.* Trane Archives, December 2007.

[24] Trane is not mentioned in the classic work by Kenneth Bjork, *Saga in Steel and Concrete: Norwegian Engineers in America* (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1947). Laurann Gilbertson provided a one-page summary," James and Reuben Trane," in *Vesterheim,* 18, no. 2 (2020): 20.

[25] "Reuben N. Trane…his industrious vision endures," *Trane Triangle* (La Crosse: Trane Company Publication, Fall 1997), 4.

[26] *La Crosse Tribune*, August 14, 1951, 4.

[27] James M. Ritter, "The History of a Person. Reuben N. Trane," 6.

[28] *La Crosse Tribune,* "Dedicates New Trane Building," May 24, 1954, 1.

[29] *La Crosse Tribune,* September 30, 1954, 18.

[30] James M. Ritter, "The History of a Person. Reuben N. Trane," 5-6.

[31] Susan T. Hessel, *Medicine: The Gundersen Experience, 1891-1991* (La Crosse, Wisconsin: Gundersen Clinic, 1991), 1-20. Adolf Gundersen (1865 – 1938) passed away unexpectedly while visiting his eldest son on the family farm in Norway. Helga Gundersen, born 1867, passed away in 1951.

[32] Hessel, *Medicine: The Gundersen Experience,* 16.

[33] Hessel, *Medicine: The Gundersen Experience,* 31-42.

[34] Hessel, *Medicine: The Gundersen Experience,* 38.

[35] Anita Doering, "Trane Tea Room Hosted La Crosse Society," manuscript at the La Crosse Public Library Archives, 2014.

[36] Ritter, "The History of a Person. Reuben N. Trane," 6.

[37] Obituary of Frank Hood Trane, *La Crosse Tribune,* January 13, 2021. Frank Hood Trane is interred with other family members in the Trane-Hood Mausoleum in Oak Grove Cemetery, 1407 La Crosse Street, La Crosse, Wisconsin.

[38] Refer to the Norskedalen website: www.norskedalen.org

[39] Zsolt Kiss and Alison Park, "The concept of national identity" in British Social Attitudes, NatCen Social Research, 31st edition.

[40] These concepts are discussed at length in Stella Ting-Toomey and Tenzin Dorjee, *Communicating Across Cultures,* 2nd ed., Chapter 4 – "Immigrants' Acculturation Process and Intergroup Contacts" (New York: Guilford Press, 2019), 101-134.

Beyond the Ethnic Colony: Syttende Mai in Whitewater, Wisconsin, 1880-1940

Trond Espen Teigen Bjoland

Abstract
This essay examines the celebration of Norway's Constitution Day in Whitewater, Wisconsin, between 1880 and 1940. While much of the existing research on Norway's Constitution Day in America has focused on communities with significant Norwegian-American populations, this study analyzes how these celebrations transpired in a community with a relatively small Norwegian-American presence. The analysis reveals both similarities and differences when comparing the Whitewater celebrations to those in communities with larger Norwegian-American populations. This way, it demonstrates how local conditions shaped cultural practices in immigrant communities, including those tied to ethnic celebration. By comparing celebratory practices across different types of communities, the essay emphasizes the need for further research into the experiences of Norwegian Americans who resided outside of typical ethnic colonies, suggesting that such an approach would offer new insights into the complex social dynamics of migration and cultural identity.

Introduction

On 17 May 1931, a group of twenty-nine individuals convened at a private residence in Whitewater, Wisconsin to commemorate Norway's Constitution Day. The event featured a selection of Norwegian cuisine, and the venue was accordingly decorated with Norwegian flags. Throughout the afternoon, attendees engaged in the

singing of Norwegian songs, and young women wearing traditional costumes performed Norwegian folk dances. Such celebrations were not unusual in communities of substantial Norwegian-American populations. In the small town of Whitewater, however, Norwegian Americans made up only a modest minority. The commemoration therefore reflected both Norwegian and American cultural traditions. In addition to Norwegian flags, the American national emblem was also displayed as part of the decorations, and the program culminated with the singing of "America."[1]

In previous research, studies concerning ethnic celebration in the United States have predominantly focused on ethnic colonies or enclaves where the examined demographic constituted a significant presence. For example, scholars have concentrated on Italian-American festivals in New York, German-American festivals in Milwaukee, and Japanese-American celebrations in California.[2] This trend is also identifiable in the field of Norwegian-American history, where scholars often have focused on small towns or rural communities characterized by a significant concentration of Norwegian-American residents.[3] Additionally, historians have, to some extent, directed their attention towards ethnic celebrations in larger urban communities with considerable Norwegian-American populations, including Chicago and the twin cities of Minneapolis-St. Paul.[4] These settlements have housed sizeable Norwegian-American communities, and interesting results can be found through studies of celebrations in these ethnic colonies.[5]

This essay, however, concentrates on a different type of settlement. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Whitewater was not particularly characterized by the presence of Norwegian-born migrants or their descendants. The settlement was founded by internal migrants from the New England region in 1837, and international migrants from various parts of Europe settled in the community over the following decades.[6] Thus, by studying the Norwegian Constitution Day in Whitewater, it is possible to investigate the development of ethnic celebration in a community where Norwegian Americans constituted a relatively small minority. The following research question has therefore been for-

mulated for this study: "How did Norwegian Americans in Whitewater, Wisconsin, celebrate Norway's Constitution Day between 1880 and 1940, and how did this differ from celebrations in communities with larger Norwegian-American populations?" The time frame was chosen because it encompasses an interesting and relevant period in local and national history. Whitewater experienced considerable demographic changes during this period, and the larger societal conditions for expressing ethnic affiliation, for instance through ethnic celebration, were changing in the period.[7]

The commemoration of Norway's Constitution Day, commonly referred to as *Syttende Mai*¸ serves as a main example of ethnic celebration in this essay. These celebrations mark the anniversary of the signing of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814 and are regarded as the most significant annual ethnic celebration associated with Norwegian Americans as an ethnic group.[8] Other forms of ethnic celebration, such as the 1925 centennial that commemorated the beginning of organized migration from Norway to America, received comparatively less recognition among Whitewater residents. The essay therefore concentrates on celebrations tied to Norway's Constitution Day between 1880 and 1940, and it reveals both similarities and differences when comparing Whitewater's celebrations to those in communities with larger Norwegian-American populations. For instance, while celebrations in various types of communities played important roles in the preservation and adaptation of cultural traditions, the Whitewater celebrations stand out as relatively exclusive ethnic events compared to the more inclusive community festivals found in some communities with larger Norwegian-American populations. Consequently, the essay suggests that future research could benefit from a broader exploration of the experiences of international migrants who resided outside of typical ethnic colonies or enclaves. Such a shift in focus could enhance our understanding of how local conditions, including settlement patterns and population composition, influenced the evolution of cultural traditions, including practices tied to ethnic celebration.

Being an in-depth case study, the essay especially concentrates on the local community of Whitewater. However, its objectives ex-

tend beyond the confines of this specific community, as it also aims to explore potential differences between different types of communities. To achieve this broader aim, the essay consults earlier research regarding the purpose and function of ethnic celebration. Historian Ellen M. Litwicki, among others, views ethnicity and other forms of collective identity as socially constructed rather than primordial. Public holidays and commemorations, according to Litwicki, serve as significant sites of this process of invention, with international migrants and their descendants creating ethnic identities through ethnic celebration.[9] Similarly, historian April Schultz asserts that celebrations represent significant sites where meaning is constructed or reaffirmed. Schultz characterizes ethnic celebrations as intricate and continuous dialogues that are part of the broader construction and reconstruction of cultural identities.[10] Furthermore, she argues that the construction of Norwegian-American identities in the early twentieth century was "not a homogenous identity invented and accepted by a homogenous group."[11] Norwegian Americans resided in various types of local communities, with some residing in ethnic enclaves surrounded by ethnic institutions and others inhabiting regions with minimal Norwegian-American presence. Consequently, the purposes and functions of ethnic celebrations, as well as the development of ethnic identities, could differ among residents of different settlement types.[12] The celebration of the Norwegian Constitution Day could therefore play an important role in the creation and recreation of Norwegian-American identities, potentially playing different roles in Whitewater compared to other types of local communities.

Focusing on the celebration of Norway's Constitution Day in Minneapolis-St. Paul, historian David Mauk has identified that these events served several functions. Firstly, they contributed to the preservation of a common cultural heritage, fostering a sense of community that distinguished Norwegian Americans from other ethnic groups and the broader society.[13] Secondly, the celebrations encompassed assertions regarding the group's contributions to the United States and the compatibility of Norwegian and American traditions, with the aim of illustrating that Norwegian Americans

had found their rightful place in American society. Additionally, according to Mauk, the Norwegian Constitution Day has been an important site for Norwegian-American leaders to construct a public reputation for their group, shape opinions in both Norway and the United States, and reinforce the group's ties and status in both countries.[14]

Building on the insights of Litwicki, Schultz, and Mauk, among others, this essay explores how Norwegian Americans celebrated the Norwegian Constitution Day in Whitewater, a community where Norwegian immigrants constituted a relatively modest minority. The essay is divided into two main sections. The first provides a chronological overview of the *Syttende Mai* celebrations in Whitewater from 1880 to 1940. The second section adopts a comparative approach, contrasting Whitewater's observances with those in communities where Norwegian Americans formed a larger portion of the local population. This structure allows for an investigation into the development of *Syttende Mai* celebrations in Whitewater, while also providing insights into how the experiences of Norwegian Americans as a local minority shaped their cultural practices in comparison to those in more sizable Norwegian-American communities.

Syttende Mai in Whitewater

Whitewater was established as a settlement in 1837, and its population grew steadily during the following decades. Between 1880 and 1940, the settlement's population ranged from 3,215 and 4,359.[15] Although it initially consisted largely of internal migrants from the New England region, Whitewater also attracted international migrants, primarily from Ireland, Germany, Norway, and England. Norwegian-born migrants began settling in the area in the 1840s, and by 1900 their population had reached 107, constituting 3.1 percent of the settlement's total population. The number of Norwegian-born residents declined over the subsequent decades, with only 27 individuals–less than one percent–recorded as Norwegian-born in the 1940 census.[16] In addition to these foreign-born migrants, about one-third of Whitewater's residents in the early

twentieth century had foreign-born parents. The exact number of American-born residents of Norwegian parentage has not been available, but it is reasonable to assume that they outnumbered the Norwegian-born population.[17] Thus, even though Norwegian Americans never formed a large proportion of Whitewater's overall population, a notable number lived there between 1880 and 1940.

Despite this demographic presence, local newspapers did not accord significant attention to the Norwegian Constitution Day during the nineteenth century. On some occasions, Whitewater newspapers reported on celebrations occurring in other locations, but there is no indication to suggest that *Syttende Mai* was commemorated within the city's borders. For instance, in 1883, *The Whitewater Register* explicitly noted the absence of a public celebration in the local community, stating, "The 17th of May, the Norwegian 4th of July, was celebrated with no little display at Madison and some other places, but Whitewater was not among them."[18] As such, newspaper accounts from the nineteenth century reflect a limited enthusiasm for organizing public events on the Norwegian Constitution Day in Whitewater, despite sporadically acknowledging that the day was observed in other communities.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Norwegian Constitution Day received greater coverage in local newspapers. On several occasions during the 1890s, it was reported that residents of Whitewater participated in events held in other cities, such as Beloit.[19] The language employed in local newspapers during this period suggests that the day had gained wider recognition among its readers. While earlier accounts provided brief explanations of the day's significance, such as likening it to America's Independence Day, reports in the 1890s made more casual references to the event, such as "the Norwegian anniversary."[20] This suggests that the population of Whitewater had become more familiar with the Norwegian Constitution Day, despite the fact that public events were still not widely observed in the local community.

Beginning in 1912, public celebrations on the Norwegian Constitution Day were organized in Whitewater and the surrounding area.[21] These events were predominantly arranged by religious so-

cieties or in partnership with Norwegian-American Lutheran congregations.[22] From the 1880s and onwards, Norwegian Lutheran churches in Whitewater, Heart Prairie, Skoponong, and Sugar Creek were united under a single pastorate.[23] Given their proximity to one another, events held in one location often drew attendees from the others. Accordingly, the *Syttende Mai* celebration in Skoponong in 1912, which was spearheaded by a local Willing Workers' Society and held at the Skoponong Church, also involved the Whitewater community. *The Whitewater Register* reported that the celebration featured Norwegian music and songs, including the National Anthem of Norway.[24] The incorporation of these elements is indicative of a desire to preserve a common cultural heritage among Norwegian Americans in the area.[25]

The main address delivered at the 1912 Skoponong celebration was given in English by Reverend N. G. A. Garness. Garness, whose parents had emigrated from the Hordaland region of Norway, was born in Iowa and served as the pastor of the united pastorate between 1907 and 1920.[26] Following the speech and the general program, attendees were served ice cream and cake. Despite ice cream being commonly associated with more recent celebrations of Norway's Constitution Day, it was not considered a traditional Norwegian dish at the time. The use of English language, as well as the selection of dessert, indicate that the event was not solely an occasion for preserving a common Norwegian or Norwegian-American cultural heritage. Rather, it served additional purposes and reflects how individuals of Norwegian birth and ancestry in the Whitewater area constructed or reconstructed their ethnic identities as Norwegian Americans.[27]

In 1913, a *Syttende Mai* celebration was organized at the Norwegian Lutheran Church of Whitewater. As reported by *The Whitewater Gazette*, the event included a special program featuring "favorite Norse melodies by the choir."[28] Reverend Garness, again, acted as main speaker, and the newspaper noted that his address was appropriate and interesting. In his speech, the reverend discussed the meaning of the day and explained the duty of "American Norwegians" to celebrate the occasion with their compatriots in

the old country.[29] These formulations demonstrate the perceived importance of the day and signify an intention to preserve a sense of continuity or affiliation with Norway and its customs. At the same time, they indicate that a shift had taken place. In the words of the reverend, those in attendance were no longer simply "Norwegians," but rather "American Norwegians." According to Garness, it was their responsibility to celebrate the Norwegian Constitution Day in accordance with this distinction. This illustrates how the event served as a locus for the development of ethnic group identity at the local level. Through his speech, which stressed the obligations of "American Norwegians," the pastor contributed to this process of construction. And ethnic celebration, as argued by both Schultz and Litwicki, served as a site where this process took place.[30]

Although the church played a prominent role in commemorating the Norwegian Constitution Day in Whitewater during the early twentieth century, celebrations were not limited to its premises. In addition to the 1913 church celebration, an event was also organized at the city's Normal School that same year. According to local newspapers, the program was given by Norwegian students at the school and included the national song, performed by a chorus of about twenty voices, and a lecture on "High Lights of Norwegian History." Additionally, the program featured readings of poems by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and performances of Norwegian folk dances in traditional Norwegian costumes. However, alongside these otherwise preservationist program elements, the event also featured a speech on the impact of environment on Norwegian character.[31] This suggests an interest in exploring potential changes associated with migration and location. As such, the celebration of Norway's Constitution Day in Whitewater not only functioned as a site for constructing or reconstructing ethnic group identities, but also as a site for active reflection on how these processes influenced the character of Norwegian Americans in the Whitewater community.

During the following years, annual celebrations were organized in the Norwegian Lutheran Church of Whitewater. In 1916, *The Whitewater Register* acknowledged that it had become a recurring

event by noting that "Norwegian Independence Day on May 17 is always appropriately celebrated in Whitewater each year at the Evangelic Lutheran Church."[32] For the 1916 celebration, the church was decorated with Norwegian and American flags, and an exhibit featuring pictures of Norway was on display. The program, similar to prior occasions, encompassed musical performances and recitations, concluding with various refreshments.

As noted by earlier research, the First World War significantly impacted conditions for cultural and ethnic expression in the United States.[33] Many foreign-born residents, and their American-born descendants, experienced increasing pressure to conform to Anglo-American cultural norms after 1914, with leading political figures promoting the idea of "100 percent Americanism" and demands of complete loyalty to the American war effort.[34] Among immigrant communities, these developments resulted in a reduced enthusiasm for organizing ethnic celebrations, including the Norwegian Constitution Day.[35] These trends also had local implications, as evidenced in Whitewater. Local newspapers indicate that Norway's Constitution Day was celebrated to a lesser extent during and after the war. Sparse reports of celebrations being held in Whitewater during the 1920s suggest that the occasion received less attention than it had in the 1910s, and it is reasonable to interpret this development in the context of broader societal changes during the World War era.[36]

As mentioned in the essay's introduction, a celebration on the Norwegian Constitution Day was organized at a private residence in 1931. Accounts in local newspapers indicate that the day had lost some of its recognition among local residents, with coverage, similar to that of the 1880s, briefly describing the day's significance. *The Whitewater Press*, for instance, noted that Norwegians celebrate "Independence Day" on 17 May and that many Americans of Norwegian birth or ancestry also commemorate the occasion.[37] The 1931 celebration took place at the home of Peter and Clara Nelson on Janesville Street in Whitewater, both of whom were born in Wisconsin in the 1870s to Norwegian-born parents from the Telemark region of Norway.[38] According to newspaper reports from the event,

"everything possible was Norwegian."[39] This was, of course, not the complete picture. The location was decorated with both American and Norwegian traditional symbols, and the program ended with the singing of "America." This event can, therefore, be regarded as a form of Norwegian-American celebration that incorporated cultural elements of various origins in order to demonstrate the compatibility of Norwegian and American traditions. As such, the 1931 celebration can be viewed in the context of the aforementioned objective of demonstrating how Norwegian Americans had found their rightful place within the American society.[40]

Overall, sources clearly suggest that a shift occurred in Whitewater's relationship with Norway's Constitution Day between 1880 and 1940. In the 1880s, there is no evidence to suggest that local residents marked the occasion either privately or publicly. Starting in the 1890s, some residents began participating in celebrations outside Whitewater. In the 1910s, annual public celebrations were held in Whitewater, often organized by individuals affiliated with Norwegian-American religious congregations. However, these celebrations ceased with the United States' entry into the First World War, with no public celebration identified during the 1920s or 1930s. The 1931 celebration, which was more of a private gathering, is an exception that symbolizes a selective and nostalgic connection to Norwegian-American culture and heritage rather than a broader communal tradition.

This arc of development aligns with larger shifts in Whitewater and the broader American society. First, a generational shift occurred. The number of Norwegian-born residents declined over the selected period, indicating that Whitewater's Norwegian-American community predominantly consisted of American-born individuals by the 1930s.[41] Previous research has suggested that the perceived connection to Norway and Norwegian cultural symbols was less pronounced among American-born Norwegian Americans.[42] It is therefore plausible that this generational shift diminished the perceived relevance of *Syttende Mai* for Norwegian Americans in Whitewater. Second, a linguistic shift took place between 1880 and 1940. Until the turn of the century, Whitewater's Norwegian-Amer-

ican congregation predominantly used Norwegian. Beginning in the early twentieth century, English was gradually introduced into congregational activities. By the 1920s, most of these activities were conducted in English.[43] This linguistic transition, which was influenced by the increasing pressures toward Americanism and the simultaneous generational shift, contributed to a transformation in the character of Whitewater's Norwegian-American community.[44] Third, a shift has been found in the church's role as an ethnic institution. Parallel to the linguistic shift, Whitewater's Norwegian-American church became less distinctly associated with ethnic identity. In the late nineteenth century, local newspapers often referred to it simply as the "Norwegian" church, emphasizing its connection to Norwegian language and culture. By the 1930s, while the church was still recognized as a Norwegian-American institution, its association with Norwegian language and culture had weakened.[45] As a result, it no longer served as a natural hub for ethnic celebrations, as it had in the 1910s. This development is, of course, also linked to the broader societal context in the World War era, which constrained the space for expressing ethnic affiliation.[46] Based on these observations, it is evident that cultural and societal trends influenced Whitewater's shifting relationship to Norway's Constitution Day between 1880 and 1940.

A Comparative Analysis

Norwegian Americans across the United States commemorated Norway's Constitution Day between 1880 and 1940. Comparing celebratory practices in different types of communities reveals both similarities and differences, and a comparative analysis helps identify the distinctive characteristics of celebrations in these different settings. Therefore, the following paragraphs adopt a comparative approach which examines the Whitewater celebrations alongside *Syttende Mai* observances in small towns with larger Norwegian-American populations, such as Benson in Minnesota and Stoughton and Moscow in Wisconsin.[47]

This comparative approach reveals several similarities. First, in every examined community, *Syttende Mai* served as an arena for

the preservation of cultural traditions. Cultural symbols brought from Norway, alongside Norwegian-American symbols inspired by Norwegian traditions, were displayed as part of public celebrations in various types of communities. Among other things, these symbols included flags, clothes, music, and food. For example, *Syttende Mai* celebrations in Benson, Minnesota, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often featured the display of Norwegian flags and other symbols of Norwegian culture. Historian Odd Lovoll has analyzed Benson's celebrations, noting that they often expressed demonstrative Norwegian symbols.[48] Similarly, historian Terje Joranger finds that *Syttende Mai* celebrations in Moscow, Wisconsin, incorporated various cultural symbols, including performances of traditional Norwegian folk music.[49] Efforts to preserve cultural symbols and traditions were also evident at the Whitewater celebrations. For instance, Norwegian flags and traditional music were key elements of Whitewater's *Syttende Mai* celebrations in the 1910s. These examples illustrate that similar markers of ethnic identity were displayed across different locations, regardless of the communities' respective ethnic compositions. Even though Norwegian Americans constituted a smaller portion of the overall population in Whitewater compared to Benson and Moscow, they employed the same symbols to affirm their connection to a broader Norwegian and Norwegian-American community. In this way, celebrations in various types of communities helped preserving a sense of common heritage and community among Norwegian Americans.[50]

Moreover, in every examined community, *Syttende Mai* served as an arena for the adjustment, adaptation, and development of cultural traditions. For instance, Joranger's examination of the Moscow celebrations shows how the Norwegian Constitution Day became part of a larger process where Norwegian-born migrants and their descendants could construct and reformulate ethnic group identities in America.[51] Lovoll also emphasizes that Norwegian Americans in Benson used *Syttende Mai* as an arena for the reinvention and recreation of a Norwegian cultural heritage that was transferred from one generation to the next.[52] As noted above, the

Whitewater celebrations featured explicit discussions regarding the changing nature of Norwegian and Norwegian-American character. The celebrations also featured both Norwegian and American cultural symbols, illustrating how it became a Norwegian-American celebration which differed from equivalent celebrations in Norway. Through ethnic celebration, thus, Norwegian Americans in Whitewater reinterpreted traditional cultural symbols into an American context, similar to the situation in communities with larger Norwegian-American populations.[53] As such, *Syttende Mai* celebrations in various communities, regardless of local ethnic composition, served as arenas for negotiations regarding the meaning of being "Norwegian American."[54]

More interestingly, comparing the Whitewater celebrations to those in communities with larger Norwegian-American populations also reveals several differences. First, the *Syttende Mai* celebrations in communities such as Benson, Moscow, and Stoughton followed a different arc of development compared to Whitewater. In these communities, celebrations often began as small, private gatherings in the mid-nineteenth century, before evolving into large, inclusive community festivals by the end of that century. These festivals often attracted many visitors, and they often drew participation from people of various ethnic and national backgrounds. As such, they were not exclusive Norwegian-American ethnic gatherings, but rather inclusive events considered relevant to a broader public. Such festivals typically involved activities inspired by American celebratory traditions, including baseball games and parades with decorated floats.[55] This trajectory contrasts with the development in Whitewater, where *Syttende Mai* celebrations never turned into broader community festivals.

These differences are connected to a second point: the role of *Syttende Mai* in the building of unity and identity. In communities such as Benson and Stoughton, *Syttende Mai* celebrations evolved into local patriotic events that honored the communities' historical ties to Norwegian-American culture and tradition. In doing so, they served as a resource in the building of local identity and patriotism, while simultaneously contributing to enhancing the public reputa-

tion of Norwegian Americans as a collective entity.[56] The celebrations highlighted the compatibility of Norwegian and American traditions and emphasized that Norwegian-Americanness was part of local history and character.[57] As a result, *Syttende Mai* was not merely an ethnic event, but also a broader celebration of local community and unity across ethnic boundaries.[58] In contrast, the day served different purposes in Whitewater. There, Norwegian-Americanness was not perceived as representative of the local community's character or history. The Norwegian Constitution Day did therefore not function as a tool for the construction of local identity and patriotism, but rather as a resource for creating ethnic togetherness in a more confined and exclusive sense. This contrast illustrates that *Syttende Mai* served different purposes in different types of communities, depending on aspects such as the composition of local populations and the cultural influence of Norwegian Americans on their respective local communities.

A third difference concerns the role of *Syttende Mai* as an arena for business and commercial interests. In the late nineteenth century, the Benson celebrations adopted an overtly American character and became community-wide events that attracted people from diverse national and ethnic backgrounds. Lovoll suggests that these changes were at least partly motivated by a desire to promote business by drawing rural families to the town, which likely contributed to the broad participation of businessmen from various ethnic backgrounds.[59] Similar trends have been found in Stoughton, where local businesses were involved in the planning and execution of the city's *Syttende Mai* festivals.[60] In contrast, as the celebrations in Whitewater never evolved into community festivals, they also did not function as arenas for commercial activity. These celebrations did not attract large crowds from outside the town, and they were therefore not of particular interest to the local business community. Instead, the Whitewater celebrations were largely initiated by religious societies driven by ethno-religious objectives rather than commercial profit. Thus, the celebrations in Whitewater did not include activities aimed at commercial transactions, such as the sale of food, clothing, flags, and other merchandise, in contrast to

those in Benson and Stoughton. This difference constitutes another example of how *Syttende Mai* served different functions in different types of communities. As meaning is constructed and reconstructed during public celebrations, as argued by Schultz, these differences also influenced perceptions of what it meant to be "Norwegian American."[61] Local conditions thereby shaped the celebratory practices on Norwegian-American ethnic holidays, which, in turn, influenced the experiences of Norwegian-born migrants and their descendants.

Even though some elements consistently were present at *Syttende Mai* celebrations across various settlement types, these examples demonstrate some of the differences that can be found when comparing ethnic celebrations in different local contexts. These differences were, at least in part, shaped by local conditions, including the composition of local populations. As such, the examples highlight that the experiences of Norwegian Americans varied depending on the characteristics of the communities in which they settled. Practices tied to ethnic celebration differed between ethnic colonies and other types of settlements. Therefore, it is important not only to study the cultural practices and experiences of international migrants who resided in ethnic clusters, but also to examine the conditions and practices in communities beyond the ethnic colony.

Conclusions

This essay set out to address two main questions. First, it aimed to examine how Norwegian Americans in Whitewater celebrated *Syttende Mai* between 1880 and 1940. The analysis reveals that Norway's Constitution Day was generally not widely celebrated among Whitewater residents during this period. In the 1880s, it was briefly mentioned in local newspapers, but there is no evidence of any organized celebrations taking place in the community. Beginning in the 1890s, newspapers reported that some residents participated in celebrations held elsewhere, but public events in Whitewater were not organized until the 1910s. These celebrations, which were primarily hosted by Norwegian Lutheran churches, occurred annually

for several years before ceasing during the First World War. Aside from a private gathering in 1931, there is no evidence of further commemorations during the selected period. Whitewater's celebrations never evolved into city-wide festivals that included residents beyond those of Norwegian birth or ancestry. Instead, they were largely confined to spaces such as churches or private homes. Still, they incorporated both Norwegian and American cultural symbols, including flags and music, and the English language was often used throughout the selected time period. This suggests that *Syttende Mai* celebrations in Whitewater were shaped by both local conditions and broader societal trends.

Second, the essay aimed to analyze how the celebration of Norway's Constitution Day in Whitewater differed from celebrations in communities with larger Norwegian-American populations. While some similarities have been identified–such as the role of *Syttende Mai* in the preservation and adaptation of cultural traditions–the differences demonstrate how local conditions shaped celebratory practices. In Whitewater, events tied to Norway's Constitution Day appeared as relatively exclusive ethnic commemorations, in contrast to the more inclusive community festivals observed in Benson, Moscow, and Stoughton. Moreover, differences have been identified regarding the role of *Syttende Mai* in the building of ethnic identity and local patriotism, as well as in the involvement of business and commercial interests. While these differences are unsurprising given the varying size and influence of Norwegian-American populations in these communities, they illustrate how local conditions influenced the experiences of Norwegian-born migrants and their descendants.

By highlighting these differences, this essay demonstrates that the Whitewater celebrations, in some respects, served different functions from those in communities with larger Norwegian-American populations. This, in turn, illustrates how Norwegian Americans who settled in ethnic colonies encountered different conditions than those who lived outside of such enclaves. As such, the study shows how local-level conditions influenced cultural practices, including those tied to ethnic celebration. Given the role of ethnic

celebration in the development of ethnic identities, these local-level differences played important roles in shaping how Norwegian-born migrants and their descendants negotiated their ethnic identities as Norwegian Americans. As such, future research could benefit from further exploration of international migrants who resided outside of typical ethnic colonies. This approach would provide new insights into the complex social dynamics of international migration, thereby offering a more nuanced understanding of how local conditions shaped the cultural practices and identities of American immigrant communities.

Notes

[1] "Norwegian Independence," *The Whitewater Press* (newspaper, Whitewater, Wisconsin), 21 May 1931, 1; *The Whitewater Register* (newspaper, Whitewater, Wisconsin), 21 May 1931, 1.

[2] For examples, see Bénédicte Deschamps, "Chapter 6 Italian Americans and Columbus Day: A Quest for Consensus between National and Group Identities, 1840-1910," in *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American festive culture from the Revolution to the early twentieth century*, eds. Jürgen Heideking, Geneviève Fabre, and Kai Dreisbach (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001); Heike Bungert, "Demonstrating the Values of 'Gemüthlichkeit' and 'Cultur': The Festivals of German Americans in Milwaukee, 1870-1910," in *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American festive culture from the Revolution to the early twentieth century*, eds. Jürgen Heideking, Geneviève Fabre, and Kai Dreisbach (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001); Lon Kurashige, *Japanese American celebration and conflict: A history of ethnic identity and festival, 1934-1990*, vol. 8 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[3] For example, see Odd Lovoll, *Norwegians on the Prairie: Ethnicity and the Development of the Country Town* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2006), 119-123; Terje Mikael Hasle Joranger, "Lokale eller nasjonale kollektive identiteter? Etnifisering og identitetsbygging blant norske immigranter i Amerika," *Historisk tidsskrift* 89, no. 2 (2010); Trond Espen Teigen Bjoland, "The Development of an Ethnic Colony: Stoughton, Wisconsin 1850–1920," *Norwegian-American studies* 40, no. 1 (2022).

[4] Odd Lovoll, *A Century of Urban Life: The Norwegians in Chicago Before 1930* (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association Distributed by The University of Illinois Press, 1988), 245-249; David Mauk, "Syttende mai Vignettes from Minneapolis-St. Paul. The Changing Meaning of Norway's Constitution Day in the Capital of Norwegian America, 1869-1914," *American Studies in Scandinavia*, no. 34 (2002).

[5] For example, Jon Gjerde explores the dynamics, tensions, and relationships in Midwestern communities. As cultural patterns and traditions were carried westward, they were modified and influenced by their new environments. Moreover,

Gjerde highlights the importance of religious societies in these processes, and the church also played an important role in the celebration of Norway's Constitution Day. See Jon Gjerde, *The minds of the West: Ethnocultural evolution in the rural Middle West, 1830-1917* (Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 19-20.

[6] The formation of Whitewater was, among other things, discussed at the city's seventieth anniversary in 1907. See *The Whitewater Home-Coming: Held July 4-7, 1907*, (Whitewater: The Register Print, 1907), 8-11.

[7] These conditions rapidly changed around the time of the First World War, and it is chosen to include a period before and after the war to explore potential changes during this period. See Orm Øverland, "From Melting Pot to Copper Kettles," in Werner Sollors, *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature* (NYU Press, 1998), 50.

[8] Odd Lovoll, *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People*, Rev. ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, published in co-operation with the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1999), 277-281.

[9] Ellen M. Litwicki, ""Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries:" Ethnicity and Assimilation at Chicago Holiday Celebrations, 1876-1918," *Journal of American ethnic history* 19, no. 3 (2000): 4-5.

[10] Schultz especially focuses on the 1925 Norwegian-American Centennial, but she also discusses ethnic celebrations more broadly. See April Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian American Through Celebration* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 12-13, 19.

[11] Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade*, 19.

[12] Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade*, 19.

[13] In the discussion of this preservationist view, Mauk refers to the argumentation of Kathleen Neils Conzen. See Mauk, "Syttende mai Vignettes from Minneapolis-St. Paul," 33; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German America on Parade," in Werner Sollors, *The Invention of Ethnicity* (Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989), 44-76.

[14] Mauk, "Syttende mai Vignettes from Minneapolis-St. Paul," 45-53; David Mauk, *The Heart of the Heartland: Norwegian American Community in the Twin Cities* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2022), 224-229.

[15] Albert C. Beckwith, *History of Walworth County, Wisconsin* (Indianapolis: Bowen, 1912), 461-462; Richard N. Current, *Civil War Era, 1848-1873*, Volume II (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2014), 30-31; Trond Espen T. Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin" (PhD dissertation, University of Bergen, 2024), 72-74.

[16] Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 74-76.

[17] In 1900, Norwegian-born residents made up around 19 percent of Whitewater's foreign-born population. That same year, 1,178 Whitewater residents were born in the United States to foreign-born parents. If we assume that 19 percent of these US-born residents had Norwegian-born parents, this suggests that more than 200 Whitewater residents were of Norwegian parentage in 1900. See Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 74-76.

[18] The Norwegian Constitution Day was rarely mentioned before 1890, but celebrations in other communities were reported on some occasions. For example, see "Local," *The Whitewater Register*, 24 May 1883, 3; "News Notes," *The Whitewater Register*, 15 May 1884, 2.

[19] Whitewater residents also celebrated the Norwegian Constitution Day in neighboring communities after the turn of the century. In 1906, for instance, *The Whitewater Register* reported that a large gathering of "Norse men," including some from Whitewater, celebrated at the Pfister in Milwaukee. See *The Whitewater Register,* 22 May 1890, 4; *The Whitewater Register*, 14 May 1891, 5; "Local," *The Whitewater*, 18 May 1906, 1.

[20] Local newspapers, among other things, described the day as "Norwegian Independence day" and as "the Norwegian anniversary." See *The Whitewater Register*, 30 May 1895, 6; *The Whitewater Register*, 13 May 1897, 5.

[21] Private gatherings were likely organized at an earlier stage, but public events have not been identified prior to 1912. See "Corner Grove Valley," *The Whitewater Register*, 17 May 1912, 5.

[22] The importance of religious societies as social or ethnic institutions has been noted by numerous scholars. For example, Jane M. Pederson highlights the role of religious institutions in the preservation of cultural traditions. According to Pederson, local unity and ethnic identification has been closely tied to religious societies. See Jane Marie Pederson, *Between memory and reality: Family and community in rural Wisconsin, 1870-1970*, History of American thought and culture, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 116-117, 130.

[23] This is being discussed in several sources from the early twentieth century. For example, see Beckwith, *History of Walworth County, Wisconsin*, 469; Olaf Morgan Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika 1843-1916: 1*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918), 127-129.

[24] "Corner Grove Valley," *The Whitewater Register*, 17 May 1912, 5.

[25] This aligns with Mauk's perspective on the function of ethnic celebration, especially regarding its role in the preservation of cultural heritage and the building of ethnic community. See Mauk, "Syttende mai Vignettes from Minneapolis-St. Paul," 33.

[26] Information on Reverend Garness' role as pastor in the joined pastorate is found in local newspapers and in Norlie's book on Norwegian Lutheran congregations. Information on his birth and ancestry is found through Family Search. See "Locals," *The Whitewater Register*, 1 July 1920, 1; Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika 1843-1916: 1*, 1, 127-129; U.S. Census, 1910, NARA microfilm publication T624, Nels C A Garness (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration). Available online at Family Search: https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MP25-L27.

[27] This may be seen in the context of Litwicki's and Schultz' perspectives on ethnic celebrations as sites of change and construction of ethnic group identities. See Litwicki, ""Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries": Ethnicity and Assimilation at Chicago Holiday Celebrations, 1876-1918," 4-5; Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade*, 12-13.

[28] "Notes of Town News," *The Whitewater Gazette* (newspaper, Whitewater, the

United States), 22 May 1913, 5.

[29] "Notes of Town News," *The Whitewater Gazette*, 22 May 1913, 5.

[30] Litwicki, ""Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries": Ethnicity and Assimilation at Chicago Holiday Celebrations, 1876-1918," 4-5; Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade*, 12-13, 19.

[31] "Normal Notes," *The Whitewater Gazette*, 22 May 1913, 5.

[32] "Observe Independence Day," *The Whitewater Register*, 19 May 1916, 1.

[33] For example, see Øverland, "From Melting Pot to Copper Kettles," 50.

[34] According to Orm Øverland, the American perception of immigrants shifted in 1914 due to the commencement of the war in Europe. The following Americanization campaigns, as argued by Øverland, resulted in severe public and private reactions against immigrant languages and cultural expressions. This contributed to a decline in ethnic celebrations among Norwegian Americans, both locally in Whitewater and more broadly, during the years following the First World War. Mauk identifies a similar development in his study of the twin cities. See Øverland, "From Melting Pot to Copper Kettles," 50; David C. Mauk, *The Heart of the Heartland*, 236; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925,* 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 204-207.

[35] Øverland, "From Melting Pot to Copper Kettles," 50; David C. Mauk, *The Heart of the Heartland*, 236;

Lovoll, *The Promise of America*, 298-300.

[36] An exception is identified in 1922, where the Norwegian Ladies' Aid organized a celebration on 17 May. See "Social Happenings," *The Whitewater Register*, 25 May 1922, 1.

[37] "Norwegian Independence," *The Whitewater Press*, 21 May 1931, 1.

[38] Information about their birth and ancestry is found through Family Search. See U. S. Census, 1930, NARA microfilm publication T626, Peter Nelson (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration). Available online at Family Search: https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X937-69Q; U. S. Census, 1930, NARA microfilm publication T626, Clara Nelson in household of Peter Nelson (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration). Available online at Family Search: https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X937-69Q.

[39] *The Whitewater Register*, 21 May 1931, 1.

[40] The Norwegian Constitution Day was occasionally briefly mentioned in local newspapers later in the 1930s, but there are no reports of any public celebrations in Whitewater during the decade. In 1934, for instance, *The Whitewater Register* simply noted that "This is Norwegian Independence Day." See *The Whitewater Register*, 17 May 1934, 1.

[41] Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 72-78.

[42] For instance, Lovoll has highlighted the reduced use of Norwegian language among American-born generations, especially after the First World War. This development illustrates how changes in cultural expression among Norwegian Americans was tied to generational shifts. See Lovoll, *The Promise of America*,

327-328.

[43] Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 117-118.

[44] Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 117-118; Lovoll, *The Promise of America*, 298-300.

[45] Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 127-129.

[46] Øverland, "From Melting Pot to Copper Kettles," 50.

[47] For information concerning the demographic composition of these communities, see Lovoll, *Norwegians on the Prairie*, 89; Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 56-62; Joranger, "Lokale eller nasjonale kollektive identiteter?"; Terje Mikael Hasle Joranger, "The Migration of Tradition? A Study on the Transfer of Traditions Tied to Intergenerational Land Transfers among Emigrants from the Valdres region, Norway to the Upper Midwest and their Descendants for Three Generations, 1850-1980" (PhD dissertation, University of Oslo, 2007), 189.

[48] Lovoll, *Norwegians on the Prairie*, 78, 120.

[49] Joranger, "Lokale eller nasjonale kollektive identiteter?"

[50] This aligns with the preservationist perspective mentioned by David Mauk, as discussed in the essay's introduction. See Mauk, "Syttende mai Vignettes from Minneapolis-St. Paul," 33.

[51] Joranger, "Lokale eller nasjonale kollektive identiteter?"

[52] Lovoll, *Norwegians on the Prairie*, 173.

[53] This aligns with the perspectives articulated by Schultz, who has highlighted that public celebrations often function as arenas for the construction and reconstruction of cultural symbols and ethnic identities. See Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade*, 12-13, 19.

[54] This negotiation process also involved a construction of cultural memories that demonstrated their distinctiveness as an ethnic group. Even though Norwegian Americans in Whitewater experienced different local conditions compared to those in Benson and Moscow, this process transpired in each community. See Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 246-252.

[55] Lovoll also finds that the Benson celebrations over time assumed greater exclusivity, as the community festivals sometimes were replaced by smaller observances organized by secular Norwegian-American societies, including the Sons of Norway. See Lovoll, *Norwegians on the Prairie*, 78, 119, 173; Joranger, "Lokale eller nasjonale kollektive identiteter?"; Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 216-223.

[56] This way, the celebrations in Benson and Stoughton served some of the functions noted by Mauk, as mentioned in the essay's introduction. See Mauk, "Syttende mai Vignettes from Minneapolis-St. Paul," 45-53; Mauk, *The Heart of the Heartland*, 224-229.

[57] David Mauk also notes that the Norwegian Constitution Day often was used to demonstrate the compatibility of Norwegian and American traditions. See Mauk, "Syttende mai Vignettes from Minneapolis-St. Paul. The Changing Meaning of Norway's Constitution Day in the Capital of Norwegian America, 1869-1914," 45-53; Mauk, *The Heart of the Heartland*, 224-229.

[58] Lovoll, *Norwegians on the Prairie*, 78, 119; Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 216-223, 253-255.
[59] Lovoll, *Norwegians on the Prairie*, 77-78, 119-123.
[60] Bjoland, "Norwegian-American Identities in Small-Town Wisconsin," 216-223.
[61] When celebrations in different communities involved different types of cultural expressions, different elements were included in the negotiation process regarding what was considered to be part of Norwegian-American culture and character. See Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade*, 12-13, 19.

Religionens betydning i integreringsprosessen; Refuge, Respect, Resources

Kari G. Hempel

I løpet av 1900-tallet gikk Norge fra å være utvandringsland til å bli et innvandringsland. Tallene fra Statistisk sentralbyrå viser at endringen skjedde etter 1971. Fra da av ble Norge etablert som et netto innvandringsland.[1] Jeg har studert innvandrerkulturer både fra og til Norge, fra Norge til USA etter 1870 og fra Pakistan til Norge etter 1970. Fokus i forskningen min har vært rettet mot religionens betydning i migrasjonssammenheng. Forskjellene er store mellom kristne norskamerikanske miljø på 1800-tallet og muslimske norskpakistanske[2] miljø på 1900-tallet, men likheter er også til stede, som graden av tilpasning og organisering. Dessuten viser utviklingen av imamrollen at den endres til å bli mer lik presterollen i vestlige land.

I arbeidet med innvandrerkulturer dukket spørsmålet opp om hvorvidt religion var en hjelp eller et hinder i integreringsprosessen. Integrering blir her forstått som en tosidig prosess, en prosess som krever noe både av minoritet og majoritet. For innvandrere dreier det seg om tilpasning til det nye samfunnet, for den innfødte befolkningen å tilpasse seg en ny situasjon.[3]

Den amerikanske sosiologen Charles Hirschman har teoretisert omkring religionens rolle i integreringsprosesser i det amerikanske samfunnet og sett på hvordan religion kan fremme integrering. Resultatet er i ettertid lansert som de tre R-er: *Refuge (tilflukt), Respect, Resources*.[4] Jeg ønsker å bruke Hirschmans kategorier til å vurdere integreringsprosessen i to innvandringseksempler, henholdsvis i USA og Norge. Det ene eksemplet er Trefoldighet me-

nighet i Minneapolis, USA, som ble etablert av nordmenn i 1868. Det andre er den sunniislamske moskéen, Islamic Cultural Center (ICC) i Oslo som ble etablert av pakistanere i 1974. Menighetshistoriene[5] er hentet fra hvert sitt århundre, hvert sitt kontinent, tilknyttet hver sin religion og med ulik kulturell avstand mellom avsenderland og mottaksland.

Menighetene har likevel flere likhetstrekk. Begge var/er urbane og av de tidligst etablerte i sin region. Trefoldighet menighet var den første norske menigheten i Minneapolis. Det fantes andre norske menigheter etablert flere tiår før Trefoldighet, men denne menigheten var den første i den byen som etter hvert ble den norske hovedbyen i USA. ICC er den første norske sunniislamske moskéen, etablert i Oslo. Av andre likheter kan nevnes kontaktpunkter til det offisielle sjiktet i hjemlandet. I Trefoldighet menighet hadde sentrale prester nære slektninger i det politiske og religiøse lederskapet i Norge. ICC på sin side var løst knyttet til et politiskreligiøst lederskap i Pakistan med en viss tilknytning til det største religiøse partiet, Jamaat-e-Islami. Tilknytningen til politisk og religiøst lederskap er muligens bakgrunnen for at begge menighetene var/er preget av ansvarlighet, av sterke tradisjonsbånd, men også en evne til å bruke mulighetene i et nytt miljø. Begge menighetene skiller seg ut ved å være effektivt organisert. Andre likheter og ulikheter nevnes senere i artikkelen.

Til tross for åpenbare ulikheter når det gjelder tid, sted og religionstilknytning, blir det her prøvd å se historiene i sammenheng. En innfallsvinkel er å oppfatte menighetene som del av den samme «logiske klasse» eller samme kategori ved at de begge er immigrantmenigheter.[6] En logisk klasse omfatter flere enkelttilfeller, den er ikke tidsmessig avgrenset, og det kan dukke opp flere tilfeller innenfor klassen, slik den blir beskrevet av filosofen Carl Hempel.[7] Hans utgangspunkt var å se enkelttilfeller som del av en allmenn logisk klasse som kan beskrives ved generelle lovmessigheter. Så langt går ikke denne analysen. Den har som mål å undersøke om det finnes visse (begrensede) regelmessigheter[8] eller generelle mønstre i de aktuelle eksemplene, det Ottar Dahl kaller «begrensede generaliseringer».[9] Den logiske klassen, det som binder sam-

men her, er immigrantreligiøsitet, det vil si det trosgrunnlaget som immigrantene har med seg og som følger dem i en ny tilværelse. Spørsmålet er hvorvidt deltakelse i immigrantmenigheter er en hjelp eller fungerer som et hinder i integrasjonsprosessen.

Inspirasjon til å se migrasjonseksemplene i sammenheng og stille spørsmål om integreringsprosessen fant jeg i et avsnitt i Kari Vogts bok *Islam på norsk*:

> Religionen var en viktig del av den usynlige bagasjen innvandrerne brakte med seg, langt viktigere enn hva mange nordmenn hadde drømt om. Moskéenes historier vitner om en utrettelig vilje til å gjenskape et muslimsk liv på fremmed grunn. Hver enkelt moské er resultat av frivillig innsats, av idealisme og offervilje. Skarpe motsetninger og uoverstigelige splittelser er også en del av denne historien. [—]. Det som kan overraske [—] er energien og det målrettede arbeidet som daglig utføres av frivillige. (Kari Vogt 2008)[10]

Kari Vogt beskriver muslimsk immigrantaktivitet i Norge. Skildringen av strevet og utholdenheten gjorde et sterkt inntrykk første gang jeg leste avsnittet. Dette kunne like gjerne vært skrevet om nordmenn i USA og deres engasjement, et tema jeg forsket på i forbindelse med doktorgradsarbeidet fra 2012.[11] At innsatsen blant religiøst engasjerte mennesker i et annet århundre, på et annet kontinent og innenfor en annen religion kunne fortone seg som omtalt, var en overraskelse. Sitatet lest i lys av norskamerikaneres erfaringer peker i retning av felles erfaringer, bekymringer og religiøse behov. Det immigrantgruppene har felles, kan gi mulighet for å finne regelmessigheter i de to eksemplene.

I det følgende blir de religiøse miljøene presentert, inkludert menighetshistorier hentet fra det empiriske materialet. Deretter blir viktige endringer beskrevet, og til slutt vurderes innvandringseksemplene i lys av Hirschmans kategorier.

Trefoldighet menighet Minneapolis, Minnesota

Trefoldighet ble etablert som en norsk luthersk menighet i byen

Minneapolis i delstaten Minnesota i 1868.[12] Minnesota ble anerkjent som delstat i 1858, og for norskamerikansk kirkeliv kom staten til å bli viktig. Sentrale utdanningsinstitusjoner etablerte seg i byen. Når det gjelder norske bosettinger i Minneapolis, kom nordmenn til byen i 1850-årene, mens den enda hadde landsbypreg. Stedet vokste og fikk bystatus i 1867. Da var innbyggerantallet 13 000 og antall nordmenn 1000.[13] Byen fikk tidlig et skandinavisk preg ved at svenske og norske settlere flyttet inn fra farmerområdene omkring. Byen ligger på begge sider av Mississippielven. Den vokste fram langs St. Anthony-fallene, de største fossene i Mississippi. I en tidlig periode ga tømmerdrift grunnlag for byens næringsliv, senere ble det møllevirksomhet. Byen opplevde stor vekst etter at den fikk bystatus. I 1880 hadde innbyggertallet økt til 47 000, inkludert 2 700 nordmenn. I 1890 var innbyggertallet 150 000, inkludert 13 000 nordmenn, og i 1910 hadde byen 300 000 innbyggere. Av disse var 16 500 nordmenn.

Trefoldighet har en kort forhistorie som del av en svensketablert menighet hvor også nordmenn og dansker deltok. Nordmennene trakk seg imidlertid etter kort tid på grunn av sterk svensk dominans og dannet Trefoldighet menighet. På samme tidspunkt dannet nordmenn og dansker Konferensen, en synode (kirkesamfunn) som Trefoldighet menighet sluttet seg til. Den første faste presten i menigheten var Ole Paulson fra Solør. Han hadde deltatt i krigen mellom USA og Dakota-stammen i 1862 og i den amerikanske borgerkrigen. Før han dro i krigen hadde han virket både som farmer og kolportør.[14] Etter krigen bestemte han seg for å skaffe seg presteutdannelse. Han hadde et nært forhold til svenskene, både fra Carver County der han hadde bodd, og i forbindelse med sin teologiske utdannelse. Dette gjorde at Paulson så på norske tradisjoner som bruk av prestekjole og bruk av liturgi i gudstjenesten som alderdommelige uttrykk.

Det blir fortalt mange anekdoter om Paulson, og flere handler om hvordan han på kreativ måte prøvde å få taket på menigheten. En historie handler om prestekjolen, som menigheten ville at han skulle bruke. Han prøvde å vinne over menigheten ved å si at dersom de ville at han skulle ha prestekjole, måtte de kjøpe en til ham.

Han visste at menigheten hadde lite penger, og i første omgang slapp han unna. I neste omgang overrasket menigheten Paulson ved å få han til skredder for å ta mål. Han trodde han skulle få en dress, men målene ble tatt til en prestekjole.[15] Han fulgte menighetens ønske og brukte prestekjolen etter den tid. En annen historie handler om at presten var misfornøyd med lønnen på $250 årlig. Han fant imidlertid en løsning. Han sa opp den faste lønnen og ba om å få de seks ofringene i løpet av året i stedet.[16] Det viste seg å bli en lønnsom ordning. Menigheten viste større ansvar for presten når han ikke hadde fast lønn. Som populær prest fikk han mer i offergaver enn han hadde i avtalt lønn. Menigheten vokste i antall i hans periode. Da det etter hvert ble behov for et nytt kirkehus, fant Paulson en egnet kirketomt som han kjøpte for egne midler. Senere kjøpte menigheten tomten av Paulson, del for del, etter hvert som det var behov for nye kirkeutvidelser.

Ole Paulson hadde også en sentral posisjon i synodeorganisasjonen Den dansk-norske konferensen, heretter kalt Konferensen, og samarbeidet mellom menighet og synode var sterkt fra og med hans periode. Konferensen etablerte sitt hovedkontor i Minneapolis. Dessuten ble det bestemt at Konferensen skulle flytte sin presteskole, Augsburg Seminar, fra Madison, Wisconsin, til Minnesota. At Minneapolis ble valgt, skal være Paulsons fortjeneste. Han henvendte seg til den politiske ledelsen i Minneapolis og sørget for at seminaret ble invitert til å etablere seg i byen. At Augsburgseminaret ble flyttet til Minneapolis, fikk positive følger for Trefoldighet menighet. Professorene ved Augsburg Seminar og Konferensens synodeledelse kom til å utgjøre en del av menigheten, i tillegg til studentene.[17] Denne gruppen medlemmer kom til å prege menigheten både når det gjaldt debatter, engasjement og strategier i menighetsarbeidet.[18] Teologisk sett befant Trefoldighet menighet og Konferensen seg i midtsjiktet av norske kirkemiljø, det vil si mellom det lavkirkelige og det høykirkelige eller mellom Haugesynoden som stod for en lekmannsorientert haugianer-retning og Den norske Synode som ble regnet som Den norske kirkes «forlengede arm» i USA.[19] Innenfor det teologiske midtsjiktet var både liv og lære viktige deler av forkynnelsen. Dessuten ble lekmannsforkynn-

elsen høyt verdsatt, samtidig ble prestenes embetsutdannelse sett som viktig for å kunne lede en menighet.

I 1890 gikk Konferensen sammen med et flertall av de andre norske synodene inn i en større union av norskamerikanske kirkesamfunn, Den forenede kirke. Etter få år forlot Trefoldighet den nye sammenslutningen, og menigheten gikk heller ikke inn i den store fusjonen av norskamerikanske menigheter som samlet seg i 1917. Uenighet om hva som skulle være synodens presteseminar og uenighet om innholdet i presteutdannelsen var av hovedårsakene til at menigheten ikke deltok i de norske unionsbestrebelsene.

Trefoldighet menighet opplevde en storhetstid etter 1875 da menigheten fikk ressurssterke teologer fra Norge som nye medlemmer, først og fremst Georg Sverdrup og Sven Oftedal.[20] De kom til Minneapolis som nytilsatte professorer ved Augsburg Seminar. Trefoldighet menighet var seminarets hovedkirke. Seminaret fungerte som et amerikansk *college*. For studenter som senere ville studere teologi var det mulig å ta forberedende studier ved seminaret. Seminarlederne kom til å utgjøre en sentral del av menigheten. I byen Minneapolis ble de lagt merke til. De engasjerte seg i sosialt arbeid og politikk, foruten undervisningsjobb og menighetsarbeid, og de ble oppfattet som toneangivende, taleføre og markante.[21] Sverdrup og Oftedals menighetssyn sammenfattes best i slagordet de brukte «en fri menighet i en fri kirke». Mål om og argumentasjon for en fri kirke var en del av en norsk kirkedebatt fra slutten av 1800-tallet med utgangspunkt i forholdet mellom staten og kirken. Idealet om en fri kirke, slik Sverdrup og Oftedal tenkte seg det, hadde forbindelseslinjer både til Venstres frammarsj og til de religiøse vekkelsene i Norge.[22] Det frie idealet lot seg ikke virkeliggjøre i Norge på det tidspunkt. Det skjedde først etter 1920, da loven om menighetsråd ble vedtatt.

I tilknytning til tanken om en «fri menighet» utviklet det seg også en ide om en «ren menighet» som redskap for Gud. Denne tanken kan sees som en forklaring på at Trefoldighet praktiserte en strengere menighetsdisiplin enn de andre norske menighetene i Minneapolis, St. Pauli og Vor Frelsers menighet. I alle menigheter måtte det søkes om opptak, men Trefoldighet menighet hadde et

strengere opptak enn mange andre med tanke på å prøve kandidatenes livsførsel. Samtidig var terskelen lav for å ekskludere medlemmer. Det skjedde som regel på grunn av usedelig oppførsel (det gjaldt som regel kvinner) eller alkoholmisbruk (gjaldt som regel menn).[23]

Menigheten hadde god rekruttering, til tross for en streng disiplin. Prestene var populære og trakk mange interesserte. Med tiden ble imidlertid de toneangivende prestene oppfattet som mer enn bare prinsippfaste. Deler av menigheten kom til å betrakte dem som stridige, arrogante og diktatoriske. Det medførte splittelser, men også konflikter med andre menigheter og kirkemiljø i Minneapolis. Den dypeste konflikten dreide seg om hva som skulle være Den forenede kirkes presteseminar, Augsburg Seminar eller St. Olaf College. Konflikten var så dyptgripende at Trefoldighet menighet forlot Den forenede kirke og stod uten samarbeid med majoriteten i det norskamerikanske kirkemiljøet i nesten 70 år (1897-1963).

Trefoldighet dannet deretter sammen med noen få andre menigheter fellesskapet *Lutheran Free Church.* Sverdrup og Oftedal befant seg utenfor det ledende norske teologiske miljøet i resten av sin virketid. I 1963 gikk de aller fleste tidligere etnisk norske synodene inn i et felles amerikansk luthersk samarbeid, *American Lutheran Church*. Det gjorde også Trefoldighet menighet sammen med *Lutheran Free Church*. Den nye situasjonen omtales i amerikansk luthersk kirkehistorie som at forholdet mellom kirkesamfunnene med etnisk norsk bakgrunn endelig var blitt leget (healed).[24]

Endringer i de norskamerikanske miljøene

De norskamerikanske menighetene ble etablert som frikirker, en organisasjonsform som forholdsvis få hadde erfaring med fra Norge. USA var et konfesjonsløst samfunn. Det første tillegget (*amendment*) til grunnloven sier at stat og kirke er delt.[25] I Norge hadde mer enn 96 prosent av befolkningen tilhørte statskirken. Frikirkene ble betegnet som dissentersamfunn, det vil si som avvikende fra hovedretningen, fra statskirken. Etter 1969 er begrepet

erstattet med trossamfunn i Norge.[26] Finansiering av frikirkene foregikk blant annet gjennom en ordning som ga fritak for skatt (kirkeskatt) etter antall innmeldte medlemmer.[27] Statskirken som statens kirke ble finansiert av staten. Mange statskirkemedlemmer, også av de som ble immigranter, var i tillegg engasjert i lekmannsvirksomhet. Det var frivillige organisasjoner og foreninger som ble drevet ved hjelp av medlemmenes egne midler. Teologisk sett er lekmannsvirksomheten betegnet som lavkirkelig. Lekmannsforkynnelsen stod sentralt, og i deler av landet, særlig på Vestlandet, var lekmannsbevegelsen både preste- og kirkekritisk.

Frikirker i USA var formelt etablerte organisasjoner innenfor et system som ikke skilte mellom «innenfor» og «utenfor», mellom en hovedretning og dissentere. Immigrantkirkene tilsatte prester, og sakramentene ble forvaltet som i statskirken i Norge, men i motsetning til den norske statskirken var de norske immigrantkirkene i USA selvfinansierte og selvstyrte. Dette var en ny form for religiøs organisering som måtte læres.

Særpreg ved Trefoldighet menighet

Trefoldighet var på flere områder en foregangsmenighet. Når det gjaldt sosialt arbeid, hadde den et sterkt engasjement både for egne medlemmer og for nødlidende i Minneapolis. Nødhjelp ble sendt både til andre steder i USA (som gresshopperammede i 1882) og til ulykkerammede i Norge (som stormen utenfor Ålesund i 1889). I tråd med det sosiale engasjementet etablerte menigheten diakonissevirksomheten i Minneapolis.[28] Dette betydde mye for innbyggerne, men også for kvinnene som deltok i arbeidet. Arbeidet fungerte som en katalysator for deres selvstendighet og som frigjøring gjennom eget arbeid.[29] Dessuten innførte Trefoldighet tidlig stemmerett for kvinner, før de andre menighetene i Minneapolis. Det skjedde i 1897. Også om en sammenligner med norske forhold skjedde vedtaket tidlig. Året etter, i 1898, fikk menn allmenn stemmerett i Norge, og kvinner fikk det i 1913. Riktignok fikk de fleste norske kvinner stemmerett ved kommunevalget i Norge i 1901, og i en del norske religiøse organisasjoner fikk kvinnene stemmerett før 1913. Likevel er 1897 tidlig. På den tiden utgjorde temaet bare

en del av den politiske debatten i Norge. Et særpreg ved menigheten var aktivitetsmangfoldet. Det var ekstra stort i Trefoldighet menighet. Både dette og det sosiale programmet har gjort at den er blitt karakterisert som den mest amerikaniserte norske menigheten i Minneapolis, på visse områder.

På andre områder var Trefoldighet menighet kulturelt konservativ. Norsk ble brukt som kirkespråk svært lenge. Menigheten reklamerte selv i 1912 med at den var den eneste i byen der norsk ble snakket på alle møter og gudstjenester.[30] Først omkring 1930 rapporteres det om at engelske gudstjenester var bedre besøkt enn norske.[31] Full overgang til engelsk i menigheten skjedde ikke før sent på 1930-tallet. Det vil si at Trefoldighet i sterkere grad enn andre norske menigheter i Minneapolis understreket den nasjonale identiteten.[32] At menigheten var restriktiv når det gjaldt livsførsel, betydde at flere ble ekskludert fra denne enn fra de andre norske minneapolismenighetene. Den reagerte også strengere på medlemskap i losjer, de såkalte hemmelige selskaper. Dette temaet ble viktig etter 1875, etter at de nye prestene kom. Nye personer som søkte opptak og som var losjemedlemmer, ble ikke opptatt. De medlemmene som allerede var innmeldt i en losje, måtte velge mellom losjen og menigheten. Noen foretrakk losjemedlemskapet.

Selv om det var noe høyere terskel for å bli medlem i Trefoldighet enn i de to andre store norske menighetene i byen, var Trefoldighet godt besøkt frem til 1910. En viktig årsak var menighetens karismatiske og veltalende prester.[33] Menighetens ledere var preget av et tilbakeskuende menighetsideal, av å utvikle menigheten til sin «apostoliske skikkelse». Menigheten skulle dekke egne åndelige behov og derfor måtte alle ressurser brukes for å dekke behovene, også kvinners innsats ble viktig, diakonissearbeidet er eksempel på det.[34] Dette arbeidet var framtidsrettet og visjonært. En annen side av visjonen om sin «apostoliske skikkelse», var at menigheten skulle være et redskap for Gud med det mål å skape Guds rike i Amerika.[35] Det betydde at menighetene måtte framstår som «ren». Dette er bakgrunnen for de strenge normer for livsførsel som ble forkynt i menigheten. Det var vanskelig å bli tatt opp i menigheten og lett å bli ekskludert. Tanken om en «ren» menighet kan være

del av den teologiske arven hjemmefra. En annen forklaring er at synet og holdningen var resultat av amerikansk påvirkning, først og fremst gjennom den amerikanske hellighetsbevegelsen, *Holiness Movement*, som i særlig grad var knyttet til metodistbevegelsen.[36]

På den annen side forkynte menigheten strenge normer for livsførsel. Det var vanskelig å bli tatt opp i menigheten og lett å bli ekskludert. Det eksklusive strenge idealet og tanken om en «ren» menighet, som henger sammen med «dens apostoliske skikkelse». Å framstå som en ren, norsk og selvstyrt fri menighet kan beskrive ledelsens mål for menighetens arbeid gjennom mange tiår.

Islamic Cultural Center (ICC)

ICC ble etablert som den første sunniislamske menighet i Oslo i 1974. Forut for etableringen hadde et stort antall unge muslimske menn kommet til landet, noen av dem fra slutten av 1960-årene. De fleste kom fra Pakistan, men mange kom også fra Tyrkia og Marokko. Ganske tidlig etter ankomsten begynte en del sunnimuslimer, først og fremst fra Pakistan, å samles i Oslo. Gruppen bestod av 20–30 menn. Selv om ulikhetene var store innad i gruppen, var de mer eller mindre samlet omkring de religiøse interessene.[37] I 1971 hadde antall muslimer som samlet seg til høytidene vokst til 500–600 personer, og behovet for et fast samlingssted økte.[38] Ganske snart oppstod ønsket om egen moské.[39] I den første tiden hadde private hjem blitt brukt som bønnested. Så fulgte en periode der moskéen var leietaker. Etter å ha vært leietaker på flere ulike steder i Oslo, flyttet moskémenigheten til Tøyenbekken 24. Dette var en eiendom med en nedlagt fabrikkbygning, kjøpt for midler blant annet fra Kuwait.[40] Plasseringen betydde en mer permanent løsning for forsamlingen, og det var her det nye kultursenteret og moskéen ble bygd. Den nye moskéen åpnet våren 2009 etter en byggeprosess på tre år. Det er en klassisk bygning, nordisk i utformingen for å passe inn i omgivelsene på Grønland.

De første årene fungerte Islamic Cultural Center i Oslo som møtested for alle muslimer på tvers av nasjonalitet og trosretning.[41]

Utover på 1970- og 80-tallet økte antall medlemmer. Med en bredere sammensetning kom også de ideologiske forskjellene klarere fram, og med det fulgte splittelser. Den første splittelsen skjedde på grunn av intern uro mellom pakistanerne. Den hadde utgangspunkt i ulikheter mellom skoleretninger innenfor sør-asiatisk islam, mellom deobandi- og barelwi-gruppen i menigheten.[42]

ICC moskeen beskrives som konservativ, men likevel moderat, med en reformert form for «Mawdudi-islamisme». Abu Ala al-Mawdudi (1903–1979) var en filosof og lærd innenfor deobandi-bevegelsen. Han etablerte det islamistiske partiet Jamaat-e-Islami (Jamaat) i India i 1941. Han stod for en ny fortolkning av islam i møte med Vesten. Retningen er også kalt deobandi-islam, etter byen Deoband i Nord-India med det kjente islamistisk seminaret *darul uloom deoband* som er utgangspunktet for bevegelsen. Deobandi-retningen innenfor sør-asiatisk islam er en vekkelses- eller reformbevegelse. Den står for en lovorientert og rasjonalistisk islam-oppfatning.[43] Retningen oppfattes som streng og beskrives som fundamentalistisk ved å forkynne behovet for å vende tilbake til Koranen og Profetens rene lære. Samtidig kjemper bevegelsen for radikale reformer av muslimske samfunn og for å styrke islamsk identitet ved å etablere skoler og studier som formidler tradisjonell islam-kunnskap. Deobandi-retningen betrakter seg selv som en skolastisk tradisjon innenfor sunni-islam. Retningen er knyttet til hanafi-skolen, den største, men ikke den strengeste av de fire lovskolene innenfor sunni-islam.[44] Tilhengerne er utover sitt teologiske grunnsyn mer opptatt av moderne sosial rettferdighet og utvikling enn mange andre islamistiske sunnigrupperinger.[45]

Moskéen har sin egen lokalt produserte *ICC-Historie*, og i denne blir bakgrunnen for den første splittelsen forklart med de konflikter som oppstod ved den første konferansen som ICC arrangerte i august 1974.[46] Konferansescenen var pyntet til begivenheten, men dekorasjonen skapte en uenighet som siden utviklet seg til en konflikt. På den ene siden av scenen var det plassert en plakat med ordene *Ja Allah* (Oh God). Ett av ICC medlemmene insisterte på at det da også måtte lages en plakat med *Ja Muhammad* (Oh, Muhammad). Barelwiene regner ikke Muhammed som død på van-

lig måte, men som i en hviletilstand, og han kan høre menneskene. *Ja* blir brukt som et tiltaleord for noen som kan høre. Deobandiene syntes ikke noe om denne tiltalen. For dem er Muhammed død, og det finnes bare en gud. Det mener også barelwiene, og alle er enige om at Muhammed er det helligste mennesket som har levd, men i tillegg mener barelwiene at Muhammed kan høre menneskene og gå i forbønn overfor Allah for de som ønsker det. Deobandi-tilhengere er av den oppfatning at mennesker selv må henvende seg direkte til Allah om de ønsker noe. Krangelen om plakaten kunne vært løst. Deobandiene sa at de hadde vært villige til å lage en *Ja Muhammad*-plakat, men tiden før konferanseåpningen ble for knapp. Diskusjonen eskalerte til en konflikt. Amiren av senteret ba om unnskyldning, men spliden var sådd, og sårene ble aldri leget. I løpet av et par år gikk barelwiene ut av ICC moskéen og etablerte sin egen moské, Central Jamaat-e Ahl-e sunnat, registrert i 1979.[47] Splittelsen skjedde altså på teologisk, og ikke på et etnisk grunnlag. Mer etnisk pregede muslimske forsamlinger ble ikke etablert i Norge før på 1990-tallet.[48] Det moderate aspektet ved ICC-moskéen innebærer at den har en intellektuell tilnærming til religionen. Den legger vekt på at islam i Vesten skal kunne tolkes ut fra de sosiale, kulturelle og politiske forholdene i det landet man befinner seg i.[49]

Den andre retningen, barelwi-retningen, blir beskrevet som en folkelig form for islam. Den har sine røtter i sufi-tradisjonen som helt siden 1100-tallet har vært et dominerende innslag i sørasiatisk islam. Retningen særpreges av tro på helgener og tro på mirakler som er utført av helgener. Barelwiene dyrker helgengraver, og lokale tradisjoner er forbundet med helgenene. Barelwi-retningen er karakterisert som sunni-islams katolikker (uten pave og formelt presteskap)[50] og deobandi som islams puritanere.[51] Et annet skille ved retningene er at Barelwi-islam tradisjonelt har hatt størst utbredelse på landsbygda, selv om den også etter hvert har nådd byene. Deobandi har tradisjonelt hatt flest tilhengere i urbane strøk.[52] Barelwi-retningen har størst oppslutning i Norge, men deobandi-retningen kom først til landet, noe før de folkelige barelwiene. Det foregår enkelte konverteringer mellom konfesjoner, og

de fleste går fra barelwi til deobandi-retningen. ICC har hatt en viss appell blant folk som ønsker en mer moderne form for islam.[53] I Pakistan har deobandi-retningen nesten utelukkende rekruttert fra middelklassen.[54] Likevel er det samlede norsk-pakistanske moskésamfunnet «nesten fullstendig dominert av sufi-tradisjonen» og tilhører dermed teologisk barelwi-retningen.[55]

Endringer i moskélivet

Jeg ønsker å bruke Olivier Roys betegnelse «glidende overganger» for å se på overgangene innenfor ICC-moskéen.[56] Roys uttrykk vektlegger tilpasning mer enn konfrontasjon, splittelse og polarisering i integreringsprosessen. Tilpasningen til det norske samfunnet som oppsummeres nedenfor kan alle ansees som eksempler på glidende overganger. De første tilfellene gjelder for islamske etableringer i Norge generelt. De siste dreier seg om endringer i ICC.

Etablere en medlemsorganisasjon Moskéer i Norge har tilpasset seg en organisasjonsform som i utgangspunktet var utarbeidet for norske institusjoner og organisasjoner. En finner ikke tilsvarende organisasjonsform i Pakistan. Den muslimske «ekklesiologien» (kirkelæren) handler ikke om å være medlem av en menighet, men om å gjøre en tjeneste for Gud gjennom bønnen, og den kan utføres i hvilken som helst moské.[57] Derfor er det å registrere en forsamling, føre register, søke om statsstøtte og rapportere til myndighetene om virksomheten, noe muslimer gjør i Norge og mange i den vestlige verden, men ikke i muslimske land.

Ikke alle muslimer lar seg organisere, og det tok en stund før det ble vanlig for muslimske immigranter å organisere seg. I 1980 var organisasjonsprosenten blant muslimer ca. 10 prosent. I år 2006 var den 70 prosent.[58] De økonomiske støtteordningene fremmer en ordning med formelt medlemskap i en menighet.[59] Det betyr at man etter hvert har lært seg til å gjøre ting på en måte som gir inntekter i form av støtte. Tildeling av statstilskuddet er en aksept fra det norske samfunnets side. Like viktig er det at organisasjonen som søker, samtidig aksepterer staten som en samarbeidspartner og bidragsyter.

Av andre ulikheter knyttet til organisasjonsform kan nevnes at sunni-islam er uten hierarki. Derfor fungerer ikke moskéene som

institusjoner som uttaler seg på vegne av alle troende. I Norge har kirken et presteskap eller biskopkollegium til å uttale seg om kirkens syn på aktuelle tema. I muslimske miljø har det vært uttrykt savn etter et lærekontor som med autoritet kan besvare trosspørsmål.[60]

Ny profesjonell imamrolle, mer som prester En ny praksis ved muslimske samfunn i Vesten er at de etter hvert ansetter fulltids velutdannede imamer. I Pakistan er en imam en bønneleder, og mange steder er dette et betrodd, men ubetalt tillitsverv hvor det ikke kreves annet enn å være en respektert muslim. I USA var imamene først frivillige. Etter hvert viste det seg at folk var så opptatte med andre gjøremål at tjenesten ikke kunne fungere basert på frivillig innsats.[61] Moskéer hyrer nå fulltids skolerte imamer som underviser, vier, holder begravelser, holder søndagsskole eller Koranskole og utfører kommunale oppgaver. I ICC ble det i 2022 foretatt 68 vigsler.[62] Imamer i Pakistan har som regel ikke vigselsrett. ICC har ansatt tre imamer med høy utdannelse.

Imamene er avhengige av menighetene Organiseringen og de nye oppgavene betyr økt bevissthet om betydningen av moskéen. Den er ikke bare et sted for gudsdyrkelse, men også et sted der mennesker kan reflektere, trekke seg tilbake og være sosiale. Moskéene i den vestlige verden øker bevisstheten om islam og hjelper til med å holde på identiteten. Samtidig som imamrollen i større grad er blitt profesjonell, er imamene blitt mer avhengige av menighetsstyret enn i hjemlandet.[63] Dette minner om situasjonen for prestene i de norskamerikanske menighetene der prestene var lønnet av menighetene og avhengig av menighetens velvilje. Med alle oppgavene som ligger til imamrollen og profesjonalisering av yrket hevdes det at imamer mer og mer går i kristne misjonærers fotspor og at den omfattende lederrollen innebærer den største tilpasningen til vestlige majoritetssamfunn.

Lekfolk får nye oppgaver Ny organisering og nye oppgaver betydde mye, først og fremst for kvinnene som opplevde at deres ressurser ble verdsatt på en helt annen måte enn de var vant til hjemmefra hvor deres domene i stor grad var hjemmet. Også for menn kunne formalisering av det religiøse livet bety at deres innsats ble viktigere enn før.

Endringer i ICC-moskéen

Også endringene som gjelder ICC spesielt, må ansees som eksempel på «glidende overganger». Menighetsutviklingen er resultat av kontakt med storsamfunnet som har etablert seg som resultat av kontakt med storsamfunnet og behov for å iverksette tiltak for å ta vare på ulike grupper i menigheten.

Dialog Dialog som kommunikasjonsform innebærer i særlig grad en endring i ICC-moskéen. Det finnes kobling til politisk islam innenfor deobandi-retningen, men i Norge har moskéen valgt en dialogisk retning. Det skjedde ved at den i sin tid gikk inn i IRN (Islamsk Råd Norge). Den videreførte ønsket om dialog ved å gå ut IRN som etter hvert var blitt en konfronterende organisasjon på kollisjonskurs med storsamfunnet. I kjølvannet av disse begivenhetene etablerte ICC sammen med andre moskéer paraplyorganisasjonen MDN (Muslimsk Dialognettverk Norge) i 2018. Samtidig stilte ICC seg positiv til at ahmadiyya-moskéen kunne søke opptak og bli medlem av dialogorganisasjonen STL (Samarbeidsrådet for tro og livssyn i Norge). Ahmadiyyaenes ønske om å bli med i samarbeidsorganet STL var tidligere blitt blokkert av andre moskéer i IRN enn ICC.

Spørsmålet om Ahmadiyya-islam er komplisert. Retningen anerkjennes ikke av andre muslimer som islam fordi ahmadiyyaene tror på en profet i tillegg til profeten Muhammed. Mawdudi som er nevnt ovenfor, teolog, politiker og fornyer av islam, og som har betydd mye for deobandi-retningen, var pådriver for at ahmadiyyaene i 1974 ikke lenger kunne betraktes som muslimer. Dette fikk senere konsekvenser for blasfemilovene i landet. Pakistan har hatt blasfemilover siden britene styrte landet, men etter at landet ble selvstendig i 1947 skjedde det flere innstramminger av lovene. Under general Zia-ul-Haq ble ahmadiyyaene fradømt retten til å praktisere sin tro, etter inspirasjon fra Mawdudi som da var død.

I 1986 ble dødsstraff for blasfemi innført i Pakistan.[64] Mange land har dødsstraff for blasfemi, men i Pakistan er det avsagt ekstra mange dødsstraffer, først og fremst mot ahmadiyyaene, men også mot kristne.[65] Dette har ført til sterke reaksjoner i verdenssamfun-

net.[66] Med dette som bakgrunn er det noe nytt at ICC-moskéen har valgt å samarbeide med Ahmadiyya-muslimene. De gjør det på samme måte som de samarbeider med kristne, hinduer, buddhister og humanetikere i STL, men uten at ahmadiyya-muslimene betraktes som rett-troende.[67]

ICC har fra oppstarten vært opptatt av å være i dialog med storsamfunnet. Det innebærer at det arrangeres åpne dager og at nærmiljøet og interesserte inviteres. Åpen dag og hvit-rosedag er eksempler på slike arrangement. Moskéen har vist stor sosial aktivitet i forbindelse med ulykker (som Gjerdrum-ulykken), overfor vanskeligstilte i samfunnet og overfor flyktninger. At norsk er valgt som hovedspråk, er også er uttrykk for åpenhet.

Et utvidet tilbud Moskéen fungerer som et møtested for ulike grupper. Det gjelder spesielt for barn, unge og kvinner. For første generasjon erstattet moskétilbudet tapet av en utvidet familie som mange opplevde. Aktivitetene er spesielt mange i ICC, flere enn i f.eks. Rabita-moskéen der unge mennesker i større grad «får lov til å holde på med sitt».[68] ICC sin aktivitetsvirksomhet oppfattes som belærende av noen unge. Det er nærliggende å tolke organiseringen som en videreføring av moskéens normative historie med vekt på livsførsel, opplæring og organisering.

Norsk språk Overgang til norsk språk skjedde i 2013, og begrunnelsen var blant annet moskéens internasjonale sammensetning. Urdu var ikke lenger fellesspråket, som i større grad var blitt norsk. I moskéen praktiseres det nå to offisielle språk, arabisk som Koranen leses på og norsk. Urdu brukes også, og språkkurs i urdu tilbys.

Kvinner i posisjon Da ICC ble etablert i 1974, hadde ikke kvinner tilgang til moskéen.[69] Dette endret seg på slutten av 1980-tallet.[70] På eget initiativ samlet en gruppe kvinner seg utenfor moskeen i noen år for å lese Koranen og lære om islam.[71] Det må ha gjort inntrykk, og kvinnene fikk være med inn i bygningen på 1980-tallet. Det skjedde imidlertid ved å bruke en egen inngang, visstnok etter eget ønske. I dag bruker kvinnene stort sett hovedinngangen.[72] I en norsk kontekst har det altså skjedd en endring i det patriarkalske kjønnsregimet, slik at kvinner har adgang til å delta.

I 1990 hadde ikke ICC aktiviteter for kvinner og jenter over 11 år i moskéen. Også dette har endret seg. I 1999 ble koranundervisning og undervisning i arabisk tilbudt både kvinner og jenter over 11 år.[73] At mediene begynte å sette søkelys på kvinners situasjon og kvinnerollen i muslimske miljø, har trolig hatt sitt å si for at kvinner er blitt sterkere inkludert.

Særpreg ved ICC-moskéen

En rapport fra 2020, *Endring i det stille*, handler om kvinners deltakelse i driften og ledelsen av norske moskéer. Rapporten ble skrevet på oppdrag fra Muslimsk Dialognettverk Norge (MDN) med støtte fra Barne- og familiedepartementet. Foranledningen var en undersøkelse i NRK i 2019 som avdekket lav kvinneandel i styrene i muslimske trossamfunn. Utgangspunktet var spørsmål rundt kontantstøtten og hva som kan forventes av norske moskéer sett fra storsamfunnets side. Undersøkelsen tok utgangspunkt i moskéer innenfor MDN, det vil si de fem moskéer, og ICC er en av dem. Rapporterte opplysninger til Brønnøysundregisteret var hovedkilde til NRK-undersøkelsen, og i rapporten fra 2020 ble det påpekt at NRK-undersøkelsen verken ivaretok ulike typer organisering av norske moskéer eller den type lederoppgaver som ikke meldes inn til Brønnøysund.

Endring i det stille har tre sentrale moment: For det første nevnes det at kvinner er svært aktive i driften av ICC, først og fremst når det gjelder praktiske oppgaver og innsamlingsarbeid. Det er en erkjennelse til stede i de fem moskéene at de ikke kunne ha opprettholdt virksomheten uten innsatsen fra frivillige kvinner.[74]

For det andre trekker rapporten fram at ingen av moskéene har imam eller kvinnelig styreleder, men i flere av dem er det mulig å stille som kandidat til hovedstyret. ICC er en av disse. Rapporten viser dessuten at moskéen har kvinner i flere av avdelingsstyrene, altså nivået under hovedstyret. Moskéen er organisert med parallelle organisasjoner, med egne underavdelinger, ICC Kvinner og ICC Ungdom (en felles gruppe for gutter og jenter). Det er likevel ikke tvil om at ordningen med parallellorganisasjoner, er med på å videreføre hjemlandets tradisjonelle kjønnsroller.[75] Dette tilsvarer *Ladies Aid* som lutheranere etablerte i USA.

Et tredje element i rapporten er etableringen av ICC Kvinner. Foreningen ble etablert i 2006 etter at menigheten hadde hatt besøk av en «lederskikkelse fra Pakistan».[76] Dette var høyst sannsynlig tidligere nevnte amir Qazi Hussain Ahmed den gang leder i Jamaat i Pakistan under besøket i moskéen i 2004. Besøket var kontroversielt bl.a. på grunn av hans tidligere uttalelser om al-Qaida og ønske om å ville innføre *sharia*-lover i nord-vestprovisen i Pakistan. Kommunalminister Erna Solberg kalte amiren inn til samtale blant annet med spørsmål om kvinners situasjon i landet. Etter samtalen fikk amir Ahmed innreisetillatelse.[77] Solberg var imidlertid betenkt og sa hun ville evaluere tillatelsen i etterkant.[78] Det kan nevnes at på den samme reisen ble Ahmed nektet innreise til Nederland og Belgia.[79] Tidspunktet for dette besøket tyder på at det var det som ga impulser til etablering av kvinneforeningen i moskeen. I den forbindelse kan det pekes på at Jamaat til tross for sin konservatisme og moderate islamisme, har en effektiv kvinnekontingent i partiet i Pakistan som har gjort seg bemerket som aktivister i partisammenheng, og deres kvinnebevegelse er regnet som svært effektiv.[80] Foreningen i Norge lå etter i dette spørsmålet.

Moskéen valgte en kvinnelig representant til dialogarbeidet i en tidlig fase. Det kan ha sammenheng med at mediene omkring år 2000 hadde begynt å rette søkelys mot det muslimske miljøet og deres kjønnspraksis. Spørsmål om kvinner stilling i moskéene ble debattert i media. Spørsmål om kjønn og kjønnsroller, tvangsekteskap, kjønnslemlestelse og æresdrap er blitt etter hvert blitt satt på dagsorden i det muslimske miljøet. Debattene kan ha gjort at det muslimske miljøet og moskéene har følt seg presset til å gjøre noe med tidligere kjønnsrollepraksis.[81]

Fellestrekk ved Trefoldighet menighet og ICC-moskéen

Både norskamerikanere og norskpakistanere etablerte religiøse organisasjoner som var annerledes enn det de var vant til i hjemlandet. For norskamerikanerne dreide det seg om å etablere selvfinansierte frikirker. For norskpakistanerne dreide det seg om å etablere moskéer som bestod av registrerte medlemmer. Medlemskap i moskéer

er uvanlig i muslimske land. Trefoldighet menighet og ICC var/er begge aktive med tanke på utvikling av tilbud for ulike medlemsgrupper. Det har sammenheng med vektlegging av utdanning og synet på kunnskap som en finner innenfor menighetene. Aktivitetsmangfoldet førte i neste omgang til stort behov for frivillige medhjelpere. Det betydde at lekfolk kom til å få en helt ny betydning i menighetene sammenlignet med det en var vant til hjemmefra. Teologien kan beskrives som konservativ eller tilbakeskuende, men arbeidsmåtene er moderne. Begge menigheter formildet/-r en streng livsstil, et puritansk livsmønster. Samtidig blir betydningen av kunnskap og utdanning understreket.

Begge organisasjonene har hatt nær tilknytning til et politisk sjikt i hjemlandet. For Trefoldighet menighet dreide det seg om prestenes personlige forbindelser til ledende politikere i Norge. For ICC dreier det seg om det kontakt med det pakistanske islamistiske partiet Jamaat-e-Islami. Også denne kontakten har preg av å være personlig. Forskjellen mellom forbindelsene er likevel stor, se nedenfor. Til å være konservative organisasjoner, her i betydningen tilbakeskuende, har menighetene gjort mye bruk av kvinner. For Trefoldighet sin del dreier det seg om en form for feminisme, blant annet ved etablering av diakonissebevegelen og ved det tidlige vedtaket om kvinners stemmerett. For ICC framstår det mer som resultat av pragmatisme og press utenfra når kvinner er blitt valgt til å lede underavdelinger. For begge menighetene var/er kvinnenes ressurs helt nødvendig for å kunne drive menigheten.

Ulike trekk mellom Trefoldighet og ICC

En stor forskjell mellom Trefoldighet og ICC er forholdet til religion og politikk i samfunnet de var/er en del av. Statskirken hadde sine privilegier i det norske samfunnet, men staten var aldri tenkt styrt etter religiøse lover eller gjennom et religiøst lederskap. Bibelen har ikke lover for hvordan et samfunn skal styres. Når det gjelder ICC, er det en løs tilknytning mellom moskéen og det islamistiske partiet Jamaat-e-Islami. Partiet kjemper aktivt i Pakistan for at landet skal styres etter sharia som har sitt utspring i Koranen. Et skille mellom religion og politikk finnes ikke innenfor islam, is-

lamistiske parti eller islamistisk styrte stater. ICC står riktignok for en moderat form for islam og hevder i tråd med denne at i Vesten må muslimer ta utgangspunkt i de sosiale, kulturelle og politiske forholdene i mottakslandet ved utøvelse av religionen.

Å holde på nasjonalspråket betydde mer for Trefoldighet enn for ICC. Trefoldighet menighet holdt ekstra lenge på det norske språket og betonte dermed den nasjonale arven. De norskamerikanske kirkene var etniske, i praksis bare for norske innvandrere og deres etterkommere. På samme måte hadde svensker og dansker sine etniske immigrantkirker. I ICC har den internasjonale sammensetningen vært utslagsgivende for å vedta norsk som hovedspråk forholdsvis tidlig. Det undervises i urdu og visse møter holdes på urdu, men hovedspråk er norsk og arabisk (som Koranen leses på).

For nordmenn ble understreking av den nasjonale arven en måte å markere egenidentitet på i det kristne USA. For dem eksisterte det ikke et skille mellom etnisitet og tro. For mange aktive unge muslimer, er det troen som utgjør identitetsgrunnlaget. De distanserer seg fra foreldrekulturen og foreldrenes religion og velger å lære om det de kaller «egentlig islam».[82] Dette er holdninger som også gjenkjennes blant ICC sin ungdom. For mange er det blitt vanligere å definere seg som muslimer enn som f.eks. pakistanere.[83]

Hirschmans tre R-er: Refuge, Respect, Resources og immigrantmenighetene

Både Trefoldighet menighet og ICC var pionermenigheter da de ble etablert, Trefoldighet i 1868 i Minneapolis og ICC i 1974 i Oslo. Som religiøse immigrantmenigheter hadde medlemmene deres behov for alle de tre R-ene: tilflukt, respekt og ressurser. Fungerte menighetene som en støtte i tilpasningen til samfunnet?

Refuge – tilflukt, trøst, beskyttelse og trygghet – er det ingen grunn til å tro at disse menighetene ikke har gitt de søkende, i alle fall på et psykologisk plan. De har hatt det åndelige fellesskapet sammen, og for mange har kirken eller moskéen blitt et bindeledd til fortiden. Det har bidratt til å gjøre overgangen til et nytt hjemland lettere.

Når det gjelder den siste R-en, *Resources*, har det vært forsket på hva immigranter kan vinne på ressursene av nettverk og forbindelser de har tilgang til gjennom sine menigheter. Phillip Connor har undersøkt dette ut fra ulike hypoteser, blant annet at tilhørighet til majoritetsreligion eller minoritetsreligion har betydning for inntektsnivået.[84] Han fant ut at sammenheng mellom religion og høy inntekt ikke helt kan avvises. Utsagn fra enkeltpersoner tilsier at det er nyttig å ha tilknytning til et religiøst miljø og få informasjon for å klare seg i et nytt land. Ikke minst gjelder det informasjon om arbeid, bolig, hjelp til å forstå byråkrati og forvaltning og hjelp til å fylle ut skjemaer. Connors arbeid viser imidlertid at denne type informasjon også kan formidles gjennom andre typer grupperinger, som etniske foreninger, sekulære foreninger.

Den midterste R-en, *Respect*, er den mest interessante fordi den avdekker klare forskjeller i den vestlige verden. Hirschman nevner to typer respekt, en intern variant som en oppnår ved å delta, yte innsats, bli lagt merke til. Denne type respekt kan fungere som et alternativ for de som ikke oppnår annen respekt i samfunnet. Den andre typen respekt er den en kan oppnå eksternt, via omgivelsene. I USA kunne det å delta i religiøst arbeid gi respekt. Det opplevde de norske immigrantene. Oppfordringen fra myndighetens side var å beholde religionen. I Will Herbergs *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* fra 1960 er myndighetenes budskap at immigranten gjerne må forandre på alt, men ikke på religionen:

> (–) his becoming an American did not involve his abandoning the old religion in favor of some native American substitute. Quite the contrary, not only was he expected to retain his old religion (–), but such was the shape of America that it was largely in and through his religion that he, or rather his children and grandchildren, found an identifiable place in American life.[85]

Ikke bare skulle immigrantene beholde sin religion, men det var også essensielt at den ble videreført til neste generasjon. USA hadde vedtatt religionsfrihet som en del av tilleggene til Konstitu-

sjonen*, Bill of rights*, i 1791. Selv om katolisisme og jødedom ikke ble akseptert på lik linje med protestantisme før etter andre verdenskrig, var religiøsitet verdsatt på en annen måte i det amerikanske samfunnet ved slutten av 1800-tallet enn i Norge ved slutten av 1900-tallet. Sitatet ovenfor, om at immigranten bør beholde religionen, reflekterer et samfunn som ikke bare aksepterer tanken om en åndelig dimensjon, men som anbefaler religiøs identitet som et nyttig instrument i integreringssituasjonen. Dette signaliserer et samfunn som verdsetter religiøs aktivitet høyt, høyere enn i Norge og Nord-Europa. «Det langt mer troende USA» sies det i en rapport der religiøsitet i Norge og USA sammenlignes.[86]

Hvordan stiller situasjonen seg for muslimer i Norge i dag? Gir det respekt i immigrantbefolkningen om immigranter er engasjert i moskévirksomhet? Neppe. To undersøkelser i 2022 viser negative holdninger til islam i befolkningen. Den første, Integreringsbarometeret fra 2022, viser at et flertall i befolkningen (54 prosent) mener at islam er uforenlig med grunnleggende verdier i det norske samfunnet. I undersøkelsen har en gått videre for å se hva det er ved islam som fremkaller skepsis, om et har sammenheng med grad av tro. Resultatene viser at befolkningen er mer skeptisk til personer med muslimsk tro (47 prosent) enn kristen tro (20 prosent). Spesielt stor skepsis er det til personer med sterk muslimsk tro (68 prosent), men også til sterk kristen tro (55 prosent).[87] At tro, både sterk og svak, blir lite verdsatt i samfunnet, er det nærliggende å tolke som uttrykk for sekulariseringstendenser. Den andre, *Holocaustsenterets befolkningsundersøkelse* fra desember 2022, viser at en tredjedel (33 prosent) av befolkningen støtter påstandene om at «muslimer utgjør en trussel mot norsk kultur» og «muslimer passer ikke inn i moderne samfunn».[88] Resultatet synliggjør fordommer/stereotypiske forestillinger i befolkningen overfor muslimer, men analysen viser også en forsiktig nedgang i befolkningens fordommer (fra henholdsvis 39 og 36 prosent i 2017 til 33 prosent i 2022).[89]

Respekt på bakgrunn av religiøs muslimsk aktivitet ser det ut til å være vanskelig å oppnå fra den norske befolkningen. Når det gjelder offisiell politikk og statlig holdning, er situasjonen en helt

annen. Fra statens side blir religiøs aktivitet verdsatt i form av statsstøtte. Slik har det vært siden 1969 da vedtaket «Lov om trudomssamfunn og ymist anna» innebar at alle religiøse samfunn som søkte om det, ble støttet økonomisk. Fra 1984 gjaldt støtten også livssynssamfunn. Beløpet som overføres, er det samme som Den norske kirke får pr. medlem. I internasjonal sammenheng er ordningen svært generøs.[90] Dessuten er samarbeidet mellom majoritet og minoritet når det gjelder tros- og livssyn enestående i verden. I STL (Samarbeidsrådet for tro- og livssyn) foregår det et enestående samarbeid, sammenlignet med tilsvarende organ i andre land. Det spesielle er at et sekulært livssyn er inkludert (Human-Etisk Forbund) og at majoritetskirken opptrer på lik linje med de andre religiøse organisasjonene. Det vil si at på det offisielle nivå eller det offentlig plan nyter minoritetsgrupper innenfor tros-og livssynsfeltet stor respekt.

For sammenligningens skyld kan det nevnes hva den norske og den svenske staten overfører til religiøse samfunn. I Norge ble det i 2022 fordelt vel 917 millioner kroner til tros- og livssynssamfunn utenfor Den norske kirke. Av disse fikk muslimske trossamfunn vel 230 millioner.[91] Den norske kirke kostet staten 2,17 milliarder kroner dette året for bl.a. å kunne ivareta kirkebygg og opprettholde en landsdekkende prestetjeneste. I Sverige var kostnaden for den svenske kirken i 2022 på 3,11 milliarder SEK (svenske kroner).[92] Dette året ble det fordelt vel 100 millioner SEK til religiøse samfunn utenfor Svenska kyrkan.[93] Av disse fikk muslimske samfunn og organisasjoner i underkant av 20 millioner.[94] Noen vesentlige moment skiller trosregnskapet i Sverige og Norge: Etter år 2000 betaler medlemmer av Svenska kyrkan en medlemskontingent, delvis utregnet etter inntekt.[95] Støtten som i Sverige innvilges til religiøse samfunn utenfor kirken, er ikke beregnet ut fra en fast sats pr. medlem, slik det er i Norge. Dessuten får bare religiøse samfunn statsstøtte i Sverige, ikke-religiøse livssynsorganisasjoner får det ikke. Til tross for ulike systemer og vurderinger, illustrerer ulikheten i beløpene til fordeling hvor gunstig den norske ordningen er. Den betyr at den norske staten gjennom bevilgende myndigheter verdsetter virksomheten til tros- og livssynsorganisasjoner.

Konklusjon

I følge Hirschman fremmer religion immigranters integrering i det amerikanske samfunnet. Er situasjonen den samme i Norge? I denne artikkelen er det vist at religiøs tro i integreringssammenheng kan ha ulik betydning, avhengig av forholdet til religion i mottakslandet. De tre R-ene, refuge, respect, resources, illustrerer forskjellen i de to eksemplene, Trefoldighet menighet fra 1868 og ICC-moskéen fra 1974. Ulikhetene dreier seg om sted, tid, religion, om ulik avstand mellom innvandrer- og mottakerkultur, men først og fremst om ulike holdninger i mottakslandene. Det religiøse behovet er antakelig sammenlignbart for 1870-tallets norske immigranter til USA og 1970-tallets pakistanske immigranter til Norge. Men den norske befolkning etter 1970, ikke minst etter år 2000, er svært ulik den amerikanske befolkningen etter 1870 når det gjelder verdsetting av religiøs tro og aktivitet. Den positive holdningen i USA til religiøse spørsmål er langt på vei den samme i dag.[96] Åpenheten og religionsfriheten i det amerikanske samfunnet uansett religion eller konfesjon utgjør den viktigste forskjellen mellom de to mottakslandene.

Et interessant resultat når det gjelder forhold for religiøse innvandrere i Norge viser Statistisk sentralbyrås undersøkelse fra 2019: «Er religiøse innvandrere mindre integrert?»[97] Analysen konkluderer med at religiøse innvandrere ikke er mindre integrert enn innvandrere generelt. Forklaringen ligger i at religiøst engasjerte ofte er aktive også i annet frivillig arbeid, i sekulære foreninger. Gjennom det frivillige arbeidet kan det knyttes kontakter og språklige ferdigheter kan styrkes. Ikke minst viktig er sammenhengen som er påvist mellom frivillig arbeid og tillit i samfunnet, både i form av generell tillit og tillit til samfunnsinstitusjonene. Sammenhengen er svak, men den er viktig. Tillit er limet som velferdsstaten er avhengig av, og for den enkelte kan tillit gi gevinst i form av flere muligheter. Frivillig arbeid er en viktig mulig vei til sosial inkludering i det norske samfunnet som en del religiøse immigranter gjør seg nytte av.

Empiri og forskning viser at situasjonen ikke er entydig. At Norge beskrives som et «religiøst komplekst» samfunn dekker fler-

tydigheten som oppstår ved at en tilsynelatende sekulær befolkning blir styrt av en stat som aktivt støtter religiøs aktivitet.[98] Den R-en som skiller det norske og det amerikanske samfunnet sterkest, er R-en for respekt, mer presist ekstern respekt, respekt fra omgivelsene. Den type respekt oppnås i den amerikanske befolkningen, mens i det norske samfunnet er det staten, velferdsstaten med religions- og livssynspolitikken som i størst grad bidrar med respekt til religiøse minoritetssamfunn. Den innebærer både anerkjennelse, bl.a. gjennom samarbeid, og materiell støtte. Den bidrar både med respekt og ressurs. Religion er med på å fremme integrering i det norske samfunnet ved å gi tilflukt (refuge) og ressurser. Når det gjelder respekt, bidrar statens likebehandlingsstrategi til å balansere den skepsis som er dokumentert i befolkningen.

English Summary

People migrate, and their religious beliefs accompany the migrants. A key question related to migration processes is whether religion is a help or a hindrance to integration. Two religious congregations are analyzed together, a Christian Norwegian immigrant church in Minneapolis, Trinity Congregation from 1870, and a Sunni Islamic Mosque in Oslo, the Islamic Cultural Center from 1970. The examples are thus taken from different continents, different centuries and associated with two different world religions. Nevertheless, the examples show clear similarities in the adaptation to the majority society.

To investigate the function of religion in the integration processes, the American sociologist Charles Hirschman's thoughts on religion and integration, the so-called three Rs, Refuge, Resources, Respect, are used. Hirschman's theorizing about the topic is based on American conditions. What can Hirschman's assessments tell us about the integration process in Norway? What is the difference between being an immigrant in the USA at the end of the nineteenth century and being an immigrant in Norway at the end of the twentieth century? The analysis reveals interesting similarities and differences between the societies.

Notes

[1] Kåre Vassenden, «Norge et innvandringsland siden 1971», Statistisk sentralbyrå, 08.09.1999.

[2] Bruken av begrepene norskpakistansk, norskpakistaner ser ut til å ha festet seg, til tross for at det er førsteleddet markerer innvandrernasjonen, og at for norskamerikanere markerte førsteleddet hjemlandet.

[3] Integrering som innlemmelsesstrategi står her i motsetning til assimilering (å gjøre lik) og multikulturalisme med sterke krav til mottakssamfunnet om å akseptere ulikheter.

[4] De tre R-ene er hentet fra Charles Hirschman's artikkel fra 2004: "The Role og religion in the Origins and Adaption of Immigrant Groups in the United States" IMR Volume 38, Number 3 (Fall 2004), s. 1206-1235.

[5] Kari Vogt, *Islam på norsk. Moskéer og islamske organisasjoner i Norge.* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2008), s. 31. Menighet kan også brukes om muslimske miljø. Muslimer bruker menighet og moské som synonymer.

[6] Knut Kjeldstadli, *Fortida er ikke hva den engang var,* 2. utg. 10. opplag 2022 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999), s. 121, 268-269.

[7] Carl Hempel er kjent for *covering law*, en lov som dekker alt, som i naturvitenskapene.

[8] Sivert Langholm, «Historikeren som fredsforsker» (1966). «Begrenset regelmessighet» er en teori som gjelder fenomener av en bestemt art (klasse) innenfor bestemte grenser i tid og rom.

[9] Ottar Dahl, *Grunntrekk i historieforskningens metodelære*. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967).

[10] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 33f.

[11] Hempel, Kari G. "*Is not a sin in one place a sin in another?" Menighetsliv I norskamerikanske immigrantmiljø 1870-1917, kontinuitet og endring*. PhD-avhandling, Universitetet i Tromsø, 2012.

[12] I Hempel (2012) er de to andre menighetene i Minneapolis som ble analysert, St. Pauls menighet (en haugiansk menighet) og Vår Frelsers menighet (Den norske synode, med sterke statskirkelige røtter). Dessuten ble tre rurale menigheter fra Otter Tail County analysert: Norwegian Grove, Nordre Immanuel og Sverdrup menighet.

[13] Hempel, *Is not a sin in one place*, s. 67. befolkningstallene er omtrentlige. Barn er ikke medregnet i immigrantfamiliene, og det kunne ta lang tid før migrantene ble regnet til byens innbyggere.

[14] En kolportør er en omvandrende selger av bibelske skrifter og andaktsbøker.

[15] Ole Paulson, *Erindringer. Efter hans død gjennomseet av Prof. Sven Oftedal*, (Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, 1907), s. 218ff.

[16] Paulson, *Erindringer*, s. 223.

[17] Av professorer som var medlem i menigheten kan nevnes August Wenaas, Sven Gunnersen, Georg Sverdrup, Sven Oftedal, B. B. Gjeldaker og M. Ø. Bøckmann. Wenaas og Gjeldaker deltok bare i et par år.

[18] James Hamre, *From Immigrant Parish to Inner City Ministry. Trinity Lutheran Congregation* (Copyright©1998 ved James S. Hamre), s. 49.

[19] Betegnelsene høykirkelig- lavkirkelig er ikke helt dekkende, men begrepene har vært brukt i faglitteraturen tidligere og brukes derfor her. Det kritikkverdige i sammenhengen er at skillelinjene ikke så enkle og entydige som begrepsbruken tilsier.
[20] Begge kom fra prominente familier i Norge. Georg Sverdrup, bror til kirkeminister Jakob Sverdrup og nevø til statsminister Johan Sverdrup. Sven Oftedal kom fra en stavangerfamilie og var bror til Norges fremste forkynner i samtiden, Lars Oftedal.
[21] Hamre, *From Immigrant Parish*, s. 49.
[22] Odd Lovoll, *Det løfterike landet*. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1983), s. 102.
[23] Hempel. *Is not a sin in one place*, s. 3012ff.
[24] E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, (Philadephia: Fortress Press, rev. ed. 1980), s. 343.
[25] Bill of Rights: The 1st ten Amendments: "First amendment. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." *Bill of Rights Institute*.
[26] Dissenterbegrepet ble avskaffet i 1969 med *Lov om trudomssamfunn og ymist anna*.
[27] Ingunn Folkestad Breistein, «Statlig tilskudd til tros- og livssynssamfunn- et historisk riss». *Kirke og Kultur*, Vol. 121, utg. 4, 2016, s. 325-333.
[28] Hempel, *Is not a sin in one place*, s. 207 ff.
[29] Hempel, *Is not a sin in one place*, s. 217.
[30] Hamre, *From Immigrant Parish*, s. 62.
[31] Hempel, *Is not a sin in one place*, s. 304. I Vor Frelsers menighet i Minneapolis var overgangen til all virksomhet på engelsk gjennomført i 1924. I Trefoldighet skjedde denne overgang først i midten av 1930-årene.
[32] I søndagsskolen var en imidlertid gått over til å bruke engelsk langt tidligere, og i 1927 ble det rapportert at kun engelsk ble brukt. Ungdom foretrakk engelsk. Dessuten ble søndagsskoleklassene også besøkt av ikke-norske barn og ungdommer.
[33] En av de som kom til menigheten og som var svært populær, er Melchior Falk Gjertsen. Etter en skandale og en konflikt forlot Falk Gjertsen og mange av medlemmene Trefoldighet menighet. De etablerte sin egen menighet, *Bethany Lutheran Church,* omkring 1902.
[34] Hamre, *From Immigrant Parish*, s. 33.
[35] E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene Fevold, *The Lutheran Church among Norwegian-Americans.* Volume I (Minneapolis; Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), s. 234f.
[36] Hempel, *Is not a sin in one place*, s. 138.
[37] Korbøl, Aud med Arnfinn Midtbøen. *Den kritiske fase, Innvandring til Norge fra Pakistan 1970-1973* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2018), s. 272.
[38] Korbøl, *Den kritiske fase*, s. 244.
[39] Vogt*, Islam på norsk*, s. 37-38.
[40] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 42.

[41] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 42.

[42] Azar, Muhammed Azhar. 2008. *Shauk ka Ujala (The Light of Passion)*. Her: *ICC- Historien.* Moskéens egen historie er skrevet på urdu og oversatt muntlig av doktorgradsstipendiat ved UiS Anna Azeem. Moskéhistorien er en personlig beretning om historiske begivenheter, men det er liten grunn til å tvile på de faktiske opplysningene.

[43] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 43.

[44] Den arabiske hanbaliskolen regnes for den strengeste.

[45] Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan. Et besværlig Land*. Oversatt av Christian Ringstad (Font Forlag, 2013), s. 157. En annen sunniretning er for eksempel den ultrakonservative saudistøttede Ahl-e-Hadith-tradisjonen.

[46] *ICC-Historien*, s. 301.

[47] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 51f.

[48] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 82.

[49] Synnes, Ronald Mayora. *Ungdom i migrantmenigheter. En studie av forhandlinger om religion, etnisitet og kjønn*. UiA, PhD-avhandling, (Universitetet i Agder, 2019), s. 63. Synnes henviser til Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 140.

[50] Knut S. Vikør, *Islam. Ei faktabok* (Oslo: Spartacus, 2006), s. 101.

[51] Lieven, *Pakistan. Et besværlig land*, s. 158. Et skille er det imidlertid ved at det innenfor islam ikke finnes en pave eller et formelt presteskap. Derfor har islam en grunnleggende toleranse for uenighet. Mennesket vet ikke alltid, ifølge Vikør, *Islam*, s. 102.

[52] Hamza Alavi, "Ethnicity, Muslim Society and the Pakistan Ideology." I *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*, red. av A. M. Weiss, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), s. 21-47, her s. 31.

[53] Vogt, *Islam på norsk,* s. 108.

[54] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 49.

[55] Vogt, *Islam på norsk,* s. 234.

[56] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 21. Vogt siterer Olivier Roy, *Vers un islam européen*, 1999, s. 72.

[57] R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner, *Gatherings in Diaspora. Religious Communities and the New Immigration* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), s. 239, 252.

[58] NOU 2006:2. Staten og Den norske kirke, 4.1. Med tall fra år 2000.

[59] Jacobsen, Christine M. 2002. *Tilhørighetens mange former. Unge muslimer i Norge*. Oslo: Unipax, 2002 s. 249.

[60] "Muslime fragen, Christen antworten." *Antwortenanmuslime.de*. Nettside til prof. Christian W. Troll og prof. Tobias Specker.

[61] Warner and Wittner, *Gatherings in diaspora*, s. 253-255.

[62] Årsrapport 2022 fra ICC. Levert til Statsforvalteren i Oslo og Viken.

[63] Vogt, *Islam på norsk,* s. 123.

[64] Virginia Villa, "Four-in-ten countries and territories worldwide had blasphemi laws in 2019." *Pew Research Center*, January 25, 2022.

[65] Staten Pakistan har riktignok ikke utført dødsstraff for blasfemi, men den har heller klart å beskytte religiøse minoriteter mot mobben. Pakistan er på toppen av en liste over religiøst relaterte drap i verden.

[66] *United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF)*, 2022 Annual Report.

[67] Olav Elgvin, *Between a Rock and a hard Place. The Islamic Council of Norway and the Challenge of Representing Islam in Europe*. PhD thesis, (Universitetet i Bergen, 2020), s. 337f.

[68] Kristine Fallet, *Mennesket og moskéen. En studie av to moskéer i Oslo*. Masteroppgave, (Universitetet I Oslo, 2016), s. 72.

[69] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 69.

[70] Vogt, *Islam på norsk*, s. 110 f.

[71] Line Nyhagen Predelli, «Kjønn, religion og deltakelse: En case-studie av muslimske kvinner i Oslo». *Sosiologisk tidsskrift*, Vol 11, 2003, s. 369-393, her s. 375.

[72] Nora Stene, *Endring i det stille*. Skrevet på oppdrag fra Muslimsk Dialognettverk Norge (MDN) og med støtte fra Barne- og familiedepartementet, 2020, s. 46. Bruken av egen inngang for kvinner har imidlertid vært strengere overholdt i Rabita enn i ICC, ifølge Fallet, «Mennesket og moskéen», s. 54.

[73] Jacobsen, *Tilhørighetens mange former*, s. 88, note 53.

[74] Stene, *Endring i det stille*, s. 51.

[75] Stene, *Endring i det stille*, s. 15.

[76] Arne Lutro og Kjetil Mæland, «Erna vil selv treffe Ahmed». *Nettavsien Nyheter*, 19.08.2004.

[77] NTB, «Kritiserte Ahmad for sharia-iver». *VG*, 23.08.2004.

[78] Else Gro Ommundsen, «Enige om å være uenige». Dagsavisen, 24.08.2004, oppdatert 21.02.2021.

[79] Jon Martin Larsen, «Jeg føler meg velkommen i Norge», *Dagsavisen* 22.08.2004, oppdatert 21.02.2021.

[80] Lieven, *Pakistan. Et besværlig land*, s 184.

[81] Fallet, *Mennesket og moskéen*, s. 60.

[82] Jacobsen, *Tilhørighetens mange former*, s. 227.

[83] Alexa Døving, Sidra Shami og Tore Lindholm, "Religious Commitment and Social Integration. Are there Significant Links? A pilot Study of Muslims in the Oslo Area with a Family Background from Pakistan." Universitetet i Oslo, Faculty of Law legal Studies, (Research Paper Series, No. 2012-1), s. 9-10.

[84] Phillip Connor, "Religion as resource: Religion and Immigrant economic incorporation." I *Social Science Research*, Volume 40, Issue 5, September 2011, s. 1350-1361. Konklusjon: De som tilhører en minoritetsreligion, har høyere inntekt om de også er tilknyttet et religiøst samfunn. Immigranter som hører til en religiøs majoritet, som protestanter, har imidlertid lavere inntekt om de deltar regelmessig i religiøs virksomhet.

[85] Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew. An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1960), s. 27-28.

[86] Wollebæk, Dag. 2013. «Religion og sosial kapital. Hva viser internasjonale spørreundersøkelser?» Oslo, Bergen, *Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig*

sektor. Rapport 2013:4, side 8, 18. Rapporten beskriver situasjonen ved begynnelsen av 2000-tallet, men resultatet bygger på kunnskap om historiske forhold.

[87] IMDi (Inkluderings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet) *Integreringsbarometeret* 2022, s. 89-90.

[88] Vibeke Moe (red), «Holdninger til jøder og muslimer i Norge 2022. Befolkningsundersøkelse, minoritetsstudie og ungdomsundersøkelse» *Senter for studier av Holocaust og livssynsminoriteter*, 2022, s 55-56.

[89] Moe, *Holdninger til jøder og muslimer*, s. 59.

[90] Det foreligger proposisjon fra regjeringen sommeren 2024 om å stramme inn ordningen med krav om 100 medlemmer for å kunne søke støtte. Frem til 2024 har kravet vært 50 medlemmer.

[91] Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2022 og 2024, *Religion i Norge*, «Trus- og livssynssamfunn utanfor Den norske kyrkja». I 2022 var det 176 000 registrerte muslimer i Norge. Med en støtte pr medlem på kr 1310 den gang, ga det vel kr 230 millioner til muslimske samfunn. I 2024 er antall registrerte muslimer 190 000. Med økt støtte på kr 1419 pr medlem gir dette kr 270 millioner til muslimske samfunn.

[92] *Svenska kyrkan. Årsredovisning för svenska kyrkans nationella nivå 2022,* s. 24.

[93] Regjeringens proposition 2021/22: 272. Statens stöd til trossamfund samt demokrativilkår vid stöd till civilsamhället, s. 27.

[94] *Myndigheten för stöd till trossamfund* (SST). Bidrag; Bidragsstatistik, 2022. I tillegg *Årsredovisning* fra *Myndigheten för stöd til trossamfund*, s. 54, 57.

[95] Dessuten får den svenske kirken støtte i form av kulturarvmidler, *kyrkoantikvarisk ersättning*. Beløpet har i flere år vært på 460 millioner SEK.

[96] Richard Alba and Nancy Foner, "Immigrant Religion in the US and in Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to inclusion" i *The International Migration Review*, vol 42(2), 2008, s. 360-392.

[97] Anders Barstad, «Er religiøse innvandrere mindre integrert»? Statistisk sentralbyrå, *analyse* 2019/22.

[98] Inger Furseth, "Religious complexity: theorizing multiple religious trends" i *Journal of Contemporary Religions*, Volume 36, 2021, Issue 1. Taylor & Francis Online, s 1-18.

Earlier Publications of NAHA-Norway

According to the statutes of the Norwegian-American Historical Association in Norway, NAHA-Norway, the association's main goal is to "promote the collection of source material and to promote research and publications about various aspects of Norwegian migration history and Norwegian-American history and culture." In other words, NAHA-Norway works to promote scholarly interests in Norwegian-American Studies in Norway, as well as encourage Norwegian contributions to this field of study. The first public meeting arranged by NAHA-Norway was a five-day seminar on Norwegian-American literature and history at Høvikodden in June 1984. Since then several conferences have been held, one in Stavanger in 1986, in Hamar (1989), Voss (1992), Sogndal (1994), Trondheim (1997), Hamar/Oslo (2000), Bergen (2003), Bø i Telemark (2006), Ottestad/Hamar (2009), Decorah, Iowa (2011), Fagernes (2014), Stavanger (2017), and Ottestad/Hamar (2022). The tables of contents of our volumes of seminar proceedings and published books are listed below.

Essays on Norwegian-American Literature and History (Vol. I). Dorothy B. Skårdal and Ingeborg R. Kongslien, editors, NAHA-Norway, 375 pages. Oslo 1986.

I. Norwegian-American Literature
"Nicolai Severin Hassel: Early Norwegian-American Novelist" by Veslemøy Steensnæs Omenaas. "H.A. Foss: Norwegian-American Author and Editor" by Svein Ove Sandvik. "Ole Amundsen Buslett: Norwegian-American Author" by Liv Smith. "Drude Krog Janson: Norwegian-American and Norwegian Writer" by Sigrun Røssbø. "Lars Andreas Stenholt: Popular Author and Radical" by

Odd Gunnar Andreassen. "Peer Strømme in Two Worlds" by Robert L. Berner. "Christian Nephi Anderson: Popular Mormon Author of Norwegian Origin" by Ole Podhorny. "Jon Norstog: A Problematic Author?" by Arne Sunde. "The Americanization of Two Norwegian-American Institutions as Depicted in the Works of Simon Johnson" by Drew Rodgers. "Johannes B. Wist" by Solveig Zempel. "Waldemar Ager: Norwegian-American Sisyphus" by Kenneth Smemo. "Theme and Structure in O.E. Rølvaag's Immigrant Triology" by Ingeborg R. Kongslien. "Dorthea Dahl: Norwegian-American Author of Everyday Life" by Hilde Petra Brungot. "Borghild M. Dahl: Second-Generation Norwegian-American Author" by Barbara Alnæs. "Eyvind Johnson Evans: Norwegian Immigrant Writer" by Judith Ann Torvik. "Generational Conflict in Three Norwegian-American Novels" by Ingeborg Seel Bahr.

II. Norwegian-American History
"Norwegian-American Historical Scholarship: A Survey of Its History and a Look to the Future" by Odd S. Lovoll. "The Dual Heritage: Theodore C. Blegen, Marcus Lee Hanson, and the Norwegian Americans" by Ole O. Moen. "Demographic Consequences of the Emigration to America from Torpa, 1865-1890" by Arvid Sandaker. "The Old Apostolic Lutheran Church of Calumet, Michigan" by May Lunde. "There were Norwegians in Missouri too" by Frank G. Nelson. "Emil Lauritz Mengshoel: A Norwegian-American Socialist" by Odd-Stein Granhus. "Political Power in Norwegian America: Knute Nelson's Political Career 1878-1905" by Torgeir E. Fjørtoft. "Andrew Furuseth: Norwegian-American Preservationist, Prophet, and AFL Propagandist" by David C. Mauk. "Norwegian-American Artists" by Rolf H. Erickson. "Det litterære samfund (The Literary Society of Chicago)" by Helen Fletre.

Essays on Norwegian-American Literature and History, Vol.II. Øyvind T. Gulliksen, Ingeborg R. Kongslien, Dina Tolfsby, editors., NAHA-Norway, 220 pages. Oslo 1990.

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samband med feltarbeid og klassifikasjon" av Arnstein Hjelde. "The Influence of a Norwegian Substratum on the Pronunciation of Norwegian-American in the Upper Midwest" by Per Moen. "Etternamn hos norske immigrantar i USA" by Peter Hallaråker. "Norske stadnamn i Coon Valley, Wisconsin: Møte mellom to tradisjonar" by Arne Kruse. "Personnamngransking som middel til å oppspore slektsrøter i Noreg" av Gulbrand Alhaug. "Norske fornavn i Amerika - Angloamerikanske fornavn i Norge" av Anne Svanevik.

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Jørn Brøndal is Professor and Chair of the Center for American Studies, University of Southern Denmark (SDU). He took his Ph.D. degree at the University of Copenhagen in 1999 based on studies in the US enabled by a Fulbright scholarship. He specializes in US political, ethnic and racial history. His book *Ethnic Leadership and Midwestern Politics* (2004) was named a Wisconsin Historical Society Book of Merit. His Danish-language book on the history of African Americans (2nd revised edition 2020) was among the finalists for two national Danish book awards. His academic output further includes the Danish-language *Danske Amerikanere* (2020) about Danish migrants in the US. Brøndal is president of the Nordic Association for American Studies (since 2023 and also 2011-13) and sat on the editorial board of *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 2009-13. Presently, he is a member of the editorial board of *American Studies in Scandinavia*, a peer-reviewed Nordic journal. Likewise, he is a member of the board of Fulbright Denmark (since 2019). Brøndal frequently discusses US politics and

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Miranda Moen is a registered architect and the founder of MO/EN, a regional design and research practice based in Austin, Minnesota. As a material culture researcher, Miranda explores the intersection of immigrant-built structures, cultural identity, and class in shaping rural environments. In 2022, she was awarded a Fulbright research fellowship and spent eight months in Norway studying the architectural parallels between vernacular Norwegian architecture and Norwegian-American houses in the Upper Midwest. Since then, her work has focused on demonstrating how buildings preserve and transmit heritage, offering insights into the cultural and historical significance of immigrants' homeland traditions on the social and physical development of rural areas. She is a board member of the Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Inc. in the US and works as a consultant with the Norwegian Emigrant Museum in Hamar, Norway as a liaison for transnational initiatives.

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