

1933

# Augustana Historical Society Publications Number 2

Gustav Andreen

Henry F. Staack

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O. Fritiof Ander

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## CONTENTS

GUSTAV ANDREEN

The Early Missionary Work of the Augustana Synod in  
New York City, 1865-1866..... 1

HENRY F. STAACK

The Iowa Synod's Attempt at Missionary Work among  
the Indians, 1859-1864..... 27

FRITIOF FRYXELL

Thomas Moran's Journey to the Tetons in 1879..... 37

ALBERT F. SCHERSTEN

The Historical and Cultural Background of Swedish  
Immigrants of Importance to Their Assimilation in  
America ..... 47

O. FRITIOF ANDER

Swedish-American Newspapers and the Republican  
Party, 1855-1875 ..... 64

Book Reviews ..... 79

Reports of Committees: O. L. NORDSTROM, Report of the  
Membership Committee ..... 88

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ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS, 1932



# Augustana Historical Society

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AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN  
PRINTERS, BINDERS, PUBLISHERS  
ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS  
1933





A. ANDREEN  
1827-1880

# Augustana Historical Society Publications

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## THE EARLY MISSIONARY WORK OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD IN NEW YORK CITY, 1865-1866

BY GUSTAV ANDREEN

New York City was the gateway through which most of the emigrants from Europe entered the New World, as America was called during the last century. Only a small percentage came by way of Boston and other seaports.

The great wave of emigration from Sweden began in the forties of the nineteenth century, increased during the following decades and has continued to the present day; but during the last decade only a small number has come from the North, partly owing to the small quota allowed to enter.

The early groups of emigrants who founded the Augustana Synod crossed the ocean in sailing vessels, passed through New York, steamed up the Hudson on the "sidewheelers" to Albany, were then carried by way of the Erie Canal to Buffalo, where they again boarded steamboats (side-wheelers) which took them through Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and the whole length of Lake Michigan, landing them at Chicago near the east end of Van Buren Street. The first new-comers formed settlements and congregations at Andover and other places in Illinois, then in Iowa, Minnesota and other States. In 1854 the first railway from New York to Chicago was completed.

A small percentage of immigrants remained in New York, constituting a Swedish element of the metropolis. Hence the leaders of the early Swedish Lutheran congregations founded in the Mississippi Valley felt it to be of very great importance



to do missionary work also in New York City and to found a congregation there, partly on account of the number of Swedes already residing in that city and partly on account of the assistance and guidance such congregational work could render the ever-growing number of immigrants for whom New York was the doorway to America.

Of earlier visits to New York by Augustana pastors mention may be made of the following: Rev. L. P. Esbjörn stopped in this city in 1851 when he visited a number of places in the East to gather means for a church building in Andover; in 1854 Rev. T. N. Hasselquist traveled to Jamestown, N. Y., and also to New York City;<sup>1</sup> in 1859 a theological student, S. G. Larson, preached in New York during part of the summer.

In the early sixties the frigate *Norrköping* was sent to American waters to protect Scandinavian shipping during the Civil War; it cast anchor in New York harbor on December 11, 1861, also on January 2, 1862, and lay in the harbor from April 22 to May 20, 1862. Many New York Swedes attended Sunday services on the frigate on the 15 and 22 of December, 1861, these services being led by the chaplain of the ship, Rev. J. O. Gowenius. Later, in May, 1862, he preached to a large gathering of Swedes in St. Matthew's Church.<sup>2</sup>—Hasselquist also visited New York to look over the field in May, 1862.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest religious work among the Swedes in New York was begun in the service of the Methodist church by Rev. O. G. Hedstrom, who began preaching in the *Bethel* ship in 1845 and continued till 1875. This ship lay in North River, and was used for missionary work, especially among the Scandinavians.<sup>4</sup>

Quite a number of Swedish immigrants remained in New York City, the port of entry, on account of opportunities offered to the wage earner, as well as to the professional man; for some the lack of funds made it impossible to continue the journey westward. Although New York City is mentioned oftener and more at length in the early minutes of the Augustana Synod than any other place, as needing missionary work, the first serious and successful attempt to organize a congregation there was delayed until 1865, when the metropolis had a population of 725,000, among whom was a fair percentage of

Swedes. The mission of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church should no doubt have been begun at an earlier date.

The Augustana Synod (founded in 1860) at its meeting in Vasa, Minn., in June 1862, first had its attention officially called to the importance of doing missionary work in New York as it listened to the annual report of its president, Rev. T. N. Hasselquist. We quote the following from this report:

"During a very extensive journey last May I also visited New York in order to ascertain if there were any prospects of founding a congregation there, which would be a member of our synod. Although I met only a few of our countrymen (landsmän), I received from them as well as from the Lutheran pastors in the city so much information and encouragement, that I felt convinced it was high time to undertake this work. I hope that the synod will give this subject serious consideration."<sup>5</sup>

The Committee on the President's report, consisting of G. Peters, Is. Jensen and H. Swedberg, called the attention of the Synod to Hasselquist's proposition that congregational work be begun in New York and recommended that a pastor be called to this field.<sup>6</sup>

The Synod passed a resolution "that the officers of the Synod be a committee to arrange for the spiritual care of our countrymen in New York, and be instructed to call Rev. O. C. T. Andrén to be pastor in New York; also to express its gratitude to Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen (Evangelical National Association) in Stockholm for its promise to contribute to the support of a Swedish pastor in New York."

Both the Synod and the friends in Sweden saw the great need and importance of doing religious work in New York.

In 1863, at the synodical meeting held in Chicago in June, the Committee appointed to look through the minutes of 1862, consisting of A. Jackson, P. Asbjörnsen, and A. Leens, asked: "What has been done for the spiritual welfare of our countrymen in New York?"<sup>7</sup>

The information was then given that a call had been issued to Rev. O. C. T. Andrén to become pastor in New York, which call he had declined. No further action had been taken. The Synod then decided "that the committee be continued with the desire and hope, that it may find some way of accomplishing something for the benefit of our countrymen in New York."<sup>8</sup>

Again at the synodical meeting in Chicago in June, 1864, the members of the committee on Home Missions, T. N. Hasselquist and O. J. Hatlestad, reported as follows:

"We have not been able to do anything for the founding of a congregation in New York. However, this urgent matter must by no means be abandoned, especially as the emigration from Sweden will no doubt increase in volume hereafter. We must pray the Lord, that He incline the heart of some suitable pastor in the Fatherland to assume this important position. 'Fosterlandsstiftelsen' is still giving space in its 'Missionstidning' for the acknowledgment of gifts 'to the mission in New York,' albeit very few contributions are coming in, probably because of the fact that no missionary is stationed there. Possibly this matter should, by correspondence, be laid before 'Stiftelsen' which kindly has promised to give ample support [to the cause]. A plea might also be published in the newspapers in Sweden concerning the necessity of procuring a faithful worker in New York."

The Synod passed a resolution instructing the committee to endeavor to procure a suitable man for New York City.<sup>9</sup>

#### *The Work in 1865*

At the Synod in Princeton, Ill., in June, 1865, T. N. Hasselquist and O. J. Hatlestad as Committee on Home Missions reported as follows :

"With sorrow the committee must confess that it has not been able to do anything for the Scandinavians in New York. We were pleased to learn that Brother O. Estrem,<sup>10</sup> during his stay in Philadelphia, has on ten occasions visited New York. He bears testimony to the great need [of pastoral work], but expresses as his opinion that nothing can be accomplished by a visit now and then.

"Although our pastors are altogether too few on our field here in the West, the committee yet feels constrained to recommend to the Synod, that Rev. A. Andreen be called to be missionary in New York during such a period as the Synod may decide. We can begin our labors there with hopefulness and with the prayer that the Lord will grant us glorious success, that thereby many may be won for Christ and His Kingdom."<sup>11</sup>

The Synod adopted this report, and resolved that the Com-

mittee on Home Missions decide upon the time for Andreen's work as missionary in New York, and agree with him on the compensation.

This call, extended to him by the Committee on Home Missions, Andreen accepted after obtaining a leave of absence for some months from his congregation in Bailytown (Porter), Indiana. In these early days it was not an uncommon practice that pastors having regular congregations were sent out on the mission field of the Synod for several months. Both the pastors and the congregations agreed to this arrangement, as they looked upon these missionary labors as a very necessary part of the synodical program for the preaching of the Gospel in the new "settlements," as they were designated in the West. In this case our forefathers showed that the same principle applied to the cities.

As the missionary work in New York was considered most important, the Committee on Home Missions asked Rev. Erland Carlsson, the great pioneer leader and pastor in Chicago, to accompany Andreen to New York and to take part in organizing the opening campaign for beginning religious work among the Swedish Lutherans of New York. Erland Carlsson, ever an enthusiastic worker and promoter of home missions, gladly complied with this request.

Now I will let the day-book of Rev. Andreen tell its own story, by giving extracts therefrom during 1865.

### In the Name of Jesus

Day-book during my missionary work in the city of New York.

In accordance with the decision of the Augustana Synod at Princeton, Illinois, Rev. Erland Carlsson and I journeyed to New York, where we arrived Wednesday afternoon, August 9, 1865, with the purpose of beginning missionary work for the Evangelical Lutheran Church among our countrymen living in the metropolis, and to be of service to the immigrants arriving at this port.

In Thy name, O Jesus, we are undertaking this work here; we thank Thee for safely having brought us hither. Graciously bless our labors, that they may bear fruit abundantly to the glory of Thy name, the upbuilding of Thy church and to the salvation of souls, for Thy love's sake. Amen.

August 10.—We visited several persons, among them Dr. Hanbury Smith, who received us most kindly. To our joy we were told that the St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church on

Fifteenth Street would for the immediate future be placed at our disposal for our Sunday services and other devotional meetings.

Afterwards we found and rented a suitable room in the home of an Episcopal pastor, No. 127 Thirteenth St. E., New York. Here we had the privilege in the midst of the turmoil and the noisy restlessness of the great city, to fall on our knees before our dear Father in Heaven, who knows our inmost needs, and hears the secret sighs and murmurs of our heart; who allows no tears, wrung from us under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to be shed in vain.—Lord, hear our sighs, and forget not the tears of our heart.

August 11 and 12.—Rev. Erland Carlsson and I spent these days in looking up some of our countrymen, informing them of our arrival and spreading the news concerning the divine services to be held in St. James Church on the following Sunday.

Our people are widely scattered in the city and the distances and differences are great, in every sense of the word. Very few of our people even know each other, or of each other. Their minds seem occupied merely with temporal things. It is a cold world in which we live.

Saturday evening in our room we were alone, far away from our beloved and the dear friends at home. My heart was filled with a strange gloom which I could hardly explain to myself; but we were grateful that we were two; and still more the thought comforted us that as we sat there so dejected in the twilight many of our friends in the West were praying for us, that many with us were kneeling before the throne of grace, invoking the blessing of the Lord on the coming Sabbath, both for themselves and for us.

Sunday, August 13.—At 10:30 a. m. about one hundred people gathered in the house of God, the beautiful St. James Church. Led by the organ, we sang the glorious hymn (Psalm 268)—

“Praise the Lord each tribe and nation,  
Praise Him with a joyous heart;  
Ye who know His full salvation,  
Gather now from every part;  
Let your voices glorify  
In His temple God on high.”

After the reading of the epistle was sung “The Gradual” hymn (Psalm 280):

“Av rikedom och världslig fröjd  
ej själen båtnad äger;  
men vara gudelig och nöjd  
allt annat överväger,” etc.



Rev. Erland Carlsson preached a sermon on the gospel text of the day, the 9th Sunday after Trinity (Luke 16. 1-9), using as an introductory text (ingång) Proverbs 9. 10 ("The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom and the Knowledge of the Holy is understanding"), and selecting as his theme:

*The True Wisdom*

1. That we acknowledge God and our dependence upon Him.
2. That we in the days of grace render an account of our stewardship before God.
3. That the children of God must show the same diligence in spiritual things as the children of the world do in temporal things.
4. That we should make use of temporal things as stewards of God.

In the afternoon I preached, using as my text Isaiah 49. 14-16, with the theme:

*The Lament and the Consolation of Zion.*

Lord Jesus, let these first grains of the holy seed of Thy word, sown in weakness by Thy servants, be blessed by the health- and life-giving power of Thy Spirit. And do Thou Thyself prepare the soil of the heart that it may bear fruit to the glory of Thy name!

Announcement was made that a general meeting would be held of all persons interested in religious work among the Swedes in New York. The minutes of this meeting<sup>12</sup> are an interesting document:

"In the name of Jesus!"

Minutes of a convention held in St. James Ev. Lutheran Church on the 22nd of August, 1865, by Swedes in New York, to deliberate concerning the founding of a Swedish Ev. Lutheran Church in this city. In accordance with the recommendation from Fosterlands-stiftelsen in Sweden and the decision of the Augustana Synod at its recent meeting in Princeton, Illinois, Rev. Erland Carlsson and Rev. A. Andreen had come to the city of New York. After our countrymen had gathered on several occasions for divine services, it was decided to assemble at this meeting on the date given above.

The convention was opened with prayer. A motion was made and passed that Rev. E. Carlsson be elected chairman, and Rev. A. Andreen secretary.

Afterwards the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas we already constitute a large body of Swedes residing in New York City, and this number is annually increasing, and

"Whereas we are deeply attached to the faith of our fathers, the teachings and confession of the Lutheran Church, and consider it to be of the utmost importance for us and for our children to possess a properly organized Swedish Lutheran church, where the Word of God is preached in its purity and clearness, and the Sacraments rightly administered, therefore

"Resolved, That we express our gratitude for the kindness and interest which Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen in Stockholm and the Augustana Synod have manifested as regards the founding of a congregation in this city.

"That we earnestly and zealously support this movement and therefore take steps for the preparation and consummation of this undertaking and that at a meeting to be held later we will proceed to the formal organization of a Swedish Evangelical Lutheran church in New York.

"That, as the Augustana Synod by its call and recommendation has sent Rev. A. Andreen to labor for the accomplishment of said purpose, we bid him welcome to perform his duties as pastor among us, and assure him that with love and confidence we will support him in his work to the best of our ability.

"That a committee of four be elected to procure a suitable place for the holding of divine services, and also to make inquiries as to where and at what price a church building might be purchased; likewise to procure a melodeon and to ask Mr. Forstedt that he have the kindness to act as organist at our services."

Carl Leonard Berggren, Victor Bergstrom, C. P. Lindgren, and Dr. Hanbury Smith were elected as members of this committee.

Mr. Berggren then spoke on behalf of those present and of many who were absent, expressing their sense of appreciation and gratitude to Rev. E. Carlsson from Chicago for his coming to New York on this important mission, and assured him that his visit would be a blessed memory for us and our children. May the Lord Himself bless this undertaking and crown it with success.

Ut supra in fidem

A. ANDREEN, Secretary pro tem.

Carlsson and Andreen spent busy days in New York looking up their countrymen; some of them gladdened the missionaries' hearts by considering their coming and the spiritual work now begun as an answer to prayer; others had to be

won over to the plan of founding a congregation. As the missionaries met and addressed the people in St. James church, as they saw them in their homes, offices, and places of work, an increasing number became interested. The good seed once sown in their youthful hearts came to life again. They heard the call of Christ, and felt the impulse to build up His Kingdom, to be His people. The pastors rejoiced and the people were happy at the important meeting of August 22, described in the minutes given above.

One of the men whom they and a committee visited was the well-known inventor and engineer, Captain John Ericsson, residing at 95 Franklin Street, New York. He was then at the acme of his fame.<sup>13</sup>

Ericsson, baptized and confirmed in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sweden, expressed to the visiting friends his interest in the project of founding a Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in New York. He became a charter member and also allowed his name to be used in the election of the first trustees of the congregation. Later, when the Gustavus Adolphus Church asked for an offering from the churches in Sweden, the petition was also signed by Captain John Ericsson as one of the trustees. While in Sweden in 1903, I was informed by one who had done some research work in the ecclesiastical archives that the signature of Ericsson contributed greatly to the granting of this request from the early Augustana Lutherans in New York.<sup>14</sup>

After a stay in New York of more than a fortnight, during which period he, with his unusual energy, accomplished important work for the mission, Erland Carlsson returned to his home in Chicago.

Andreen continued the missionary work in endeavoring to find his countrymen, wherever they lived in New York, Brooklyn, and Hoboken, with the object of interesting them in the religious cause he represented. He also did much for the many Swedish immigrants landing at Castle Garden in New York. Hundreds of families were guided and assisted by him in their journey westward toward Illinois, Minnesota, and other states.

As soon as the time was considered ripe, the organization meeting of the church in New York was held. I quote the minutes of this meeting:

Minutes of the meeting held September 28, 1865, in St. James English Ev. Lutheran Church in New York, for the purpose of organizing a Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in the city of New York.

Rev. A. Andreen called the meeting to order, and mentioned to those present the purpose of their coming together. A hymn was sung, one of the psalms of David<sup>15</sup> was read and expounded, after which a fervent prayer was offered, that God on High would bless our undertaking and future labors.

Rev. A. Andreen was elected as chairman of this meeting and Mr. Carl L. Berggren as secretary.

When the chairman once more had set forth the purpose of the meeting, so important and so full of the promise of blessing for all our countrymen in New York, he placed the question before those present, whether they were all united and earnest in their desire to organize in New York a Swedish Evangelical Lutheran congregation. All expressed their determination by a rising vote and gave voice to their earnest purpose by expressions of approval.

Then the chairman inquired what name should be given to the new congregation. Several names were proposed, such as Augustana, Gustaf Vasa, and Gustaf Adolf.

After a lively discussion in which many of those present took part, it was decided that the name Gustaf Adolf, so dear to every Swedish heart, and honored throughout the world, would shed lustre on our young congregation, and that the church be called "Gustaf Adolfs Svenska Evangeliska Kyrka i New York"; in English: "The Swedish Evangelical Church of Gustavus Adolphus in New York."

The chairman further reported that he had brought with him several copies of the Constitution adopted by the Swedish Lutheran Churches in the West to be carefully examined by the new congregation in New York; these copies were to be distributed so that they could be studied before the next church meeting, and then adopted or changed.

The chairman also proposed that a church meeting be held on Thursday, October 12, 1865, in this same place, for the discussion of the constitution and for the consideration of other important matters relative to the congregation; also that the election of Deacons and Trustees of the Gustavus Adolphus congregation in New York should take place at that time.

It was decided that the announcement concerning divine services and the above mentioned congregational meeting should be made in the columns of *The New York Herald*, *The Sun*, and *Skandinavisk Post*.

All those present at this meeting then wrote their names and addresses on a duly prepared list of members to be en-

tered into the churchbook of the congregation. Forty-two persons signed their names on this list.

The chairman then expressed his warm gratitude to the present members for the laudable zeal they had displayed for the success of this undertaking. The meeting was closed with a fervent prayer and the singing of a hymn.

New York, September 28, 1865.

CARL L. BERGGREN, Sec'y.

At the Church meeting on October 12, it was for various reasons decided to adjourn to November 2, 1865.—In a letter dated November 1, 1865, Captain John Ericsson writes: "It will afford me great pleasure to forward the interests of the Swedish Church in New York. Please, therefore, use my name in the manner you propose. I will also cheerfully contribute means to a reasonable amount in furtherance of your important plan."<sup>16</sup>

Minutes of the church meeting of the Gustavus Adolphus Congregation in New York, held in St. James Evang. Lutheran Church November 2, 1865.

After invoking the grace and guidance of God on this important meeting, Rev. A. Andreen declared that the announcement of this church meeting had [according to the laws of the State of New York] been made from the pulpit on three consecutive Sundays, and that the purpose of this meeting was the election of trustees.

Rev. A. Andreen was elected chairman pro tem., and Mr. Carl L. Berggren secretary for the year.

As the law required that the number of the trustees should be from three to nine, a lengthy discussion arose which number would be most suitable for this church; it was resolved that *nine trustees* should be elected, as the new congregation felt it would stand in need of the advice and experience of as many men as possible. Messrs. Kronlund and Hedstrom were elected as tellers.

After the election [by ballot] had taken place the tellers announced that the following men had the majority of the votes cast for trustees, namely:

Captain John Ericsson, Consul C. Edw. Habicht,<sup>17</sup> Dr. S. Hanbury Smith, Messrs. Fred Wallroth, Ernst Bellander, Carl L. Berggren, David W. Weiss, A. F. Sjöstedt, and Nicholas Lindeberg.

Hence, it was resolved, that these men [named again] are hereby declared to be legally elected Trustees of above named congregation.

Mr. F. W. Geisenhaimer, a Notary Public, who had been present at the election, afterward wrote the Certificate required by law in order to have it recorded.



(Of the proposed Constitution, Article 2, paragraphs 1 and 2 were adopted).

*Resolved*, that this church apply for admission to the Augustana Synod.

(It was also agreed that a church property should be procured by the Trustees. The chairman, Rev. Andreen, urged those present to start a subscription for the procuring of a church building. The sum of \$1,529.00 was subscribed that evening for a lot and a church.)

The chairman closed the meeting with prayer.

CARL L. BERGGREN, Sec'y.

Then came busy days in procuring subscriptions for the new church property, in which labors Andreen was very active. Everybody was hopeful and willing to take part, so that shortly afterwards a church and lot were bought on 22nd St., near 3rd Ave.,<sup>18</sup> for \$17,000 of which amount \$5,000 was paid in cash. From Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen in Stockholm, Sweden, the Gustavus Adolphus congregation received one thousand crowns for church purposes; and when the church was purchased Captain Ericsson donated one thousand dollars. The members and not a few others contributed liberally according to their means to this noble cause.

Andreen felt constrained to leave New York at the end of November, 1865, and return to his congregation and to his family<sup>19</sup> in Bailytown, Indiana. Rev. J. F. O. Duwell was sent to care for the missionary work in the metropolis in December, 1865, and labored there during the early part of 1866. After Rev. Andreen's second stay at New York, a theological student, J. Lagerstrom, served the church during December, 1866, and a part of 1867.<sup>20</sup>

Many of the prominent religious men in Sweden took an active interest in the beginnings of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America in the 50's and 60's. Among the foremost of these warm supporters was provost P. Wieselgren, the great temperance leader in Sweden. Rev. Erland Carlsson, while he was doing missionary work in New York, sent Wieselgren a letter dated August 17, 1865, in which he asked that assistance for the journey to America be given a candidate who intended to study at Augustana Seminary in preparation for the ministry. From this letter we cull the following information:

"It will gladden the hearts of the friends of our Church that we finally in all earnestness have taken hold of the plan to found a Swedish Lutheran Congregation in New York. One of our pastors, A. Andreen, has been sent by the Synod as missionary to this place, and I have accompanied him hither to help him begin the work. The field here is both large and difficult. We have now been here a week and arranged for several services and meetings. May the Lord in His mercy crown the undertaking with blessing and success. In the beginning of next month I expect to return to Chicago."<sup>21</sup>

Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen was founded in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1856, by pastors and laymen of deep spirituality who purposed to advance religious work within the Church of Sweden; this association also took part in supporting missionary work in foreign lands.<sup>22</sup>

Members of Stiftelsen followed with keen interest the religious work among the Swedes in the Mississippi Valley, which led to the founding of the Augustana Synod; it offered to give assistance, especially to the mission in New York City.

Richard Ehrenborg, who was one of the officers of Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, writes to Hasselquist from Stockholm, September 16, 1865, in part as follows:

"I thank you for your welcome letter of July 11 containing the very cheering news, that Rev. Andreen has been engaged to do missionary work in New York. We will also make mention of this in our papers, and if, as we believe, the Lord will arouse sympathy in many hearts for this patriotic mission in another country (*fosterländska utlandsmission*), Stiftelsen will be very happy to make an annual contribution to this purpose amounting to the sum which we have once expressed our hope of being able to contribute. However, as this promised contribution does not come from funds already gathered, but depends on free-will gifts, based on Christian love, we cannot definitely fix either the time or the amount. We ask you, however, soon to inform us on what date Rev. Andreen's work as missionary in New York began. If we shall receive more than 2000 'Riksdaler' annually, we will of course send you the whole sum. If less comes in, Stiftelsen will take into consideration to what extent we can complete the amount out of the foreign or heathen mission funds. At this time we send 500 'Riksdaler' in a draft amounting to 27 (English) Pounds, 15 shillings and 6 pence. May the Lord richly bless your labors!"<sup>23</sup>

In a letter from Paxton, Illinois, dated December 27, 1865,

Hasselquist acknowledges the receipt of the above mentioned contribution from Stiftelsen, and adds:

"As you already know, the mission in New York is begun, and signally blessed by the Lord. A church has been bought for \$17,000. Rev. Duwell who now is laboring in New York and will stay there a few months, writes me that it is a very fine (prydlig) church, with seats for 600 to 700 people. As the church had no organ, Dr. Smith, one of the trustees, procured an excellent (reed) organ as a gift from the well-known firm Mason and Hamlin. Dr. Smith is an Englishman by birth, but has practised medicine in Stockholm (Sweden) and has a Swedish wife; he is more Swedish than many of the Swedes, and is especially zealous and generous in the advancement of the new congregation. The same spirit is shown by Consul Habicht, Captain Ericsson and in short by all the trustees. For assistance we expect also to turn to the descendants of those who came to America more than a hundred years ago, and hope they may become interested in the work of the present emigrants.

With this letter I send a hastily written article concerning the mission in New York."<sup>24</sup>

Richard Ehrenborg in Stockholm acknowledged the above letter on January 18, 1866, and sent an additional draft for 500 Riksdaler "for your mission in New York."<sup>25</sup>

The article mentioned in Hasselquist's letter was published (probably in Stiftelsen's *Missionstidning*<sup>26</sup>) under the caption *Svenska Missionen i New York*. This article is reprinted in Dr. M. Stolpe's *Brevdufvan* for November, 1915. We quote it as an excellent resumé of the early history of the New York Mission:

"The Augustana Synod has for a long time known that a large number of our countrymen resided in the city of New York and in other places in the eastern states; often have we considered by what ways and means we should begin spiritual work among them, but we have not felt able to undertake it for want of resources and also of laborers, who are so greatly needed in the West. Although Ev. Fosterlandsstiftelsen with brotherly love has offered to assist us by paying the greater part of the salary, we could not spare a suitable person, as our field here, already too large for our man-power, is ever expanding.

"The necessity, however, of beginning this mission has every year seemed greater and greater; hence the synod at its last meeting in June [1865] felt that it could no longer delay this matter and therefore instructed its committee on Home Missions in the name of the Lord to call Rev. A. Andreen without delay to take up missionary work in New York.

He readily accepted this appointment and has already been at this post during four months. His experiences have still further proved to us, if further proof were required, that the need was greater than we had supposed. As all beginning is difficult, we requested Rev. E. Carlsson to accompany Brother Andreen, and with his rich experience, gathered during many years in Chicago, to assist him on their arrival in New York. This arrangement also had the effect that the cause attracted more attention and aroused interest. Through Rev. Carlsson's efforts several obstacles were overcome, so that they obtained the right of admission to Castle Garden, enabling them to meet the emigrants, as they landed. Several other privileges were also procured for the benefit of the emigrants with reference to the continuation of their journey.

"At the first services there were gathered about 200 people. Some came out of curiosity; yet there were still more, who had heard nothing at all of our services, and who, one by one, had to be sought out in their homes.

"We found that in the city there lived a great number of our countrymen, of whom comparatively very few had been willing to join other church groups; several who had felt constrained to do this, on account of the lack of the proclaiming of the Word of God in accordance with our old confession, are laboring with much love and sacrifice both of time and means for the success of our undertaking.

"A Swede, Pehrson, who had studied at a Lutheran College in this country, and been ordained by the so-called Melancthon Synod, has indeed diligently toiled to build up a congregation, but without much success. It can therefore be stated, that the greater number of the Swedes were without any church connection, and hence exposed to all the evil influences which a large commercial city carries with it; they were waiting and longing that something would be done for them. Many have no doubt been lost not only to our church but to heaven, in consequence of the fact that the Word of God in which they had been instructed had not been preached to them in their native tongue.

"However, a Swedish congregation has been organized, and chose the name Gustavus Adolphus. The trustees are men of esteem and prestige in the whole city, not to say in the whole country. They have also displayed a laudable zeal for the congregation and its future; through their efforts a commodious church has been purchased for \$17,000, of which amount members of the church, and, I believe, mainly the trustees, contributed \$3,000. The first Swedish service was celebrated there the Third Sunday in Advent. Thus, God be praised, we now possess a church home in the great city of New York!

"But the congregation will for a long time need support to

keep it afloat. May the Lord designate the man who in His sight is suitable, to be stationed here!

"There is one reason why it is necessary to have a pastor in New York. Whatever you [in Sweden] may think of the emigration to America, it is steadily continuing, and during this year [1865] it has been quite considerable. On their arrival in New York the emigrants meet their first and often the greatest difficulties with which they must contend. During this year a great number had means enough only to procure passage to the landing-place [Castle Garden]; they were then without means of support, many were sick from the effects of the ocean journey and from all kinds of worry. Hence the poorhouse or the hospital became their home, and for not a few of them it was their last home on earth. And that strangers find no comfort there, we can well understand.

"It has been heart rending to read the descriptions Rev. Andreen has reported to us concerning his experiences. Occasionally when he visited Castle Garden, the landing-place of the emigrants, someone would take him by his coat, and with tears entreat him: "Dear pastor, help us to get away from this place, so that we will not have to go to the poorhouse!—We are so hungry!" and the pastor often had to go to the city to procure some herring and bread wherewith to still the worst pangs of hunger.

"He was also called upon to write a great number of letters for the emigrants to friends and relatives living in the West, asking them for money; cheering answers were also received, so that he was able to send one family after the other to their friends, thereby saving them from dire need, and often from utter destruction. Can we shirk our duty to help?

"We are not working to increase the emigration, we only desire to give spiritual and temporal assistance to these arrivals. But how shall we be able to support a pastor in New York especially as long as the congregation there is weak and, besides, heavily indebted and the cost of living there is so high? The rest of our congregations are generous—as I can testify.

"But the mere support of the theological students at our Augustana Seminary during this school year will cost from 2 to 3 thousand dollars. This coming spring we are planning to arrange for and operate a Children's Home;<sup>27</sup> besides, old church buildings are continually being enlarged and new churches erected.

"Shall we therefore lay down our work in New York?—That must not be. Our Heavenly Father will surely hear the prayers which have been offered for this mission. He who counts the tears which already have been wiped away by the efforts of this mission, will surely send us both means and men to continue this work of comfort and cheer."



Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen urgently recommended the Augustana Synod and its New York mission in its publications, and thus gathered innumerable small contributions from its Christian constituency. For this interest and generosity the Augustana Synod and the Gustavus Adolphus Church owe a deep debt of gratitude to Stiftelsen, as it proffered its assistance at a most crucial period, especially in the history of the congregation in the metropolis.<sup>28</sup>

### *The Work in 1866*

At the meeting of the Augustana Synod near Decorah, Iowa, in June, 1866, the Gustavus Adolphus Church, with 172 members, applied for admission, which application was granted. T. N. Hasselquist joyfully writes the following in his report as president of the Synod:

"Only a year ago the Synod decided in the name of the Lord to send a missionary to New York. Now not only is a congregation, Gustavus Adolphus, organized there, but the young congregation has already undertaken to buy a church building of considerable value. Is this not more than any of us could have hoped? We owe this success in the first place to the blessing of God, and then to the diligence of our missionaries, also to the devoted and generous members of the church, especially the worthy men who have headed this undertaking. In the immediate future this congregation needs both temporal and spiritual support, which I feel confident that the Synod to the best of its ability will grant."<sup>29</sup>

The committee on the president's report (O. J. Hatlestad, J. Swenson, and Jens T. Venem) offered a resolution which was adopted by the Synod as follows:

"Resolved that the Synod urges and charges Rev. A. Andreen, that he as soon as possible after this synodical meeting proceed to New York to serve the New York congregation during three months."

This urgent call was accepted; Rev. Hasselquist, as president of the Synod, was asked to visit New York to dedicate the church of the Gustavus Adolphus congregation.

We will now let Rev. A. Andreen's daybook of 1866 tell the story.

July 17.—In the morning I took an affectionate farewell of my wife and children, asking the Lord to keep them safe. In

the evening T. N. Hasselquist and I took the train from Chicago for New York.

July 19.—We arrived at New York 5 o'clock in the afternoon, put up at French Hotel. Afterwards we procured a room at 127 (old No. 71) E. 13th St.

July 20.—Visited many acquaintances; moved into my quarters.

July 21.—Visited Castle Garden, etc.

July 22, Sunday.—Prof. Hasselquist preached in the forenoon and in the evening in our church. More than 100 people were present.

July 23.—Visited many of our people.

July 24.—Went to Brooklyn where I had charge of a funeral. Prof. Hasselquist visited Central Park in the afternoon. In the evening we had dinner at the home of Mr. Wahlroot.

July 25 and 26.—Travelled about trying to procure an organ for our church.

July 27.—Continued my visiting work. In the evening we preached in St. Matthew's English Lutheran Church in Brooklyn on Atlantic Ave.

July 28.—Procured an organ, had it brought to and placed in the church.

July 29.—Prof. Hasselquist preached in the church, I made a short address, after which the church was dedicated. It was a most impressive occasion.

Besides the organ there were four wind instruments which led the congregational singing.

Lord, guide us so that we may sing Thy praise in the Heavenly Temple.

In the evening a sermon by Prof. Hasselquist, after which he spoke words of farewell to the congregation.

July 30.—In the afternoon Prof. Hasselquist started on his way homeward.

Lord, be with him on his journey! Help me who now am left here by myself. Be ever present with me, then shall I not be alone. Hear me for Thy love's sake.

July 31.—Today I visited Castle Garden, Bowling Green, The Bethel Ship, and other places, having occasion to converse with a number of emigrants. I also wrote ten letters. When evening came I felt very tired.—Lord increase my strength and power.

August 1.—Busy at our church for a while. I felt indisposed after the strain of yesterday. Also suffered from stomach trouble; received a recipe for medicine from Dr. Hanbury Smith. Wrote four letters. Lord, show me Thy way, and lead me in Thy truth.

August 2.—Today I kept rather quiet. Took a short walk. Saw a couple of paintings representing Adam and Eve.—

1. The state of Innocence.
2. After the Fall, when tears of repentance and shame were seen on their cheeks, and they seemed to say: "We have a difficult road ahead of us!"<sup>20</sup>

God be praised, my health is improving. Oh, that I would in all matters ever trust the Lord, and allow myself to be led by Him!

O God, remember in Thy grace my family at home; console, help, and protect them in Thy love and mercy. I wish to see them all, wife and children.

August 3.—Bought some clothes. Prepared my sermon for next Sunday.

August 5.—I preached on the Gospel Text, 10th Sunday after Trinity, John 8. 21-30. Introductory text (ingång) Hebrews 2. 3.

Lord, bless Thy word to the benefit of the souls who were present, for Thy love's sake. About 100 attended the service.

August 6-9. Attended the usual duties of my work. Lord, give me strength for the labors I am called to accomplish.

August 10.—Today emigrants arrived from Sweden on their way to Chicago; among them was Rev. A. G. Bohgren from Almgräs and Hool.

Conducted services in Brooklyn in the evening. Text Psalm 78. 1-3. Lord, bless Thy Word!

August 11.—Today I sent a letter for Mr. Ludwig Winberg, 40 Cortland St., New York, enclosing \$1.00 for *Hemlandet* in Chicago. Letter to Carlsson, etc.

August 12, Sunday.—I preached on the Gospel for the 11th Sunday after Trinity, Mt. 21. 28-31. "Ingång": 1 Tim. 2. 3, 4. Theme: "The different answers to the call to labor in the vineyard of the Heavenly Father." The church was quite full. —In the afternoon at 4:00 I preached in Brooklyn on Canticles 2. 1-10.

August 13-18.—During this rather quiet week I visited Castle Garden on Thursday, also Bowling Green No. 3. A number of immigrants had arrived, now on their way west. Made several visits in the vicinity; wrote many letters.

August 19.—My motto (tänkespråk) for today is Mark 11. 23-26. Lord, give me grace to believe! and to love!

Preached on the text for the 12th Sunday after Trinity. Theme: "The importance of our words both for time and for eternity." Lord, bless Thy word.

August 20.—Today I have made several visits. May they also be beneficial!

August 21.—A busy day; had conversations with newly arrived emigrants.

August 22.—Visited N. Bridgewater [Campello, Massachusetts], where I safely arrived on Aug. 23; all went well on the journey.

August 24.—Visited families in North Bridgewater; services in the evening, text: chapter 1 and 2 of the prophet Jonah.

August 26, Sunday.—The 13th Sunday after Trinity. Communion at the forenoon services, and a sermon in the afternoon. Lord, let thy spirit make the word bear fruit!

August 27.—In the evening we again assembled to hear the Word of God. May it not be proclaimed in vain.

August 28.—Travelled from North Bridgewater to Boston and looked up some of our countrymen. A. F. Jacobson, No. 39 Elliot St., Boston, took me around in his carriage.

August 29.—Travelled from Boston to New York. Praised be the Lord, who took care of me during this journey.

In the evening at 11 o'clock I heard President Andrew Johnson deliver one of his usual addresses from the balcony of the hotel, corner 5th Ave. and 14th St.—I also saw U. S. Grant; he appeared not to be interested in the proceedings.

August 30.—Visited King's Co. Poorhouse and Hospital to see Hedstrom, and then directly to St. Luke's Hospital, corner of 5th Ave. and 54th St., N. Y. In the evening had a meeting with the Committee on the Constitution.

August 31.—Visited Castle Garden. Had a meeting also with the Constitution Committee.

September 2, Sunday.—Communion services and sermon on the 14th Sunday after Trinity. Afternoon: felt down-hearted in my loneliness. Lord, help me for Thy mercy's sake.

September 3.—Visited Castle Garden. Presided at Church-meeting (Sockenstämma), when the Constitution of Gustaf Adolf church of New York was adopted.

September 4.—Stayed in Church (9-11) during the forenoon to meet people who desired to see the pastor. Busy with writing in the afternoon. Supper at the home of Dr. Hanbury Smith. Visited at Wallroth's.

September 5.—Today I have been in Brooklyn to baptize a child, and also visited Castle Garden.

September 6.—When the ship *Ottawa* arrived from Europe, I was at the pier to meet the Scandinavian immigrants.

September 7.—Visited Castle Garden. Procured books for the church records.

September 8.—In church during forenoon. Then visited Hedstrom in the hospital (St. Luke's Hospital) on 54th St. Lord, give him grace to believe in the atonement given us through Christ.

September 9, Sunday.—Sermon on the text of the day. At 1:30 funeral of a Norwegian child. Later visited Hedstrom at the Hospital, who desired to receive the Lord's supper.

Episcopal services 4-5 in afternoon. Lord, in Thy mercy bless my humble work, so that souls may be brought into communion with Thee, for Thy love's sake!

September 10.—Today I have celebrated my 39th birthday. How much gratitude I owe my gracious God and Father in Christ Jesus, who so mercifully hath holpen me these many years. Lord give me grace to serve Thee faithfully and uprightly.—I visited Castle Garden and gave advice to immigrants. Also bought some books.

September 11.—In church during the forenoon. Wrote letters to Norelius, Nilson, Josephson, Lundholm, and Jacobson (Boston). Also wrote to Carl Nordquist, wagonmaker in Red Wing concerning his wife Stina, who with 3 children passed through New York yesterday from Jönköping.

September 12.—Wrote to Johan Johansson, St. Paul, concerning Mr. Hallberg's daughters Betty and Christina.—Visited Castle Garden.—Went to see Hedstrom, at hospital on 54th St. Stayed in church, etc.

September 13.—Was in church during office hours. At Castle Garden. The relatives of Swen Olson arrived; they received \$55.00. Ordered Wallin's "Postilla" from Chicago for C. P. Bolin in Campello.

The accounts show how Andreen helped the immigrants and their families, buying railway tickets for them, and advancing, at times, money to them.

Thus he sent families to Chicago, Galesburg, Moline, Montana, Peoria, Laporte, Princeton, Rockford, Andover, St. Paul, Carson (Iowa), Swedona, Lake Station (Indiana), Galva, Lafayette (Illinois), Rock Island, and other places.

Money was sent to the Lutheran Mission in New York especially from people who had settled in the Mississippi Valley, for the help of relatives on their arrival in New York. The carefully kept accounts of Andreen show that during his stay in New York in 1865 he turned over to such immigrants for their assistance in traveling westward various sums, in all amounting to \$1,095.36; in 1866 the sums amounted to \$686.50, making a total of \$1,781.86.

His own personal expenses were modest. The stay in New York during August to November, 1865, including the railroad fare from Chicago and return, and trips in the East, with room, board, etc., amounted to only \$190.

Often in mentioning the immigrants a record is made that money was advanced to them out of his own pocket; sometimes there is a later addition to these items "paid," sometimes not.

In New York Andreen was called upon to perform many ministerial acts, such as baptisms, burials, visiting the sick, as



well as giving guidance and assistance to immigrants coming from Scandinavia on their way to the Mississippi Valley. These duties were all in addition to his congregational work in the service of the Gustavus Adolphus church.

The first ministerial act he performed in New York was a baptism. A little girl, born on the Atlantic Ocean July 13, 1865, was baptized a few days afterwards by Andreen "in the German Society Rooms, 5 Battery Place near Castle Garden, New York," and received the name *Constantina Atlanta*, which latter name would ever remind her of her place of birth. Other entries:

"Baptized in the Emigrant office of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, No. 8 Battery Place, New York, Carl Oscar, born on the ship *Neptune* on the Atlantic Ocean August 11, 1865, and baptized September 4, 1865. Parents Henric and Gustafva Källberg on their way to Andover, Illinois."

"Baptized (in the Emigrant office of Pennsylvania Central Railroad) *Hulda*, born on the Atlantic Ocean in ship *Teutonica*, September 6, 1865."

"Buried in Greenwood Cemetery September 10, 1866, Knut Frans Hedstrom, who died in St. Luke's Hospital October 8; age 43 years, 7 months, and 17 days. On September 12 I wrote to the Mayor Mr. Soderberg in Linköping, Sweden, informing him of Hedstrom's death."

Andreen was also called not only to preach but also to perform ministerial acts in Hoboken, Brooklyn, Campello (Massachusetts), and Williamsburg.

Burials were not few, and his visits to the sick and to hospitals were many.

During two month's stay in New York, 1865, his records show that he preached 33 times. In accordance with the custom then prevalent he used a preliminary text (ingång) at the morning services before taking up for consideration the regular text of the Sunday. Following the example of our fathers he not seldom preached on some passage from Canticles.

In the fall of 1866 the Gustavus Adolphus Church adopted the constitution. In the minutes of Sept. 3, 1866, there is a very interesting passage concerning the right of women to vote. We read as follows:

"In considering article VII, paragraph 4, there arose a discussion concerning the term "male member"; Mr. Wallroth made the motion that it be changed to "member", thereby

giving the women the right to vote at a church meeting. After a long discussion the congregation decided, especially to satisfy the chairman [Rev. Andreen], who ardently urged that this question be postponed to a riper time [mognare tiden], to accept the paragraph, as it was proposed by the committee."

If Andreen had not so strenuously opposed this point, the Gustavus Adolphus church might have become the first one to give the women the right to vote, which now is the common practice in well nigh all the congregations of the Augustana Synod.

During the second period of Andreen's labors in New York he stayed there from July 22 to October 15, 1866, returning to New York in time for the annual church meeting in Jan. 13, 1867, and having charge of the Gustavus Church till March 4, 1867. He was also needed in the home congregation in the West, and some members of his family were not in good health. When he laid this matter before the Gustavus Adolphus church, it passed the following resolution at a church meeting held Sept. 16, 1866.

"The congregation desires to express its deep gratitude to Rev. A. Andreen for the time, for the manner, and for the zeal with which he has taken care of the divine services and also the other requirements and needs of the congregation; we request the favor that he continue as pastor in charge until next meeting of the Synod, or until another pastor be procured. We appreciate his sacrifices, and declare ourselves as a congregation willing to do all in our power to make his stay pleasant among us. We also hope that Rev. Andreen will bring his family to New York, whereby he will have the joy and comfort of a real home among us."

Andreen thanked the congregation for the confidence it reposed in him; but desired to communicate with his congregation in the West before giving a definite answer.

The trustees were authorized to place a temporary wall in the basement of the church, and arrange a room to be used as the pastor's office.

When the Synod met in Swedona, Illinois, in June, 1867, Andreen was pastor in that congregation. From Hasselquist's report to the Synod concerning the work of the Home Missions we make the following excerpt:

"Our most important work has been to support the Gus-

tavus Adolphus church in New York. In accordance with the decisions of the Synod Rev. A. Andreen has served the congregation in New York during two periods, covering in all five months. This work he has done with diligence and faithfulness.

"I also visited New York last summer and remained there over three Sundays; on the last of these Sundays the fine church of the congregation was dedicated.

"It also has an organ which was donated for its use. The congregation is grateful to the Synod for its kind and valuable assistance. It longs to procure a permanent pastor, so that it may prosper in the future.

"One fruit of the mission in New York is the visit by the pastor<sup>31</sup> made to Campello, Massachusetts, to gather our countrymen into a congregation. We already have its request to be a member of our Synod. Other congregations in the East will follow their example."

It is not within the limits of this presentation to follow the later history of the Gustavus Adolphus church in New York. It has had to weather many storms and difficulties, which by the guidance of God it has overcome. During the long terms of the able and devoted service of Dr. C. E. Lindberg (from 1879) and Dr. M. Stolpe (from 1890) this metropolitan church has been a beacon light to numerous daughter churches, and has accomplished a work of unequalled importance in the Eastern Conferences, while its influence has extended to all parts of the Synod.

The congregation remembers with appreciation the beginnings of its history, which in part have been set forth in this article.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Norelius, *De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnas Historia i Amerika*, Rock Island, Ill., 1890, Vol. I, p. 522. Hasselquist at that time visited New York and Boston to procure type and a Swedish typesetter for the paper *Hemlandet* he was about to start publishing, and to procure subscribers for the paper.

<sup>2</sup> Victor Berger, *Augustana Synodens Församlingar i New York*, New York, 1931, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Minutes of the Augustana Synod, 1862, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Norelius, op. cit., p. 19.

George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, Minneapolis, 1931, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes, 1862, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 1863, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 1864, pp. 8-9.

<sup>10</sup> Oscar Fritiof Ander, *T. N. Hasselquist*, Rock Island, Ill., 1931, p. 59.

<sup>11</sup> Minutes, 1865, p. 11.

- 12 The minutes mentioned in this article are found in the archives of the Gustavus Adolphus church in New York, and were copied by the writer there.
- 13 Ericsson had invented (1837) and perfected the screw propeller; he also invented the first modern steam fire engine (1829), which was first put to use in New York, winning a prize awarded by the American Mechanics Institute (1840). One of the most notable of his numerous inventions was the armor-clad gunboat, *Monitor*, with its revolving turret and cannon, completed just in time to battle The Merrimac (March 9, 1862) and to hinder it from attacking New York. "By the invention of the *Monitor*," said Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, "and its victory at Hampton Roads Ericsson became one of the savers of the American Union." (Address at Worcester, Massachusetts, July 31, 1909, on the hundredth anniversary of Ericsson's birth.)
- 14 Ander, op. cit., p. 216.
- 15 Rev. Andreen's private memoranda inform us it was Psalm 84, "How amiable are thy tabernacles," etc.
- 16 *Life of John Ericsson* by William Conant Church, 1907, vol. II., p. 255.
- 17 The Swedish-Norwegian Consul in New York.—At a later church meeting the first deacons were elected, namely, N. Hedstrom, Ch. Anderson, G. Rudvall, V. Borgstrom, Sandstrom, and J. Hellgren.
- 18 The church building thus purchased was used by the Gustavus Adolphus congregation from 1865 to May 5, 1887; then it was torn down to make way for the new present church edifice erected under the leadership of Rev. Dr. C. E. Lindberg, pastor in New York from 1879 to 1890; Dr. Hasselquist presided at its dedication on May 12, 1889. See *Brefdufvan*, November, 1915, p. 6.
- 19 From the daughter, Lydia, seven years old, Rev. Andreen in the fall of 1865 received a letter, which in a childish and earnest manner pleads for his immediate return home. This is the only family letter retained from this period. The wife also adds a few words typical of pioneer sentiment in the midst of difficulties.
- "dear papa:—  
 grace and peace!  
 Will papa soon come home? I long so much for papa. It is very sad for us that papa is away so long. uncle is very sick. papa must come home at once and leave the congregation [in New York], without their knowing it, so that they wonder what has become of papa (tagit vägen)? Is it not so that rev. duel can go [to New York]? then come home.  
 lydiga sofia andren  
 a great sinner."
- Her mother adds:
- "Lydia has written, and I suppose I better send it.  
 If you believe that the cause for which you are laboring should suffer thereby, you understand well that I do not insist on your return home before the time is up. Yet your absence makes me feel dismal and anxious.  
 Do you know, I think the pain in my left side would leave me if you come home! Longing for something does affect one's health, and then so many restless thoughts come and go, when the most precious object in life is away in a world of danger and misery. So I am sure you do not wonder at my feelings. I will write more tomorrow and let you know how it is with Lambert.—The children are well, and I am feeling somewhat better today.  
 Your wife Hilda."
- [The name of the little girl who wrote the first letter was *Lydia*; the parents would often, somewhat playfully, call her *Lydiga* (=obedient), which epithet or nick-name she used in signing the letter.—The pious pioneers were vividly conscious of the need of salvation as they felt they were *great sinners*; this expression was often used in conversation as well as in letters. And so the child used it. The self-sacrificing fortitude of the young wife is shown in her attitude that when the husband considered it his duty to do missionary work in the service of the Lord even far away from home, the family must devotedly bear up under the burden.]
- 20 Minutes 1866, p. 35; and 1867, p. 16.
- 21 Gunnar Westin, *Emigranterna och Kyrkan*, Stockholm, 1932, p. 120.
- 22 Nordisk Familjebok, *Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen*.
- 23 Westin, *ibid.*, pp. 120-121.
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 26 See p. 3 of this article.
- 27 It was first planned to erect the Children's Home in or near Paxton, Illinois. It was located in Swedona, 1867, and moved to Andover, 1870.  
 Minutes, 1868, pp. 16-17; also *Minnesskrift*, Rock Island, Ill., 1910, p. 259.
- 28 Ander, op. cit., p. 216, states: "In addition to these regular contributions, a check of \$3,969.31 was received in 1867 from Sweden by the Gustavus Adolphus congregation in New York, a gift which saved it from bankruptcy."

[Most of this money was gathered as an offering in the churches in Sweden, which collection was warmly recommended by Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen through its organ *Väktaren*.]  
*Brefdufvan*, op. cit., for November, 1905, states that also the great singer Jenny Lind contributed a thousand dollars to Gustavus Adolphus Church.

<sup>29</sup> Minutes, 1866, p. 36.

<sup>30</sup> Rev. Andreen stated to me that he often visited art stores and was especially interested in good paintings. One day while in New York he was attracted to a painting, not overly large, representing a scene from the life of Christ, and the thought came to him: "Oh, that I could bring it home with me!" So he inquired concerning the price, and was informed that this painting by a great artist was now very cheap; it could be had for only fourteen hundred dollars!

<sup>31</sup> Rev. Andreen visited Campello and Boston, Massachusetts, August 23 to 28, 1866. See his Day-book, 1866.

<sup>32</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Rev. Dr. M. Stolpe in New York for kindly giving me access to the early archives of the Gustavus Adolphus Church; also to Dr. Carl Esbjorn and Dr. Fritiof Ander, who have read this article and made valuable suggestions.

## THE IOWA SYNOD'S ATTEMPT AT MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE INDIANS, 1859-1864

BY HENRY F. STAACK

The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and other States, which was founded August 24, 1854, at St. Sebald, Clayton County, Iowa, was the first Lutheran immigrant organization in the midwest to attempt missionary work among the Indians of the Northwest. The founders of this new synod were Pastors G. Grossman, J. Deindoerfer, Sigmund Fritschel and M. Schueller, a theological student who was ordained at the organization meeting. The founding of the Iowa Synod<sup>1</sup> was largely due, as suggested by Deindoerfer,<sup>2</sup> to the missionary spirit of the Rev. Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria. Loehe was the leading spirit of the "Society for Inner Missions as understood by the Lutheran Church," a society which was founded in 1849 by Loehe and which was of tremendous importance not only to the Iowa Synod but to the Missouri Synod as well. Dr. Sigmund Fritschel, one of the founders of the Iowa Synod, says: "Of greater importance even than for his home church did Loehe's activities become for the Lutheran Church of America. By Wyneken's letter of 1841 his attention was directed to the spiritual distress of German immigrants in the United States. He began to educate missionaries and to send them to the new world. In 1847 these missionaries, numbering twenty-four, united with the Saxon Lutherans . . . Thus the largest contribution toward the beginning and final development of the new synod of Missouri was made by Loehe and his friends."<sup>3</sup>

The Rev. Mr. Loehe was not only interested in gathering the German immigrants in America into organized congregations, but was also vitally interested in converting the Indians of North America. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that Schueller, who came to St. Sebald in the spring of 1854, was to do, according to the wishes of Loehe, missionary work among the Indians. Loehe not only gave impulse to this mis-

sionary work of the Iowa Synod, but sent over the men and a very large proportion of the money necessary to carry on the project.

In 1856, only two years after the founding of the Iowa Synod, this body decided at its synodical meeting to take the preliminary steps for establishing Christian missions among the Indians. Two attempts were made (1856-1857) to establish missionaries among the Indians of Canada or among those of the Lake Superior region.<sup>4</sup> Both efforts (made with the co-operation of the Buffalo Synod) proved unsuccessful. It was during the second enterprise in 1857 that the Rev. Sigmund Fritschel and Cand. Theol. J. J. Schmidt met a Mr. Redfield, the government agent to the Crow Indians of the Northwest, at Detroit. Redfield consented to take two missionaries with him the following spring when he returned to his post at Fort Sarpy, located on the Yellowstone river near the site of the present town of Forsyth, Mont. As a consequence, Missionary J. J. Schmidt and Cand. Theol. Moritz Braeuninger accompanied Redfield on board the steamboat *Twilight* on the long journey from St. Louis to Fort Sarpy, a distance of about 2300 miles. Schmidt and Braeuninger spent two months studying the language of the Crow Indians and making friends with them. The missionaries found life among the heathen Indians rude, but the manner of life among the whites of Fort Sarpy was intolerable. The two preferred, therefore, to live in the camp of about 1500 Crow Indians rather than to endure the sight of the gross immorality of the degenerate whites of the fort,<sup>5</sup> whom Schmidt called "the off-scouring of humanity." Chief Dachbizaschuch (head of a bear) provided lodgings for the two white men in his own tent, and also let them have horses for their convenience. The entire two-month period was thus spent among the Indians.

In the fall of 1858 the two men returned to the seminary at St. Sebald in Iowa. They were firmly convinced that since the Crow Indian had not as yet been corrupted by the white man and his "fire water," there was much hope for the Gospel of Christ in the land of the Crows. The results of their investigating trip is, however, best told in the words of Braeuninger, who wrote in regard to their leave-taking of the Indians: "Only reluctantly did they [the Indians] let us depart, for they would rather have persuaded us to stay. A thousand times they



asked us if we would really return when the winter had passed and the grass grew again. Some even offered to accompany us to Iowa, which offer we had to decline."<sup>6</sup> The enthusiastic report of Schmidt and Braeuninger caused renewed activity among the advocates of Indian missions, not only in the Iowa and Buffalo synods, but also among the friends of missions in Germany. Contributions were sent to the mission board of the Iowa Synod from the Buffalo Synod and from two mission societies in Germany.<sup>7</sup> During the winter of 1858-1859 plans and preparations were completed, so that by midsummer an expedition got under way.

On July 5, 1859, Missionaries Schmidt, Braeuninger and Doederlein, with Messrs. Seyler, Beck, and Bunge as helpers, left St. Sebald to found a mission station among the Crow Indians. The following is a partial list of the equipment and supplies of the party as it started on its long journey into the land of the Crows.<sup>8</sup>

2 wagons, completely equipped.....	\$160.00
9 or 10 oxen.....	600.00
2 cows .....	.....
4 sheep .....	16.00
Flour, 30-40 Ctr. (hundred pounds).....	80.00
Coffee, 200 lbs. ....	40.00
Wheat, 2 sacks .....	.....
Sugar, 200 to 300 lbs.....	40.00
Tea, 3 lbs. ....	.....
Rice, 300 lbs. ....	30.00
Peas and beans .....	3.00
Salt, 400 lbs. ....	8.00
Spices .....	3.00
Wine, 6 to 8 bottles.....	6.00
Vinegar, 1 Barrel .....	3.00
Whiskey—some bottles (3 to 9).....	2.00
Tobacco for 8 to 12.....	12.00
Dried apples .....	10.00
3 cartwheels .....	10.00
Axes .....	10.00
12 ax handles .....	12.00
1 stove .....	20.00
1 butter churn.....	1.00
1 1" auger, nail gimlet, drawing knife, auger 1½", plane, crosscut saw, key hole saws, cope saw, shovels, axes, pick axes, pincers, screw drivers, whetstones, grind stone, door and other locks, light holders, looking glass, soap, nails, glass, razors, water barrel, matches, wicks, etc. ....	.....

Utensils for cooking .....	7.00
Supplies for laundry .....	51.00
Rifle, powder, lead, caps, etc.....	60.00
Drugs .....	30.00
Clothing supplies: several woolen blankets, for each one 2 strong winter and 2 warm summer trousers; also 10-20 trousers; 8 working jackets; 5-6 coats; some vests; for each one 2 pairs of boots and 1 pair of shoes; neckties and shawls; 12 woolen shirts; 8 blue shirts, 6 white shirts; gloves; 10-12 drawers; hats and caps; socks and wool for stockings; towels; handkerchiefs; thread; ribbons; needles; scissors; knives, etc. Every- thing .....	200.00

On reaching Deer Creek,<sup>9</sup> the men were greatly disappointed to learn that no Crow Indians had been seen since the previous summer. Two of the men, Missionaries Schmidt and Doederlein, returned to Iowa in December to gather additional funds and supplies. Of the other four men, Captain Reynolds wrote: "When we arrived at Deer Creek, we found at the Indian agency the Rev. Mr. Bryninger [sic] and three companions, on their way to establish a mission among the Crows. They were German Lutherans, and had been sent out by the German Evangelical Synod of Iowa. God-fearing and devoted men, but ignorant of the world as well as of our language, and in consequence poorly fitted for the labors they had undertaken. They had started so late in the season that winter had overtaken them at this point. Their means were exhausted and they were awaiting funds from their friends in Iowa to enable them to prosecute their labors. I have the satisfaction of believing that I was instrumental in enabling them to pass a more comfortable winter than would otherwise have been their lot, and also of enabling them to continue the prosecution of their undertaking . . . Mr. Bryninger [sic] and his companions left Deer Creek a few days before we left our winter quarters, proposing to establish their headquarters near the lower canyon of the Big Horn river, a point I recommended to them . . ."<sup>10</sup>

While the party was wintering here at Deer Creek a Christmas observance took place which was without doubt the first celebration of such a character in what is now the state of Wyoming. All the necessary Christmas decorations having been brought along from Iowa, the Wednesday before Christmas a tree was brought in from one of the bluffs, four or five

miles distant, and the decorations put in place. But the story of this celebration is best told in the words of one of the missionaries, who in 1860 wrote as follows: ". . . At seven o'clock in the evening everything was ready. But we thought we were to be disappointed, as our guests, Major Twiss [the Indian agent] and his family and Dejer [sic] and his people had already gone to bed. However, Rev. Braeuninger went again to one of the members of the expedition. They were all exceedingly glad when they saw the tree with its decorations. One man, a lieutenant, stated again and again as his confession of faith, 'Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.' Really, it was a great joy to me to see the man thus. Then we sang 'Von Himmel Hoch da Komm ich Her.' Missionary Braeuninger read the Christmas Gospel in German and Captain Raynolds read it in English. These two men also played several selections. Rev. Braeuninger played the violin and Captain Raynolds the flute. Next we distributed, to the assembled Indians, gifts from the first Christmas tree in the territory of Nebraska. The lieutenant, already referred to, who spoke the language of the Indians very well, told the Indians these gifts were from the Great Spirit and that these missionaries had been sent by Him. One of the Indian squaws, in a most naive manner, asked why the Great Spirit, while He was at it, did not send full sacks of sugar and flour; why such small amounts? Finally we gave the Indians some bread and coffee and dismissed the assembly."<sup>11</sup>

The attempt of Schmidt and Doederlein to get additional supplies proved unsuccessful, as the Iowa Synod authorities were unable in the spring of 1860 to raise additional funds. At Deer Creek, however, as soon as weather conditions permitted, Braeuninger and the other two men, Beck and Seyler,<sup>12</sup> proceeded to a point on the Powder river, 150 miles north. There they erected their station, and in June, Braeuninger wrote: "The establishment of a station in Crowland has, by the help of God, become a reality."<sup>13</sup> In spite of the fact that Schmidt and Doederlein were not returned to the mission field, the Iowa Synod was able, because additional funds had arrived from Germany, to send two additional missionaries, K. G. Krebs and Ch. Flackenecker, to Deer Creek in the summer of 1860. These two young theological students had shortly before reached St. Sebald from Germany, having been sent to the Iowa Synod by Loehe to be used in the Indian mission

field. Krebs proved to be particularly fitted for work among the Indians and was by far the most successful of the entire group.

Krebs and Flackenecker went to Deer Creek over the Oregon Trail. When they reached Scotts Bluff, they were shocked to learn of the murder of Braeuninger, who on July 22, 1860, became a martyr to the cause of missions. "On the 21st of July, six Indians belonging to the Ogalala tribe of the Sioux nation visited the cabin of the missionaries. They were hospitably received, had supper, and remained until noon of the following day. After dinner they made ready to leave. But before starting out, one of them, who had been most friendly toward his hosts, removed the bullet from his gun, and instead loaded it with three balls. To Seyler this seemed peculiar, but in answer to a question Braeuninger, not suspecting that the gun might be loaded for himself, remarked: 'That is a practice among the Indians when they expect to attack their enemies. If they hunt game, they generally remove the balls.' During the afternoon Braeuninger decided to take a walk, which, at Beck's suggestion, should include bringing home the cattle. Walking along the stream, they encountered behind a thicket, half a mile from the station, the very Indians who had left them several hours before, but had gone in the opposite direction. The equally surprised Indians told Braeuninger that they had heard a shot and feared that their enemies, the Blackfeet, were in the neighborhood. They asked him whether he would conceal them in case their enemies should appear. This Braeuninger promised to do, explaining that the cellar would afford protection, at which remark the Indians indulged in roaring laughter. While Beck took care of the stock, the missionary started with the Indians toward the station. When Beck reached the house, to his surprise Braeuninger and the Indians had not arrived, and all waiting proved to be in vain. Fearing an accident, Beck and Seyler went over the ground carefully, but the most diligent search on this and the following day proved fruitless. Later friendly Indians related that one of the Ogalalas had treacherously shot Braeuninger in the back and that, as the fatally wounded man rose, his enemies had killed him with blows, cut his face, and thrown the body into the swollen river. Displeasure at settlement of whites on the Powder river had moved them to this act."<sup>14</sup> This account is very plausible since all subsequent

efforts on the part of Beck, Seyler and the Indian agency at Deer Creek, and later Krebs, to find trace of Braeuninger forced them to the conclusion that Braeuninger had paid the price of a martyr.<sup>15</sup>

Stunned by the loss of Braeuninger, and having met no Crow Indians, Beck and Seyler retreated to the safety of Deer Creek, where Krebs and Flachenecker soon joined them. It was decided to erect a station at Deer Creek, where they would be under the protection of the troops stationed at that post. During this winter of 1860-1861 not much could be accomplished in making contacts with the Indians because of the time the missionaries needed for erecting their station. Moreover, the missionaries found themselves short of supplies, so that at least one of the men was required to work for the Indian agent at Deer Creek in order to obtain provisions. Also, Krebs suffered from an attack of typhoid fever so that he was under the constant care of the other men for several weeks. In spite of these difficulties, however, some progress toward learning the Indian language was made.

In the spring of 1861 Iowa Synod authorities sent the Rev. Ch. Kessler to take charge of the mission station and, incidentally, to ordain both Krebs and Flachenecker. The original plan had been to have Braeuninger ordain the two candidates, but after the authorities learned of his death it was thought proper to send Kessler not only to take charge of the station, but to ordain Krebs and Flachenecker in order to avoid giving offense, since another synod had already referred to the Iowa Synod missionaries as "vagabonds."<sup>16</sup> The work was carried forward with enegery, and the Arapahoes, who at that time were friendly with the Cheyennes, were included in the missionary endeavors. An attempt was made to regain contact with the Crows, "but efforts of the two missionaries to get in touch with them proved in vain; on their trip they passed the abandoned station on the Powder river, which they found in ashes."<sup>17</sup> During the winter of 1861-1862 the men took turns in leaving the station and spending several weeks at a time in the camp of the Cheyennes. In this way they not only made friends with the Indians but learned their language as well. Krebs has described the preaching services he conducted and his method of approach in a very interesting manner. "To such an Indian camp near the station I went regularly on Sundays and Wednesdays . . . and called out: 'Winaasz mistochiz nam-

haiohniwh, nata eesz he zistas wuestanio,' which means: 'All of you are invited to my house; I wish to speak to the Zista people.' Regularly men, women and children responded in such numbers as to fill the room, while some were unable to get inside. The services began with recitation of the Lord's Prayer in the language of the Zistas, followed by the sermon. Then came long discussions with answering of questions."<sup>18</sup>

In the spring of 1862 the Indians of the Northwest rose against the government. This uprising became so acute that the missionaries in the early summer were forced to abandon their station at Deer Creek and retire to the safety of Fort Laramie. Such equipment as the men could not carry with them they buried at Deer Creek near the mission station. Shortly after reaching Fort Laramie it was decided that Kessler and Seyler were to return to Iowa for additional supplies, as prices at this time in the Northwest were prohibitive, a sack of flour selling for as high as \$30.<sup>19</sup>

Later in the summer, after the Indians had quieted down, Krebs, Flachenecker and Beck returned to Deer Creek, where they found everything just as they had left it. During the fall and winter of 1862-1863 these three men carried forward very much the same sort of program as during the previous winter. In addition to making new contacts with Indians near the station<sup>20</sup> the men began the task of instructing three Indian boys in matters religious. These boys had been abandoned by their own people and had found a home at the mission station. On Christmas day of 1863 the oldest of these boys was baptized and given the name of Frederick Sigmund Christopher. The following Easter one of the other boys, who was about 14 years of age, was baptized and given the name of Paulus.

As it had been impossible for Kessler and Seyler to return to Deer Creek in the fall of 1862, it was not until the next spring that the return journey to Deer Creek was made. The cost of the supplies, carried to the station on this journey, exceeded \$2000.<sup>21</sup> Beside Kessler and Seyler, three other persons went to Deer Creek with this expedition. During the winter in Iowa Seyler had married, and in addition to Mrs. Seyler, the fiancée of Beck, and another missionary, the Rev. F. Matter, accompanied the party. So that in the fall of 1863 there were at the Deer Creek mission station two women, four ordained missionaries, the two lay helpers, Beck and Seyler, and the three Indian boys.

When the spring of 1864 opened, everything seemed favorable for the ultimate success of the undertaking. It was thought that a mission station had been established, finally and definitely, among the Indians of the Northwest. However, during the summer the Indians were again on the warpath against the whites. Since the Civil War demanded all the available troops, the Northwest was not adequately protected. For two months the missionaries stayed on at Deer Creek. Friendly Cheyennes advised them to retire with the three Indian boys to Fort Laramie, as the more warlike Sioux intended to destroy the settlement at Deer Creek within four days. There being only 30 or 40 soldiers stationed at Deer Creek, the missionaries decided, in spite of the short notice, to return to Iowa. Flachenecker and Matter, however, remained for some weeks at Fort Laramie, in the hope that the Indians would be appeased and that missionary work could be resumed. That hope proved futile. By the first of December, 1864, both Flachenecker and Matter were back in Iowa and the missionary work among the Indians came to an end.

Krebs, who upon his return had taken up his residence at Wartburg Seminary, undertook the education of the three Indian boys who had been brought along from Deer Creek. One, as yet unbaptized, was christened in 1865 at Galena. This boy, however, soon became ill and died of tuberculosis, and later in the same year the Indian boy Paulus suffered the same fate. Both lie buried in the cemetery at St. Sebald. The oldest boy lived some years longer, but whenever he was not under the direct care of Krebs, his spiritual father, temptation proved too much for him. He failed to live up to the high hopes the missionaries held the day he was named Frederick Sigmund Christopher. He never became a missionary to his people.

In 1866 Krebs and the Indian boy attempted to return to Deer Creek to do mission work. They never reached their destination, for the Indians now were in no mood to receive Krebs or his message. He and the Indian boy spent eight months at Fort Cottonwood (later Fort McPherson) near the present site of Maxwell, Nebraska, but made no contacts with the Indians because of the unfriendly attitude of the Sioux. This failure of Krebs led the Iowa Synod, at its meeting in Toledo, Ohio,<sup>22</sup> in 1867, to decide temporarily to suspend its missionary attempts among the Indians, which never since has

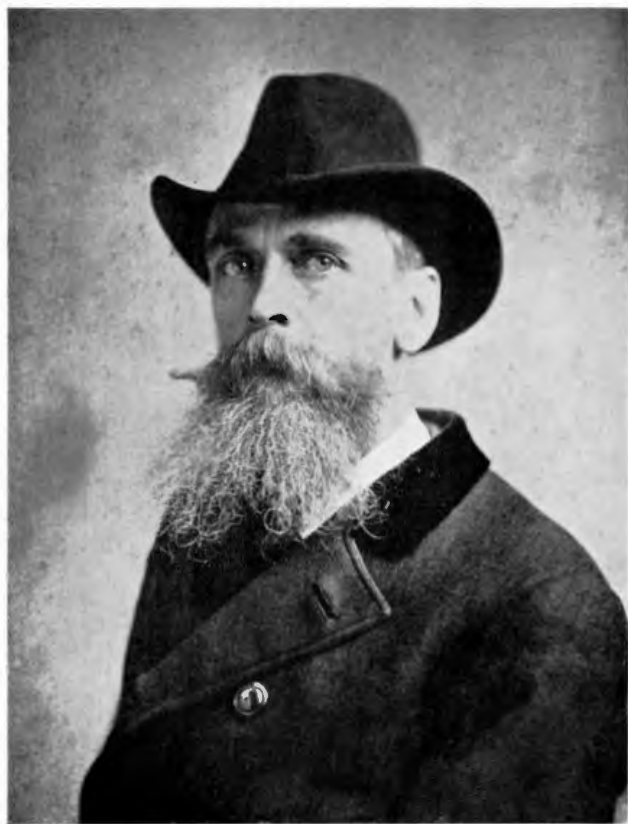


been resumed by the Iowa Synod. The interest of the Iowa Synod in the Indians had proved both costly and futile.

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- 1 The term "Iowa Synod" will be used in this paper rather than the full official title of the Synod.
  - 2 Deindoerfer, Johannes, *Geschichte der Evangel. Luth. Synode von Iowa und Anderen Staaten*, Chicago, 1897, p. 4.
  - 3 Zellinger, George J., *A Missionary Synod with a Mission*, Chicago, 1930, p. 9.
  - 4 Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 55.
  - 5 Ibid., p. 56.
  - 6 Zellinger, op. cit., p. 32.
  - 7 Central Mission Society of Bavaria, and the Mission Society of Luebeck.
  - 8 One of the members of the Iowa Synod Mission Board estimated the cost, which totals \$1,424. Exact figures are not available, but it is certain that the larger percentage of the necessary funds came from Germany. The young Iowa Synod in 1859 certainly was unable to finance alone such an expedition without aid. This list was furnished by Dr. George J. Fritschel, Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa. The original list is in German in the handwriting of Dr. G. Grossman.
  - 9 A point on the Platte river about 100 miles west of Fort Laramie within the present state of Wyoming.
  - 10 Reynolds, Bvt. Brig. Gen. W. F., *Exploration of the Yellowstone River*, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 77, 40th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 75-76.
  - 11 Translated from *Kirchenblatt*, Vol. 3, No. 2. (1860).
  - 12 Bunge had become discouraged and started back East.
  - 13 Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 59.
  - 14 Keiser, Albert, *Lutheran Mission Work Among The American Indians*, Minneapolis, 1922, pp. 104-105.
  - 15 There is, however, according to Dr. George J. Fritschel, evidence to show that it was the supposedly friendly Cheyennes and not the Ogalalas who killed Braeuninger. The story told by the friendly Indians (Cheyennes) then would seem to have been fabricated for the purpose of avoiding suspicion.
  - 16 *Lutheran Herald*, May, 1929.
  - 17 Keiser, op. cit., p. 106.
  - 18 Ibid., p. 107.
  - 19 Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 62.
  - 20 Early in the fall their horses were stolen.
  - 21 Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 62.
  - 22 *Kirchenblatt*, Vol. 10, No. 9, (1867).





THOMAS MORAN  
Portrait taken in 1882.

## THOMAS MORAN'S JOURNEY TO THE TETONS IN 1879

BY FRITIOF FRYXELL

Thomas Moran<sup>1</sup> was 34 years of age when he made his memorable first visit to the Rocky Mountains. The opportunity for this journey came in 1871 when he was invited to become the guest of the Hayden Territorial Surveys and accompany the first of the successive field parties which were appointed by Dr. F. V. Hayden to investigate the scenic wonders of that portion of northwestern Wyoming which a year later was to become celebrated as Yellowstone National Park. The most notable of the works which resulted from this first expedition was the great canvass depicting "The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone," a painting which was recognized as possessing such national significance that Congress appropriated ten thousand dollars for its purchase (at the time considered a very large sum) and arranged for its permanent exhibition in the Capitol at Washington.

Late in the summer of 1872, Dr. Hayden wrote to his now famous young friend, under date of August 29, "There is no doubt that your reputation is made. Still you must do much to nurse it. The more you get, the greater care . . . The next picture you paint must be the Tetons. I have arranged for a small party to take you from Fort Hall up Snake River, thence to the Yellowstone, etc. . . . It will not be difficult for you to see all this country next year in a few weeks and make all the sketches you wish. . . . Put on your best strokes this summer so as to be ready for a big campaign next summer."<sup>2</sup>

However, possibly because of a change of plans on the part of Dr. Hayden, whose 1873 activities centered in Colorado and did not extend into northwestern Wyoming, the following summer found Thomas Moran 500 miles southwest of the Tetons, in company with the intrepid John W. Powell among the remote and little-known plateaus of southern Utah and northern Arizona.<sup>3</sup> Summer after summer slipped by, golden seasons in Moran's life, during which he traveled widely both

in the West and abroad; and it was not until 1879, the year following the disbanding of the Territorial Surveys, that Thomas Moran finally found his way into the Teton country, whose grandeur he had for so long been urged to behold for himself, and where, seven years before, a splendid peak had been named in his honor.<sup>4</sup>

Little was known concerning Thomas Moran's journey to the Tetons in 1879, other than that it was at this time that he secured all of the field sketches upon which are based his Teton landscape paintings, notably his famous studies of Mount Moran (there being several, differing principally in details) and "The Teton Range, Idaho" (the latter title and several others are in error in assigning the Teton peaks to Idaho, whereas all of them lie on the Wyoming side of the state line). Not a little interest, therefore, attaches to the recent discovery by Miss Ruth B. Moran of a little journal kept by her father on this expedition—one of the few documents from Moran's own hand relating to his early work and travels in the West.

Moran's journal is a little notebook of vestpocket size containing a series of day-to-day pencil entries. The entries begin and end with equal abruptness; there is no introduction or conclusion. Most similar records start out bravely enough with detailed entries which, as the days pass, become increasingly perfunctory, but with Moran's the reverse is true, the jottings of the first days giving way to ampler and more carefully written accounts. In all likelihood at the conclusion of the expedition Moran laid his journal away<sup>5</sup> and forgot it, for had he later returned to it he would very likely have caught an obvious calendar error which it contains, and he would probably not have left his notes in their present unfinished state (for the narrative ends with the party camped, on the return trip, at the junction of Willow Creek and Sand Creek, less than two days' journey north of their destination).

From the journal it appears that Thomas Moran's journey to the Tetons was made in company with his younger brother, Peter, the noted animal painter,<sup>6</sup> the two young artists having evidently seized an opportunity to make the expedition under escort of a military detachment sent out from Fort Hall, Idaho, on a scout into Teton Basin (Pierre's Hole) under leadership of Captain Augustus Hudson Bainbridge (Com-

pany A, 14th U. S. Infantry), then in command of the post of Fort Hall. No special occasion for a scouting expedition at this time is apparent, the records of the War Department simply noting Captain Bainbridge's absence from the post during the 12-day period from August 21 to September 1; it is probable that the trip was arranged purely as an accommodation to the distinguished Moran brothers. The apprehension of a hostile Bannock, Pam-pigemena, on August 29 is mentioned in Moran's journal but this arrest appears to have been an incidental episode.

In view of the fact that the entire journey consumed but twelve days time and was, moreover, made at a season when the range was much obscured by smoke from forest fires, it is remarkable that Moran was able to secure material for so many important paintings—works which will forever link his name with the Tetons. From his journal it is clear that he actually spent only one day within the range itself, and did not have an opportunity to view the Tetons at all from the far more spectacular eastern side (that is, from any point within the area now included in the Grand Teton National Park). Though these mountains impressed Moran as constituting "perhaps the finest pictorial range in the United States or even in North America," it is quite certain that in all his subsequent travels he never found his way back among them again, nor beheld, save possibly from a distance, the beautiful mountain which bears his name. The little journal which follows is, therefore, a record of Thomas Moran's first and only visit to the Tetons.

Aug. 21 [1879]

Left Fort Hall<sup>7</sup> with Cap. A. H. Bainbridge & 20 men. 2 wagons. On way to Taylors Bridge<sup>8</sup> very hot. Mirage. Dogs exhausted. Pete sick. Reached Taylors Bridge<sup>8</sup> late in afternoon. 27 miles. Desolation. Abandoned town. R. R. bridge over the Snake. Andersons Store. Discharged soldier in the morning came into camp & made disturbance. Hughes. Highway robber. Dismal camp. Furious wind all night driving sand everywhere. Almost blinding. Gray dismal morning. Black basalt. Abomination. Rushing river like Niagara Rapids.

Aug. 22

Left Camp at Taylors Bridge at 7 o'clock. Cold & windy with dust following & blinding us all the way. At noon passed Black Jacks on Willow Creek. All sage plain proposed irri-

gation. Arrived at 12 at Buck from Connecticut. 7 miles to south fork of Snake. Arrived there at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3. Two hours to get across on the opposite side. Had terrible time to get the heavy wagons up the embankment & through the willows. 40 feet. 12 mules. Soldiers yelling & beating the mules. Got up all right & went into camp in a beautiful spot on the north bank of the river. Soldiers bathing. Watering the stock near Taylors Bridge. Had our first sight of the great Teton some 70 miles away. Indian herders seldom speak & keep studiously apart from the other men. The stagey sergeant.

Amusing to see the mules inquisitively surrounding the teamster who was handling rations.

Fires all over the country.

Aug. 23

An early breakfast & cool. Following foothills surmounted by basalt over a plain covered with fine bunch grass. Fine grazing & altogether a beautiful grazing & farming country with means of easy irrigation from the south fork of the Snake, which is a splendid current & clear as crystal. We are directly opposite Crater Buttes across the Snake 15 miles distant. The Salmon River Range close in the distance enveloped in a delicate blue haze. To the east lies the Snake River Range, a low line of mountains separating us from the Teton Basin.  $\frac{1}{2}$  past seven, 5 miles, a halt on for 10 minutes. A good road for the wagons. At 11:20 reached a fine cold stream, probably Moody Creek, where we rested  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour to water the animals. The Tetons are now plainly visible but not well defined owing to the mistiness of the atmosphere. They loom grandly above all the other mountains. An intervening ridge dividing us from the Teton Basin stretches for miles to the north, of a beautiful pinkish yellow with delicate shades of pale cobalt, while the distant range is of an exquisite blue with but little definition of forms on their surfaces.

Our Indian, Jack, has just caught a fine trout of about 3 pounds weight & he says the stream is full of them.

Aug. 24th

Teton River Camp

Trout this morning for B. & a wind blowing nearly as bad as at Taylors Bridge, driving the dust everywhere & covering our breakfast. Cold but bright overhead. The Tetons from this camp are very well defined in a directly easterly direction before the sun rose but soon disappeared when the atmosphere lighted up. Boguy<sup>9</sup> whose ranch we stopped at for information yesterday drove over this morning before we left camp & partly under guidance [we] reached Canon Creek at 11



o'clock after a 15 mile ride over rolling country covered with excellent grass & free from sage. We struck the canon at a point where it is about 800 feet in depth with very precipitous banks covered with the debris from the basaltic columns with which the upper edge is fringed. A large porcupine was killed by Cap. Bainbridge a mile or two from the canon. Following a trail leading up the edge of the canon we found that it led down into the canon, which has a beautiful stream flowing through it fringed with water elms, pine, cottonwood, etc. The captain & two men have gone up the canon either to find a [ford or a camp sight]. About a mile above we found a depression in the side of the canon down which we could make our way to a flat space containing a few acres covered with sage & grass. Here the wagons were unloaded & after packing the material on the pack mules the wagons with a portion of the mules & 6 or 8 men were sent back to Boqua's to there camp until our return from the Teton Basin. We made our camp on the flat in the canon. Caught a few mountain trout & ascended the canon again to get a glimpse of the Tetons but from this point only the top of Mt. Moran is visible owing to the slope of the hills beyond the canon.

Aug. 25th

We were out of bed this morning at 5:30. It was very cold & ice had formed on the tin cups. In another hour we were under way over what appeared to be a rolling but smooth country but as we advanced we found our mistake. Every mile we found a gulch bordered with aspens in depth from 100 to 200 feet but we found no difficulty in crossing any of them. After passing the divide between the Teton Basin & our last camp we found a gently [rolling] country [descending] to the Basin. The Tetons here loomed up grandly against the sky & from this point it is perhaps the finest pictorial range in the United States or even in N. America. After descending the slope about 3 miles we came upon a small ice cold stream & determined to camp. Leaving the main body the Cap., Pete, myself & 1 man proceeded a mile or two toward the Teton Valley but saw no signs of water within 5 miles. On our return to camp we saw a deer within a quarter of a mile but failed to get near enough to get a shot at it. After camp had been finally disposed of 3 men & the Indian were sent out to hunt. They had not been gone more than an hour before we heard seven shots & concluded they had found something. Soon after they returned & the Indian, Jack, had shot 3 out of 5 deer they had come upon. One was lost in the packing as the mules objected strongly to carry dead animals so but two were brought into camp. They were the mule deer which may have had something to do with the objections of the mules to carrying them. Later in the afternoon 4 men were sent to

search for the lost deer & they soon after brought it into camp. Of course we enjoyed our venison heartily at dinner. This afternoon we made sketches of the Teton Range but the distance, 20 miles, is rather too far to distinguish the details, especially as it is very smoky from fires in the mountains on each side of the peaks. This evening it is quite cold but we have a fine camp fire & the Cap. & Peter are broiling some venison ribs on willow sticks.

## 26th

From camp this morning our way lay over a smooth rolling country descending gently to the bottom of the Teton Basin or Valley through which the Teton River flows, its banks deeply fringed with the willow common to this region, with here & there cottonwoods in small groves. The Teton River can be forded at almost any point. Soon after crossing the stream we saw a teepee in the willows a short distance away and some horses grazing. Going over there we found it to be Beaver Dick,<sup>10</sup> his Indian squaw, & a companion whom he called Tom. He was evidently trapping beaver as he had several skins stretched with pins on the ground. Leaving Beaver Dick's camp we headed directly for the canon of Teton River<sup>11</sup> which heads at the base of the Tetons. Dick said it was 17 miles to the camping ground but we found that it was not more than 10 or 12. At the mouth of the canon we found a pretty good camping spot<sup>12</sup> on the edge of the banks of the river which are here about 14 feet high. A fine growth of pine fills the river bottom & good grazing for animals covers the space between ourselves & the hills. It is very hot this afternoon & so very smoky that the Teton peaks can scarcely be seen & at times are entirely obscured so that sketching is out of the question & we spend our time working up some of our sketches made previously. As the sun goes down it gets quite cold but a roaring camp fire gives warmth & cheerfulness to our camp & we all feel in the best of spirits. After a good night's rest we get up on the morning of the 27th; & after a substantial breakfast of venison we are about to start out on a trip up the canon when one of the men discovered a black bear coming down the hills toward camp & not more than 250 yards distant. The bear showed much curiosity in regard to our camp & was deliberating whether to come nearer when the Cap. sent Indian Jack & several men out to interview him. Jack got the first shot & hit him in the right foot which seemed to surprise him very much as he threw up his foot & stood still a few seconds but he was not long in making up his mind to retreat. The men fired a number of shots after him as he ran into the aspen grove at the foot of the hill but failed to hit him & in a few minutes he had disappeared over the top of the hill, much to the disgust of the hunters.



Beaver Dick (Richard Leigh) and his family, camped in Teton Basin, Idaho. From an early photograph.



After this little event the Cap., Pete, myself & two men started on a trip up the canon. We proceeded over a not difficult way about 6 miles & ascended to the top of a granite cliff about 500 feet to get a good view of the canon<sup>13</sup> that leads up to the right of the Tetons. The peaks of the Tetons<sup>14</sup> are from this point entirely hidden from view but a number of other fine peaks present themselves in view. The view is very magnificent. The opposite mountain rises 5000 feet above the river with a granite base surmounted by sandstone & capped with tremendous precipices of limestone. The slopes are covered in places with a growth of large pines but the summit is nearly bare of vegetation. We remained on the cliff some 3 hours sketching & afterwards amused ourselves by rolling down great granite boulders over the precipice upon which we stood & watching their descent as they went rebounding from rock to rock & crashing through the brush & dead timber at the base with a noise like the report of musketry & echoing through the canon. Descending to the valley we found Red Raspberry & B. Currants plentiful with which we regaled ourselves. A large beaver dam stretches across the canon at this point & the animals' industry is here exhibited on a large scale, the trees having been cut by them hundreds of feet above the river & brought down to the dam. Game of all sorts is very abundant in the canon. Elk & deer tracks are seen everywhere. We returned to camp early in the afternoon. The fires in the surrounding mountains had become so dense as almost to obscure the peaks of the Tetons & the sun went down in fiery redness. A strong & cold wind began to blow soon after & during the night a violent thunder storm continued until nearly day break, accompanied by rain in the canon & snow on the peaks. Heavy storm clouds hung over the range dropping snow or rain occasionally & a cold wind blew from the S. W.

Aug. 28

We broke camp & left the canon at 6:30, after an uncomfortable breakfast prepared under difficulties of rain & a cold wind. As we left the canon & came into the open plain the sun broke through the dense clouds that overhung the mountains for a time and showed his face fitfully all day. On our way back we called at the wickiup of Beaver Dick & after a little talk we proceeded to the Teton River near its junction with Bear Creek where we intended to camp, but after a rest of a couple of hours during which a number of fine salmon trout were taken we concluded to go on some 8 miles to our old camp on the other side of the Teton Valley where we arrived about 4 o'clock, Beaver Dick & his companion Tom joining us part of the way. It was cold & windy during the evening & considerable snow fell on the mountain during the day. Indian Jack as usual was the luck hunter & brought in a young An-

telope many of which we saw between Beaver Dick's & our camping ground. A roaring camp fire dispelled the cold & our camp being in a sheltered spot we slept comfortably & next morning, Aug. 28,<sup>15</sup> we followed our old trail toward Canon Creek for some time when we were again joined by Beaver Dick who guided over a new route to Boqua's but not an improvement over our own as we came over to the Basin. The Cap. was very desirous of bringing into Ft. Hall a hostile Bannock Indian named Pam-pigemena who by the way was father-in-law to Beaver Dick & Dick said he knew where he was & would bring him to our camp in the morning. We journey along & reached Boqua's ranch early in the afternoon & found that the party we had left in charge of the wagons was camped on Moody Creek near its junction with the south fork of the Teton River some four miles further on. We proceeded on our way & reached there about 3 o'clock. After dinner Beaver Dick started out for the Indian promising to bring him in the morning. It was very cold during the night, heavy ice forming on the water in our buckets.

On the morning of the 29th<sup>16</sup> as we were at breakfast Beaver Dick came into camp with the information that his father-in-law & his mother-in-law also would be in very soon. The Cap. ordered the start but left 3 men at the camp to wait for the Indian & his wife. We proceeded on our way toward the s. fork of the Snake River & when about 8 miles on our way we descried the men with the Indians coming along. We halted for half an hour until they came up. They had all their worldly goods with them packed on 3 horses, consisting of beaver, otter, deer, bear, & other skins. They were about 60 & 50 years of age & seemed entirely indifferent to their position as prisoners. We bought some otter skins from them but a coveted gray bear skin the squaw would not part with as she said Beaver Dick gave it to her. We recrossed the Snake River without accident & arrived at Willow Creek at its junction with Sand Creek at 3 o'clock & went into camp. Cedars, cottonwood in the bottoms & a beautiful day. The ever present Crater Buttes on our right all day backed by the Salmon River Range. Poor camp with no grass for our animals.

[End of journal]

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Moran, who passed away on August 25, 1926, at the age of 89 years, is conceded to have done more than any other artist to make known to the world the scenic resources of the West. In the estimate of his contemporaries "the dean of American artists" and probably the greatest landscape interpreter our country has yet produced, he is likewise entitled to an important place among the early explorers of the Far West. No biography of Moran has yet been written, but numerous accounts of his life and work are available. Unfortunately, most of these brief accounts abound with inaccuracies so far as his western travels are concerned. A few references may be listed:

Benjamin, S. G. W., "A Pioneer of the Palette, Thomas Moran."—*The Magazine of Art*, February, 1882, pages 89-93.

Ladegast, Richard, "Thomas Moran, N. A."—*Truth*, September, 1900, pages 209-212.

Buckley, Edmund, "Thomas Moran, A Splendid Example of American Achievement in Art."—*Fine Arts Journal*, January, 1909, pages 9-17.

Simpson, William H., "Thomas Moran—The Man."—*Fine Arts Journal*, January, 1909, pages 18-25.

Buek, G. H., "Thomas Moran."—*American Magazine*, January, 1913, pages 30-32.

Gillespie, Harriet Sisson, "Thomas Moran, Dean of Our Painters."—*International Studio*, August, 1924, pages 361-366.

Buek, G. H., "Thomas Moran, N. A. The Grand Old Man of American Art."—*The Mentor*, August, 1924, pages 29-37.

Moran, Ruth B., "Thomas Moran: An Appreciation."—*The Mentor*, August, 1924, pages 38-52.

Butler, Howard Russell, "Thomas Moran, N. A.—An Appreciation."—*The American Magazine of Art*, November, 1926, pages 559-560.

Parker, R. A., "The Water-Colors of Thomas Moran."—*International Studio*, March, 1927, pages 65-72.

- 2 Letter in possession of Miss Ruth B. Moran.

- 3 Moran's painting, "The Chasm of the Colorado," was one of the products of the 1873 expedition and was also purchased by Congress as a companion piece to "The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone." It is most unfortunate that these great paintings, of such historical and artistic significance, have never been displayed to advantage in the Capitol. Their illumination in the niches which they at present occupy impresses one as being scarcely adequate, and it is impossible for the observer, in viewing them, to stand as far away as is desirable due to their size.

- 4 Professor Frank H. Bradley, geologist with the Hayden party of 1872 in the Teton country, mentions in connection with an attempted ascent of the Grand Teton that "To the north of the canon [probably Cascade Canyon] one peak of the range, which we have called Mount Leidy, has a long wedge-shaped summit, upon the top of which a long mound, like those erected so numerous by the mound-builders in the valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries. This summit, however, was not visited." (P. 222 of the Sixth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories.) This name was proposed in honor of Joseph Leidy, the distinguished vertebrate paleontologist who served with the Hayden Surveys.

The name "Mount Leidy" actually appears on one of the sketches accompanying Bradley's report (page 262). This must have been an oversight, however, for officially the name was not allowed to stand. On Bechler's "Map of the Sources of the Snake River" which accompanies Bradley's report (opposite page 255), as well as on all later maps, the name "Mount Moran" has been substituted for "Mount Leidy," the latter name being transferred to a much less imposing summit (altitude 10,317 feet) twenty miles to the southeast, in the highlands east of Jackson Hole. Possibly the change was made by Bechler, the topographer, but more likely by Hayden himself.

Bechler gives the altitude of Mount Moran as 12,800 feet; in the maps (by Bechler and Clark) accompanying the Twelfth Annual Report (covering the explorations of 1878) this figure has been revised to 12,441. Bannan's triangulations of 1898 and 1899 for the Grand Teton Quadrangle map reduced its altitude still further, placing it between 12,100 and 12,200 feet. According to this determination (the most reliable now available) Mount Moran is exceeded in altitude by at least four major Teton peaks (each of the Three Tetons and Mount Owen) and possibly by a fifth, Teewinot (which is also between 12,100 and 12,200 feet).

Though by no means the highest peak in the range, as is apparent from the above, Mount Moran is by far the broadest and most massive of the Teton peaks, measuring as it does no less than three miles in diameter at its base. It is one of the most beautiful of mountains, the more so because of its magnificent setting to the west of Jackson Lake in whose waters are mirrored its great buttressed figure and the several ice fields clinging to its upper slopes.

The mountaineering history of Mount Moran is one of considerable interest and has been recorded elsewhere (in "Teton Peaks and Their Ascents" by the writer. Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming, 1932. Pages 88-104).

- 5 Moran appears to have published only one account relating to his many western expeditions, that which in 1892 he made in company with the pioneer photographer, William H. Jackson, to Devil's Tower, Wyoming (*The Century Illustrated Magazine*, January, 1894, pp. 450-455).
- 6 The Morans have been compared to those families "of Flanders three centuries ago or of Japan in this century who seem to have the tendency toward art in the name." While more than a dozen members of this remarkable family have achieved eminence in the field of art in America, three brothers from the original family which came to this country in 1844 from Lancashire, England, probably stand first: Edward Moran, N. A. (1829-1901), the painter of marines; Thomas Moran, N. A. (1837-1926), the subject of this article and noted principally for his landscape paintings; and Peter Moran



(1842-1914), an animal painter and etcher. A fourth brother, John Moran (1831-1903), was one of the first and best-known American out-door photographers, and was also a landscape painter. Of the many Morans of later generations who became artists the two sons of Edward Moran, Percy (1862-) and Léon (1864-), are probably the best known.

- 7 Fort Hall, the old military post, was located about 15 miles northeast of the present Indian Agency of that name on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation.
- 8 At approximately the site of the city of Idaho Falls.
- 9 Spelled "Boqua" elsewhere in the journal.
- 10 "Beaver Dick," whose proper name was Richard Leigh, was the most picturesque figure in the Teton region during the decades immediately preceding settlement. He was called Beaver Dick "on account of the striking resemblance of two abnormally large front teeth in his upper jaw to the teeth of a beaver. The Indians called him 'The Beaver'." (CHITTENDEN). Beaver Dick figures prominently in the early history of the Teton region, where for most of his life (it is said that he was 16 when he came into the region) he trapped, hunted, and acted in the capacity of guide. He is buried on a hill-top at the mouth of Teton Canyon. In the Grand Teton National Park the names of two beautiful lakes, Beaver Dick Lake and Leigh Lake, perpetuate his memory, and an adjoining body of water, Jenny Lake, is named after his first Indian wife.
- 11 That is, Teton Canyon, through which Teton Creek (not Teton River) flows.
- 12 Near Alta, about 3½ miles northeast of the present village of Driggs.
- 13 One of the north forks of Teton Canyon, probably the one marked "Roaring Creek" on the map of Targhee National Forest.
- 14 Probably a reference to the group of principal peaks known as the "Three Tetons."
- 15 Error: should read Aug. 29.
- 16 Ditto: should read the 30th.

## THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF SWEDISH IMMIGRANTS OF IMPORTANCE TO THEIR ASSIMILATION IN AMERICA

BY ALBERT F. SCHERSTEN

In connection with a research project relating to the assimilation in America of over four hundred Swedish immigrants in a certain community the writer made a study of their historical and cultural background, which is obviously important with reference to assimilation. The degree of similarity between the environment of an immigrant's native land and that of his adopted country and the nature of his individual culture and experience help much to determine the rate and the extent of his assimilation into American life.

Since practically all the immigrants included in this study were born since the middle of the nineteenth century, attention was given to the general conditions and changes in Sweden since about 1850, particularly those having a bearing upon assimilation, and, in a very general way, consideration was given to historical and cultural conditions previous to that time. This article does not present any new historical information but points out historical facts that are important in reference to the assimilation of Swedish immigrants in America.

One or two facts concerning the population of Sweden are apropos. Since Swedish immigrants are of Teutonic stock and hence racially akin to a large proportion of the people of the United States, there are no racial barriers to assimilation.<sup>1</sup> Since agriculture has until recently been the chief occupation in Sweden, the urban population is proportionately smaller than the rural population, but there has been a steady urban trend.<sup>2</sup> In 1904, 21 per cent of the entire population was urban, and in 1930, 32 per cent.<sup>3</sup> This gradual change in Sweden is noteworthy with regard to assimilation. An urban environment in Sweden, as elsewhere, provides a wider variety of environmental influences than does a rural environment and

is increasingly important as a preparation for assimilation in the United States in view of the fact that the United States is becoming more and more urban, 56 per cent of its people living in towns and cities at the present time.<sup>4</sup> In 1860 three-fourths of the people were engaged in agriculture, whereas at the present time less than half of them are. Before 1900 agriculture was the chief industry in Sweden and so most of the people lived in a rural environment.

A potential agency of assimilation is the steady progress, since 1809, in economic, social, political, and cultural life in Sweden. Prosperity has spread, many new branches of industry have been developed, means of communication have increased, and there has been marked progress in popular education and in various cultural interests.<sup>5</sup> Since 1820 Sweden has enjoyed steady and rapid progress in general well-being and culture to a greater extent than in any preceding period.<sup>6</sup> All this progress means that an increasing number of the inhabitants of Sweden have had influences, contacts, and interests of a sufficiently varied and extensive nature to provide a favorable background for adjustment to an American environment.

One of the changes indicating progress that has assimilative force is the change affecting the agricultural population. Formerly this population was divided into three classes, freeholders, cotters or peasants, and day-laborers,<sup>7</sup> which meant that because of differences in economic opportunities and hence in social and cultural opportunities some of the rural folk were better prepared than others for assimilation in America. But the situation became different in regard to this matter. A democratic distribution of land, largely a result of the forfeiture of the landed possessions of the nobility in the seventeenth century, according to a royal decree,<sup>8</sup> gave many of the peasant class some preparation for assimilation. Since most of the landed estates were bought by peasant proprietors, that class became strong economically,<sup>9</sup> a situation reflected in Swedish political life at the present time. At the same time that class distinctions within the agricultural class were disappearing, the number of individual farm owners increased. Most of the landed estates, 85 per cent of them, were worked by the owners themselves,<sup>10</sup> and over a thousand individual farm homes were established annually for a long period of

years,<sup>11</sup> and consequently a large proportion of the rural people in Sweden have for some time lived under circumstances in some respects favorable to assimilation.

An occupational development important in reference to this matter is a steady increase in the number of industrial workers as a result of considerable industrial expansion since the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1860 less than 3,000 factories employed less than 29,000 workers, and just before the World War 10,000 factories had 300,000 employees.<sup>12</sup> In other words, a growing number of the men in Sweden live in cities and towns and engage in occupations of kinds found to a great extent in the United States. To some extent the great importance of the timber trade, which ranks first among Swedish industries,<sup>13</sup> is an exception to this general change in occupational distribution, for this industry removes many men from an urban environment; on the other hand, one result is the presence of a larger number of men in timber towns and cities.

Commercial development in Sweden since the early part of the nineteenth century is also of significance with reference to the adjustment of Swedish immigrants in America. Commercial activity of several kinds has constantly increased, with the result that commerce is considerably important in proportion to the size of the population.<sup>14</sup> The expansion of domestic trade, extensive use of modern commercial methods, and a great deal of attention to commercial education<sup>15</sup> are potential factors in the enlargement of the sphere and of the content of individual and collective experience and culture and are means of providing many environmental situations and influences more or less similar to those in the United States. Energetic promotion of foreign trade is a possible way of bringing about international contacts and thus of bringing some cosmopolitan elements into the background of Swedish immigrants.

Development of the means of communication in Sweden is indirectly a means toward the assimilation of Swedish immigrants in America, for communication largely facilitates social interaction and increases opportunities for social experience and for participation in community life. In Sweden country waterways, roads, and railways have become important means of communication.<sup>16</sup> The first railways were built in the '50s and "now radiate from Stockholm in different directions to the

most outlying parts" of Sweden. Sundbärg calls Sweden's network of railways the greatest economic and financial achievement of the nineteenth century in Sweden. Since the introduction of the telegraph in 1853 telegraphic communication has been greatly extended; the telephone system, begun in 1880, is completely up-to-date, and as to extent, in proportion to population, is second to none.<sup>17</sup>

The governmental system has, on the whole, made it possible for its people to have respect for government and to have an increasing share in it,<sup>18</sup> a fact that is of great importance with regard to the background of Swedish immigrants in the United States. Obedience to laws and respect for authority were inbred in Swedish immigrants, for they did not leave Sweden because of dissatisfaction with its laws and its governmental system, and so they came to America with respect for authority and with training for citizenship. Becoming American citizens was usually one of the first concerns of Swedish immigrants.<sup>19</sup>

A gradual and steady trend toward democracy has been a marked characteristic of the government of Sweden. It was not democratic from the very beginning, but the application of democratic principles began comparatively early. Sweden, like England, has had centuries of a national parliamentary development,<sup>20</sup> and long before the eighteenth century the people began to be partakers in government.<sup>21</sup> At the present time Sweden has as thorough a system of democratic rule as any other country. Absolute monarchy existed for only a very brief period, and the kings of Sweden have led a "democratically governed people" and have coöperated with them.<sup>22</sup>

There are other evidences of the people's political maturity.<sup>23</sup> Since popular liberty and a constitutional form of government were firmly established long before the rest of Europe adopted a republican form of government, Sweden was not greatly affected by the great governmental changes caused by the French Revolution and for the same reason kept many basic institutions.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, the Swedish and the English constitutions were the only ones in Europe developed without serious interruption by means of independent political growth on a national basis.

Changes in the parliamentary system of Sweden have been of a democratic nature. Before 1866 the parliament was com-

posed of four chambers, one for each of these classes: nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants, and since that time there have been only two elective chambers with equal authority, the first and the second. The very fact that they are elective is one of the several instances of the people's participation in government through voting. Property requirements somewhat limit popular share in parliamentary activities: the members of both chambers must have a certain amount of property, more being required of those in the first chamber than of those in the second chamber.<sup>25</sup> In spite of these requirements a striking feature of the Swedish parliament is its large number of "peasants" (middle class people), over a hundred, principally in the second chamber. As a result of traditions that are centuries old, these people, who since 1886 have had a dominant voice in politics, have self-respect and knowledge that make them the equals of the representatives of the people in any other country.<sup>26</sup> Since 1886 and until the beginning of the twentieth century the majority of the second chamber consisted of the representatives of the small farmers, who, constituting the so-called Farmers' Party, promoted the special interests of their class. Another indication of growing political democracy is the fact that in the twentieth century progress in industry and commerce increased the political power of the industrial workers.<sup>27</sup>

A feature of the Swedish government that is a potential source of respect for it and of confidence in it is the independence of many public officials of certain kinds, who are also reasonably subject to control. Their positions are secure regardless of the fluctuations of political opinions and parties and regardless of the possible caprice of superiors. Judges and most other officials cannot be removed except for misconduct and cannot be transferred to different positions or localities without their consent.<sup>28</sup>

Some historical facts pertaining to suffrage are important in reference to the assimilative background of Swedish immigrants. Before 1909 suffrage in Sweden did not give all social classes an equal share in the government. Each voter had a number of votes proportionate to the amount that he paid in taxes, and one result of this custom was that in 1892, for instance, fifty per cent of the persons entitled to vote were men, and in local matters three per cent were women. An indication

of an increase both in general property and in general participation in political matters was the great increase in the number of votes from 1892 to 1900, an increase of about 125,000.<sup>29</sup> Through legislation enacted in 1909 and between 1918 and 1921 equal franchise was extended to men and women regardless of the amount of property they had, and since then the influence of the great masses of the population has grown both in parliament and in local government.<sup>30</sup>

People have a share in county government by electing from their number members of county councils, which have charge of a wide variety of matters pertaining to county welfare and which elect members of the upper house of the national parliament.<sup>31</sup> In the case of municipal government the people have, perhaps, a more definite and more direct vote. The townspeople elect aldermen and nominate candidates for mayor, for in the case of the latter the government appoints one of the three highest "elected" by the people. In almost all country communities and in towns of less than 3,000 the voters exercise municipal authority directly by means of communal meetings, there being, oftentimes, as many as several hundred or even a thousand at one meeting of this kind.<sup>32</sup> These assemblies conduct general communal business and levy communal taxes. The revival of municipal self-government in 1862 and the parliamentary reform in 1865 greatly increased the political influence of the lower classes and aroused their desire for more training in citizenship.

The power of urban and rural communal councils has recently increased in accordance with industrial development and in accordance with the migration of the rural population into towns, and as a result public interest in communal elections has become more keen.<sup>33</sup> Another instance of the people's participation in government is their choosing jurymen by means of public elections.<sup>34</sup>

A specific relation to the government is provided male citizens between the ages of twenty-one and forty by means of universal conscription, with the exception of those who are physically and mentally unfit and of those deprived of civil rights because of serious crimes. Military connection with the government is possible, also, for non-professional soldiers, in the form of membership in voluntary rifle clubs, which were first organized in the early '60s.<sup>35</sup>

Several characteristics of the Church of Sweden and general religious life there form an important part of the background of Swedish immigrants in the United States. Since Protestantism is firmly and extensively established in America, a significant fact is that in Sweden Christianity has been well rooted since the year 1000 and that Protestantism has been the dominant form of the Christian religion since the sixteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

A certain type of popular education, somewhat determining the extent of assimilation, was provided by catechetical meetings in private homes.<sup>37</sup> To the extent that such participation helped to develop literacy and to prepare people to adjust themselves more or less readily to religious attitudes and religious conditions in America, it was a potential agency of assimilation.

The Swedish church has provided various opportunities for participation in some public affairs. In the church assembly, which decides many kinds of ecclesiastical questions, every adult person may vote as a member of the civil community and as a member of the state church.<sup>38</sup> The parish forming the basis of secular communal life, the influence of parishioners in church affairs, within the Lutheran church, has been as strong in Sweden as elsewhere. Before 1909 the number of votes allowed a person, in church matters as well as in other communal matters, depended upon the amount of wealth, but since then there has been suffrage equality, regardless of wealth. As parishioners the people have a voice in school affairs; elementary schools are primarily the concern of the various parishes, each parish constituting a school district, and the legislative authority of each district belongs to the church assembly.<sup>39</sup>

A matter having a bearing upon a study of Swedish immigrants in the United States is the fact that to some extent there is, with reference to religion, communication between Sweden and the United States. A large proportion of the Swedish immigrants who become church members are members of the Augustana Synod, the Swedish-American Lutheran church, which in various ways keeps in touch with the Church of Sweden.<sup>40</sup>

Very important features of the background of Swedish immigrants are the general cultural status and the educational



system of Sweden. Much cultural achievement of benefit to the various classes continued for many centuries. There has been marked progress in general culture since 1820, and during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Swedish nation had a particularly good record in science and art.

The educational system of Sweden, the chief factor in cultural progress, is an element of the heritage of Swedish immigrants that can aid assimilation. Popular education began earlier in Sweden than in most European countries, for as early as 1686 all children were required to learn the rudiments of religion,<sup>41</sup> and compulsory common school education for children between seven and fourteen began in 1842 and now has high standards. There must be at least one common school in every district, but children may receive instruction in their homes or in private schools provided it is equivalent to instruction in the public schools.<sup>42</sup> The curriculum in Swedish elementary schools is much the same as that in American grade schools, with the exception that in the former religion, Swedish, Swedish history, and gardening are required subjects and also with the exception that in Sweden more attention is given to gymnastics and manual training.<sup>43</sup> Sweden is a leader in physical education; nearly all schools have good gymnasiums, and every able-bodied pupil has gymnastic exercises half an hour daily.<sup>44</sup>

There are other indications of the high standards of the common schools of Sweden. The teachers are well trained, being required to pass examinations at state training colleges having four-year courses.<sup>45</sup> School authorities must provide school and village libraries with suitable books,<sup>46</sup> which means that some reading material is democratically distributed. Some evidences of the good results of common school education are these facts: in 1904 almost all the young men enrolled as conscripts could read,<sup>47</sup> and in 1926 there were no illiterates in Sweden.<sup>48</sup> Ross says, in "The Old World in the New," that the Scandinavians lead in point of literacy.<sup>49</sup> An immigrant who can read and write his own language has an advantage in respect to assimilation over an immigrant who cannot.

The educational system of Sweden provides for considerable extension of educational opportunities. In many places there are free continuation courses for those who have completed the common school and have taken up trades.<sup>50</sup> Those not

engaged in practical work may continue in the higher division of the common schools. Sweden has, also, part-time continuation schools, in the case of which attendance is required of those between thirteen and fifteen who have not reached the prescribed standard of the elementary schools. The course, extending two to three years, is based upon some practical occupation,<sup>51</sup> and thereby makes possible some training that can be of advantage to those who are interested in employment in America. Since a useful trade facilitates adjustment to new environment in an immigrant's adopted country, it is proper to mention, in this connection, other provisions for practical training. Trade schools offer part-time, one-year instruction for those who have completed work in an apprenticeship school and desire more specialized training. There are, also, one-year schools of commerce and schools of domestic science for students completing continuation courses, after having two years of practical experience. Private commercial schools offer two-year, full-time courses and prepare students for employment in banks, insurance offices, civil service, and so forth.<sup>52</sup>

Sweden has two kinds of public secondary schools, the intermediate, which offers general education of a wider scope than that of the elementary school and which prepares pupils for practical courses, and the higher secondary schools, which prepare students for universities and equivalent institutions.<sup>53</sup> Some of the required subjects in public secondary schools for boys are of interest in connection with the background of Swedish immigrants in America: English, history, religion, philosophy.<sup>54</sup> These subjects can aid immigrants in their adjustment to American life. All of the secondary schools for girls were established in the second half of the nineteenth century, and, before that girls were taught by governesses or sent to boarding schools.<sup>55</sup> These schools, most of which are private institutions, receiving state aid and being supervised by a central board, are in the nature of normal schools, and a few of them prepare students for universities.<sup>56</sup> An increase in enrollment in secondary schools means a larger scope for certain kinds of assimilative influences.

Other "post-elementary" schools are full-time higher elementary schools and "communal intermediate schools." Instruction is adapted to the environment and aims to stimulate

self-activity among the pupils. The latter type of school is chiefly intended for large and important communities, such as industrial centers, that do not have state secondary schools.<sup>57</sup> This fact and the fact that in general there are no tuition fees place this kind of education within the reach of many, who in this way, among others, get a wider cultural horizon and helpful preparation for assimilation in America.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and since that period much has been done to promote adult education among the lower classes and among others who because of occupations cannot attend regular schools.<sup>58</sup> Efforts in this direction have been in the form of (1) public lectures, which are attracting the attention of an increasingly large number to people; (2) "Workmen's Institutes"; and (3) people's high schools. The purpose of these schools, most of which are in the country, is to give adults, especially those of the peasantry, "civil, patriotic, and practical" education and to enable them to know the history, social structure, and resources of their own country.<sup>59</sup> Courses are offered in the humanities, the sciences, and in several practical subjects. Frequent public lectures and national festivities at these schools are well attended, and many teachers conduct meetings of discussion-clubs in different parts of the rural sections where the schools are located.<sup>60</sup> Such institutions would naturally tend to strengthen the people's interest in their own country and to intensify their loyalty to it, but they are a means, also, of enriching their cultural life and of increasing their capacity for adjustment to different kinds of social situations.

Educational opportunities available to the general public, besides schools of different kinds, are university courses; societies, most numerous in Stockholm, for the promotion of science, literature, and art; and museums. Several cities offer cultural opportunities of these kinds.

Higher education in Sweden has several features favorable to assimilation. The universities and a medical school are much the same as institutions of corresponding types in Europe as to curricula and standards and are open to people of all social classes.<sup>61</sup> In 1870 women were admitted to universities for the first time, and in 1873 they were permitted to take all university examinations except those in theology.<sup>62</sup> Since 1900 there has, in general, been an increase in enrollment at

the universities.<sup>63</sup> Another important feature of higher education is that in proportion to population Sweden is "well supplied with higher scientific institutions."<sup>64</sup> There are several higher technical schools offering thorough three-year and four-year courses, and there are many lower technical schools adapted to the special needs and interests of the sections where they are located.<sup>65</sup>

All the facts presented concerning education and intellectual development in general in Sweden show that steady and appreciable progress has been made and that in reference to these matters Swedish immigrants coming to America since the middle of the nineteenth century have a background that is comparatively favorable with respect to assimilation.

The Swedish press has been important in regard to this matter. "The chief organ of enlightenment is the press,"<sup>66</sup> which in the nineteenth century became more and more highly developed and more and more important as an agency of education and as an expression of public opinion.<sup>67</sup> The circle of readers became steadily larger,<sup>68</sup> the public became increasingly interested in public questions, and the liberty of the press was assured.<sup>69</sup> This liberty made possible, for one thing, public criticism of every administrative department and thus helped to prevent civil servants from overstepping reasonable limits. Early in the nineteenth century newspapers became important as reflections of, and as contributions to, a growing public interest in political questions; political discussion "ebbed and flowed," but in general it has occupied a prominent place in the Swedish newspapers since early in the nineteenth century. These papers are identified with political parties and hence reflect either liberal or conservative views. During the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries considerable attention has been given to philosophical, literary, and other cultural matters,<sup>70</sup> and at the present time papers, especially the more important daily papers, besides giving news and discussing current political problems, give much space to criticism of art and literature and to popular scientific reviews, and even small local papers contain material of this kind. For the private citizen the newspaper is both a means of education and a source of news and also an expression of public opinion. An indication of the extensive reading of Swedish newspapers is the fact that a real Swedish home at the present time reads some newspaper.<sup>71</sup>

Sweden's international contacts have been factors in determining the general nature of Sweden and thus of the background of Swedish immigrants. Interest in other countries and communication with them have widened the mental and cultural horizon of a large part of the Swedish population and have prevented stagnation, which otherwise might have resulted from a certain degree of isolation due to geographical location. Because of an intimate contact with other countries new ideas and movements reach Sweden as quickly as any other country,<sup>72</sup> the result being a certain degree of cosmopolitanism that is assimilative in nature. It is significant that Sweden has carried on a great deal of foreign trade with the United States<sup>73</sup> and that in the matter of ideas there has been much exchange between these two countries.<sup>74</sup>

The position of women in Sweden largely determines the extent of their opportunity to have a share in the common culture and activities of their country, and therefore suggests some of the heritage of the women who have migrated to America. With regard to efforts to improve the position of women Sweden is one of the foremost nations of Europe,<sup>75</sup> and consequently the status of the women of Sweden is on the whole favorable.<sup>76</sup> Women's political influence has grown. Since 1862 women paying taxes to the community have voted in local matters on the same conditions as men; before 1884 women attained majority at twenty-five, since 1884, at twenty-one.<sup>77</sup> A widowed or divorced woman is considered as having attained her majority at any age.<sup>78</sup> Before 1909, when the number of votes a person had depended upon the amount of taxes that he or she paid, women were generally in the minority as voters and were, therefore, unable to exert much political influence.<sup>79</sup> To an increasing extent women have enjoyed the privileges guaranteed to men of the same ability, have more and more participated in government, and have had an enlarging sphere of work. Since 1889 women have been permitted to serve as members of school boards and as "Poor-law Guardians"; since 1845 they have had the same rights of inheritance as men, but married women are under the guardianship of their husbands, and in most cases husbands administer the property of their wives. However, through a pre-marriage contract a woman can administer property inherited or acquired independently of her husband.<sup>80</sup> Since 1863 unmarried

women have had legal status.<sup>81</sup> From the middle of the nineteenth century a growing number of women have engaged in occupations of different kinds outside the home.

In the case of women of the upper classes increasing opportunities for professional and commercial work necessitated special training and gave impetus to higher education for women, and now Sweden has many private colleges for women.<sup>82</sup> As pointed out in the discussion of educational development in Sweden, the nineteenth century witnessed marked extension of educational opportunities for women of the various social classes.

Various organizations have been working to improve the status of women. The chief organization of this kind, the Fredrika Bremer society, was named after the famous woman novelist, who was the first one to carry on an agitation for the fuller emancipation of women in Sweden. Founded in 1884, the organization aims to promote woman's moral, intellectual, social, and economic advancement. One of the activities of this society is the offering of scholarships to women preparing for the learned professions or for different kinds of trades. Another organization interested in woman's advancement is "The Society for Vindicating the Proprietary Rights of Married Women," which put forth especially strenuous efforts between 1873 and 1896. Another important organization active in women's behalf is the "Swedish Women's National Council," which was founded in 1896. Its purpose is to further coöperation among women's societies, and it is the Swedish section of the "International Council of Women" and as such represents Sweden at the quinquennial congresses of this international organization and is thereby a means of widening the outlook of the women of Sweden.<sup>83</sup>

Gradual and steady approach toward social equality among the social classes in Sweden has enriched the cultural life and the experiences of a growing number of inhabitants and has enlarged their opportunity for participation in public affairs. The increasing economic strength of peasant proprietors, their expanding influence in politics, the absence of a hereditary feudal system, and the easy and frequent rising in the social scale, chiefly because of the general availability of education,—all these changes have done much to level social distinctions. In public colleges from twenty to twenty-five per

cent of the students are sons of farmers and of artisans, and about one-half of all the students belong to the lower classes.<sup>84</sup> This does not mean that there are no class distinctions whatsoever or that society is entirely democratic. Class-interest and class-consciousness still exist. For instance, the peasantry, having much influence in government, have tried to use this power to further their own interests, and many industrial workers have since the beginning of the twentieth century shown definite class-consciousness and class-policies.<sup>85</sup> In many cases aristocratic tendencies predominate, and there is some degree of inequality of culture;<sup>86</sup> some of the evidence of this situation, particularly with reference to a former period, is the significant fact that most of the Swedish immigrants have come from the lower classes<sup>87</sup> and especially in the past were laborers without great means.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, a definite democratic trend has, on the whole, been observable.

Various kinds of social movements in Sweden are likely to affect the sentiments and attitudes of Swedish immigrants toward similar movements in America and contribute to the emotional, intellectual, moral, and social content of the background of these immigrants, and therefore some mention should be made of this feature of life in Sweden. Because of the high standards of popular education, because of political freedom, and because of encouragement given by royalty social movements have had considerable momentum and strength.<sup>89</sup> In proportion to their numbers the people of Sweden have achieved much in humanitarian work.<sup>90</sup> A great deal of intemperance, especially in the nineteenth century,<sup>91</sup> called attention to the need of radical measures against the use of intoxicating liquors,<sup>92</sup> keen interest in temperance has been manifested by means of taxes on the manufacture and sale of strong alcoholic beverages,<sup>93</sup> governmental systems of distribution and control, and the organization of many temperance societies.<sup>94</sup> Other social movements and questions have aroused keen interest on the part of many persons and organizations; several kinds of labor questions have received much attention, such questions as the conditions of labor, wages, labor exchanges, social insurance.<sup>95</sup> The nature and the extent of the attention that these and other social questions receive in Sweden partly determine the attitude of Swedish immigrants toward kindred matters and situations in America.

The degree of similarity and of dissimilarity in modes and standards of living between Sweden and the United States help to determine the rate and the extent of an immigrant's accommodation to American life, and hence his assimilation, the next step in the process of adjustment. In general the standard of life in Sweden has been raised, and national peculiarities have disappeared as a result of greater intercourse with other countries.<sup>96</sup> Dress is in accordance with general European fashions, which are found even in the remotest districts; with the exception of one or two provinces and of Lappland, the old national costumes have recently disappeared.<sup>97</sup> In the matter of dress there is practically no difference now between one class and another, this being especially true of the younger generation.

In the case of food differences among social classes are diminishing more and more,<sup>98</sup> and one reason for this is greater consumption of luxuries and necessities as a result of industrial expansion, since the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>99</sup> On the whole, differences in customs and standards are not great enough to be serious obstacles to assimilation.

Necessarily limited space makes it impossible for this general view of the historical and cultured background of Swedish immigrants to be complete, but perhaps sufficient attention has been given to its main features to indicate its bearing upon assimilation into American life. The historical and cultural developments and situations pointed out are potential sources of influences affecting immigrants' traditions, sentiments, values, attitudes, and general outlook, all of which help to determine the ease and the extent of assimilative contacts, and the extent of a share in the common interests, activities, and general culture of America.

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## SWEDISH-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1855-1875

By O. FRITIOF ANDER

When careful study is made of the causes for the political unity of thought among the Swedish immigrants from 1855 almost to the present, many factors will have to be considered. Probably no two students of this subject will fully agree in a final estimate. Can Swedish-American political solidarity in joining the newly-organized Republican party in the '50s be solely explained on the basis of national heritage, love of liberty? What part did the geographical location of the Swedish settlements play in forming the political opinion of these immigrant groups? Was their faith in the Republican party due to the fact that Swedish immigration did not begin until after the Democratic party had more or less ceased to be regarded as the friend of the immigrants? What possible effect could the alliance of mid-century immigration of Catholics with the Democratic party have upon the Swedish immigrant?

Whatever our answer to these questions may be, we must admit that Swedish immigration to America began at a time of intense political upheaval and unrest. The struggle of two parties with no clear-cut programs had to come to an end. Problems, intensified by years of postponement on the part of cautious leaders, had to be solved. Political agitation, demands for reform were clouding the sky. The perplexity of these problems could not be fully understood by the immigrants, who had little appreciation and understanding of American political philosophy. To them the burning issue of slavery overshadowed all others, and after 1854 the Swedish immigrants joined thousands of others in raising their voices against the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The demands for reform created a new political party, the Republican, and the time had become ripe for a leader among the Swedish immigrants who could voice their protest against the institution of slavery.

No newspaper up to this time had been printed in the Swedish language, with the exception of *Skandinaven*, edited by

G. Obom in New York City, which could have had a lasting influence and create political dissension among the Swedes.<sup>1</sup> The mass of immigrants, sometimes living in almost isolated settlements, were still speaking the Swedish language. They had not taken a vital interest in American politics, but nevertheless it can be taken for granted that the cause of slavery found little sympathy in these settlements.

The glow from the burning effigies of the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act had hardly died when news spread to various settlements that a Swedish newspaper had been started in Galesburg, Illinois. Though the editor of this paper, the Rev. T. N. Hasselquist, did not have in mind with the issuing of *Hemlandet*, *Det Gamla och Det Nya* the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but rather the propagation of the gospel and Lutheranism among his countrymen—the fact that *Hemlandet* appeared on the scene in 1855, when opposition to this act was intense and numerous important political developments were to follow, was to be of tremendous importance. It made it possible for this paper to voice the opposition of the Swedish immigrants against slavery and to facilitate the task of forming their political thought.

*Hemlandet* treated numerous topics of interest to the immigrants, but the political aspects of the paper became more and more important. To a person of Hasselquist's puritanical ideals politics called for caution.<sup>2</sup> He had probably never been keenly interested in American politics, and his first years in America could not have offered him many hours in which to reflect over the political issues of the period. He was therefore forced to study very carefully the political situation. He read both Democratic and Republican newspapers, but gradually he became convinced that the Republican party advocated a basically-sound policy;<sup>3</sup> and he began to rely more upon the propaganda of the Republican party. One of the chief reasons for this was the fact that he had come under the influence of Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, whose articles firmly convinced him that the Democratic party advocated "expansion of slavery" and that the only solution of the wrongs of the time was to be found in the gradual abolition of slavery as advocated by the Republican party.<sup>4</sup> Instead of being cautious, he was now forced by his convictions to denounce with religious sincerity and severity the Democratic

party. For this purpose the columns of the *New York Tribune* provided rich material. The Democratic party was scored for corruption and incompetency. Religious and racial prejudice became involved also as the Democratic party was pictured by *Hemlandet* as a party consisting of drunken Irishmen and Catholics. Hasselquist scarcely could have used two stronger words in awakening response among the Swedes,<sup>5</sup> and when he bolstered his political stand with quotations from the Bible, it became almost a matter of salvation to be a Republican.<sup>6</sup> This propaganda, together with important political events, such as the struggle for Kansas, filibustering in Cuba, Brooks' attack on Sumner, and the Dred Scott decision, must have aroused the Swedes and impelled them to support the Republican party.<sup>7</sup>

Although *Hemlandet* undoubtedly wielded considerable influence and for years remained the most important Swedish-American newspaper, it was not the only one of this period during which Swedish-American political opinion was formed. *Hemlandet* proved offensive to a number of non-Lutherans;<sup>8</sup> and a Mr. S. Cronsjo of Bishop Hill, Illinois, thought it an opportune time to start another newspaper, one which would be non-sectarian. The election of 1856 had not taken place when the first numbers of Cronsjo's paper appeared. It was called *Den Svenska Republikanen i Norra America*.<sup>9</sup> Its advent brought about a heated word-war with *Hemlandet*, the two papers branding one another hypocrites and liars,<sup>10</sup> although in the matter of politics they were singing the same songs. Their target practice might have proved of some value in finding a proper name for the Democratic party. In the matter of politics the editor of *Svenska Republikanen* was even willing to publish Hasselquist's admonition to the Swedes concerning the duty and necessity for every citizen to vote,<sup>11</sup> but ridiculed Hasselquist's first serious attempts to be neutral in politics.<sup>12</sup> The Republican propaganda spread by both papers in favor of Fremont was much the same. Each tried to dispel any fear among the immigrants of a political union between the Know-Nothing and the Republican parties.<sup>13</sup> Column upon column was devoted to the nomination of Fremont and his acceptance speech. A biography of the candidate also appeared.<sup>14</sup> Both papers held to the opinion that the issue of 1856 was slavery. *Hemlandet*, however, stole a march upon

its rival by printing Fremont's picture in the edition for August 15, while the same did not appear in *Svenska Republiken* until September 19. The propaganda of the two rivals was often taken from the same articles in the *New York Tribune*,<sup>16</sup> and when the returns of the election circulated the news of Republican defeat and the election of Buchanan, the editors of the Swedish newspapers issued prophecies so similar that they can be explained only by this dependence upon the *New York Tribune*.<sup>17</sup>

Though both papers continued to condemn the Democratic party after the election, the *Svenska Republiken* deteriorated rapidly into a mere anti-Hasselquist paper. Its existence was very precarious. When the important election for the United States senate was held in Illinois in 1858, *Svenska Republiken* was not to witness the outcome. However, the editor of the paper was a delegate from Cook County to the state Republican convention held at Springfield and was present at the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.<sup>18</sup> And the final copy of the *Svenska Republiken*, which is dated July 1, 1858, set forth the platform of the Republican party of the state.

*Hemlandet* took a great interest in the election of 1858 in Illinois. The Lincoln-Douglas debates thrilled Hasselquist,<sup>19</sup> and when two Norwegian newspapers, supposedly started in the interest of Douglas, made their appearance, the editor of *Hemlandet* endeavored to check whatever influence these might have among the Swedes.<sup>20</sup> He urged his countrymen who had not been naturalized to secure immediately, if possible, their citizenship papers in order that they might vote for Lincoln.<sup>21</sup> The Republican party had, however, not gained sufficient strength to overcome the popularity of the "Little Giant," and Hasselquist realized before the election that Lincoln would be defeated.<sup>22</sup> But he could console himself with the thought that he had done all he could for the cause of the Republican party.

Before *Svenska Republiken* had been discontinued, another Swedish newspaper had been started in Minnesota by the Rev. Erik Norelius and his cousin, Jonas Engberg. The origin of this newspaper can be traced to a dissatisfaction on the part of a few Lutherans with certain liberal views expressed by Hasselquist in matters of theology. However, in

the first number of November 7, 1857, the editor stated that though times were hard such a large number of Swedes had settled in Minnesota that a newspaper dealing with more local politics, especially pertaining to Minnesota, was justified, and that had not a Republican newspaper been begun in Minnesota plans would soon have been made by others to edit a Democratic organ. The paper immediately declared its political stand in the following statement: "Warande fullkomligt öfvertygade om riktigheten af det republikanska partiets närwarande grundsatser, wilja wi framställa och förswara desamma."<sup>23</sup> The name of the new paper was *Minnesota Posten* and throughout its short existence, for which it stubbornly fought,<sup>24</sup> the paper remained faithful to the Republican party. It tried to outdo the other Swedish papers in heaping abuses upon the Democratic party, whose strength in Minnesota the paper laid to whiskey, "swek och ränkor, lögner och smickrande löften." Like *Hemlandet*, it associated Irishmen and Catholics with the party,<sup>25</sup> and it was clear that this paper in its agitation against the Democratic party and slavery also relied to a very large extent for its propaganda upon the *New York Tribune*.<sup>26</sup> The interest expressed by the paper in the Lincoln-Douglas debates was early in evidence. The state election in Illinois had become of national interest. *Minnesota Posten* wrote: "The 'Little Giant' is faring badly."<sup>27</sup> Lincoln's speech at Chicago, July 10, 1858, was quoted at length.<sup>28</sup> The editor, having urged the organization of Swedish Republican clubs, rejoiced when one of these condemned the Dred Scott decision as being contrary to the Declaration of Independence. The paper undoubtedly had some influence in the formation of clubs and in the drawing up of club resolutions.<sup>29</sup>

*Minnesota Posten* had not caused the very best feelings among the Lutherans, and Hasselquist had vigorously opposed it and put forth every effort to merge this paper and *Hemlandet*. The financial obstacles of the former paper were seemingly insurmountable and provided the best argument for a consolidation.<sup>30</sup> Though offers of support to a Republican candidate in Minnesota in return for his financial aid probably were made by the owners of the *Minnesota Posten*, the necessary help must not have been forthcoming, and even after a merger of the two papers had been decided upon *Minnesota*

*Posten* issued a last, though futile, call for subscriptions to enable it to continue.<sup>31</sup> To appease Norelius, Hasselquist offered the editorship of the new paper, an enlarged *Hemlandet*, to Norelius. The new paper was published in Chicago and throughout remained essentially the same as the old *Hemlandet*. The editor clearly stated the policy which he hoped to maintain—namely, “to speak boldly against American slavery and every tyrannical oppression.”<sup>32</sup> But whatever hopes the former editor of *Hemlandet* might have held that this consolidation would give the paper a monopoly of the Swedish-American press were shattered even before the first number of the enlarged *Hemlandet* was issued.

On January 1, 1859, a rival paper was started in Galesburg, Illinois, called *Frihetsvännen*. It declared itself to be non-sectarian, though it proved to be controlled by the Baptists. For several numbers a great deal of tact was displayed toward *Hemlandet*,<sup>33</sup> but gradually this disappeared and such a naked term as “liar” was resorted to, recalling the bitter rivalry of *Hemlandet* and *Svenska Republikanen*.<sup>34</sup> The owners of *Frihetsvännen* had no special intention of making the paper a party organ, but the political situation forced them from the start to express themselves as enemies of slavery and Catholicism.<sup>35</sup> This step called for further explanation, and *Frihetsvännen* became engaged in the dissemination of bitter propaganda against the Democratic party, spiced with religious prejudice.<sup>36</sup> When therefore the election of 1860 approached, there were two Swedish political newspapers, both supporting the Republican party.

This election promised to be more exciting than that of 1856, when a Republican victory even to the party's staunchest supporters seemed impossible. A great amount of confidence existed among the ranks of the Republicans. The party was older, the platform had been well defined, and it became evident already in 1857 that the Democratic party would split in the election into a pro- and an anti-Douglas group.<sup>37</sup> The Republican party began to organize early in 1860 for the presidential race. Numerous clubs were formed among the Swedes, which move was stimulated by *Frihetsvännen*.<sup>38</sup> When a Democratic Swedish-American club was organized in Wapello County by a number of Swedes, *Frihetsvännen* deplored the fact that some Swedes were so ignorant of the principles of



the Democratic party that they permitted themselves to be blindfolded like the Irish.<sup>39</sup> *Frihetsvännen* felt itself bound to enlighten these countrymen. In the July 3 issue it published the Democratic platforms of 1852 and 1856, "the Slave Code" and the "Disunion Platform." C. D. Lundberg of Moline, Illinois, was requested to write a special "Bihang" to denounce the corruption of the Democratic party, which edition appeared July 27, 1860.

Before nomination of candidates by the Republican party took place, there was naturally some speculation as to whom the party would select as its standard bearer. *Frihetsvännen* believed that Seward of New York, who undoubtedly was best known, would be the choice of the convention, but suggested Abraham Lincoln as a second choice.<sup>40</sup> When therefore Lincoln was nominated, *Frihetsvännen* was greatly pleased, and urged the Swedes to support Lincoln and Hamlin.<sup>41</sup> The party's selection became exceedingly popular, and with Abraham Lincoln the party had become the party of the common man.<sup>42</sup> The movement of organizing clubs continued among the Swedes,<sup>43</sup> as the slogan "Fria män, fritt land, fria hem och fritt arbete" gained momentum. The Swedes held special meetings and sent delegates to larger Republican mass meetings.<sup>44</sup> *Frihetsvännen* urged immediate naturalization, when possible, of its fellow countrymen to strengthen the party,<sup>45</sup> and just a few days before the election it suggested that well informed Republican Swedes be placed at the polls to instruct less-informed Swedes how to vote, for fear that these might make a mistake or be induced by unfair means to vote for Douglas.<sup>46</sup> When *Frihetsvännen* was forced to discontinue due to financial losses, the editor thought that the paper had performed a noble task. It must be admitted that the paper was truly Republican, for in the heated campaign it had buried the hatchet wielded against *Hemlandet*.<sup>47</sup>

In 1860 *Hemlandet*, in order to increase its influence and political importance in the election, was enlarged.<sup>48</sup> Its propaganda was more effective probably than that of *Frihetsvännen* and it reached a larger number of readers. Like *Frihetsvännen*, it urged the organization of Republican clubs in Swedish settlements<sup>49</sup> and ridiculed the Democratic club formed by Swedes in Wapello County.<sup>50</sup> On the question of

slavery it took the attitude that immediate abolition was not possible, accepting the Republican program of gradual abolition as a safe and sound policy.<sup>51</sup> To indicate to its readers that this party was friendly toward the immigrants it stressed the fourteenth point of the Republican platform, in which the party expressed opposition to any changes in the naturalization law,<sup>52</sup> though all issues, including "free land,"<sup>53</sup> were subordinated to that of slavery. *Hemlandet* stated that slavery had caused "förtryck, gräsligheter, sedlig förslappning, okunnighet, brott af alla slag, osäkerhet till liv och egendom,"<sup>54</sup> and that a victory for the Democrats would extend those evils. The nomination of Lincoln somewhat surprised *Hemlandet*, which also had expected Seward to be named, but it expressed the belief that the convention really had nominated the strongest man, Lincoln being more conservative. Lincoln's picture appeared in the issue for June 27. His life had a strong appeal to the masses.<sup>55</sup> The Democratic party, not having had an opportunity to express itself in the Swedish press, hoped through the circulation of pamphlets written in Swedish to win supporters for Douglas. The pamphlets branded the Republican party as revolutionary.<sup>56</sup> Though these pamphlets created a certain amount of excitement for the Swedish newspapers, some offered a bit of humor. A Mr. Norberg of Bishop Hill edited a Democratic "flygblad" which, due to the necessity of his using a German print shop, contained an unusual number of typographical errors—for instance, "tandlösa" for "landlösa."<sup>57</sup> When the Fourth of July was celebrated, the editor of *Hemlandet* grasped the opportunity to expound the gospel of the Republican faith. He wrote: "Måtte icke wi, som älska frihet och glädja oss åt den stora tanken: Alla människors frihet och jämlikhet — måtte icke wi förglömma de arma slafvarna, som sucka i slafweriets natt i detta land, även vårt land—måtte wi fullgöra vår pligt emot dem såsom medborgare, med ett ord såsom människor!! Och denna vår pligt är: Att bidraga till utrotandet af denna lögn emot friheten, utplånandet af detta lands, vårt lands skamfläck — slafweriet. Detta bör icke ske på en revolutionens, en omstörtningens, utan på en reformationens, en förbättringens väg, och det gradvis, det är: icke på abolitionisternas utan på republikanernas väg. Och början därmed måste ske genom att motsätta sig dem, som wilja slafweriets utvidgning.

Sedan de äro besegrade — tänk då på mått och steg till slafwariets lugna, praktiska, gradwisa, men totala afskaffande.”<sup>58</sup>

Such a sentimental appeal naturally appealed to the Swedish Lutherans and, due to the influence of *Hemlandet*, Swedish Lutheran churches decorated their spires with American and Swedish flags and invited the Swedes to organize in the interests of the Republican party.<sup>59</sup>

Thus *Hemlandet* had not changed a great deal since 1856. It still depended to a great extent on the *New York Tribune*, the past master in setting forth the political corruption of the Democratic party and the impeding danger of another Democratic victory.<sup>60</sup> However, at this time the influence of Carl Schurz’s speech at St. Louis August 1, 1860, should be emphasized. He accomplished much in clarifying the political issues of 1860,<sup>61</sup> and *Hemlandet* exhorted every Swedish Republican to obtain a copy of Schurz’s speech for circulation among “de tröga och de få demokratiskt sinnade.”<sup>62</sup> Everything should be done to convince the Swedes that the voting of a straight Republican ticket was necessary.<sup>63</sup> A song that was to stir the hearts of the liberty-loving Swedes, recalling heroic pages in Swedish history, was published in *Hemlandet* October 31. It consisted of twelve stanzas. Three which clearly illustrate the nature of the poem are as follows:

Ye noble sons of the North,  
To the campaign now we go.  
The banner that we carry,  
Its legend reads thus:  
“For freedom, right, and truth”  
We will raise our voice.

“For freedom, right, and truth  
And Swedish yeoman faith”  
Did our brave Gustaf Adolph  
Risk his life and blood.  
We who are his sons  
Will go the way he trod,  
Though it should be our fate  
To receive the same sad end.

And now that at our head  
Lincoln leads the advance,  
Should we then stand back?  
Of course ’twould be a shame.  
Nay, forward in closed ranks,  
And let us vote as one man  
For noble Abram Lincoln  
To be our president.\*

After the election *Hemlandet* continued to instill distrust of the party defeated but yet in power, although *Hemlandet*

\* This piece of patriotic doggerel has been translated by Dr. E. W. Olson at the request of the writer of the article.

was not certain of an open rebellion among the southern states until December.<sup>64</sup> The propaganda in the northern newspapers, strongly Republican like *Hemlandet*, as one of the causes of the Civil War has been almost entirely ignored. It stirred the heart of the North into bitter enmity and prepared the people for a long war to crush existing and often exaggerated cruelties. In January, 1861, the North was ready for war. *Hemlandet*, now coming under the influence of the *Chicago Tribune*, looked with skepticism upon any attempt to reach a compromise in order to avert Civil War. War was thought better than compromise. Slavery must be abolished now and at any cost. The approval of certain Republicans of the modified Crittendon Amendment was considered treason to the cause of the party. Some day probably the impossibility of reaching a compromise must be laid to a large extent at the feet of a number of influential newspapers of an uncompromising spirit.<sup>65</sup> When Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers, *Hemlandet*, once more the only Swedish-American newspaper, regretted that such action had not been taken sooner and saw in the approaching war "God's plan to blot out slavery."<sup>66</sup> A crisis in American history had been reached, and in a true patriotic spirit *Hemlandet* urged the Swedes to volunteer for the cause of union and liberty. L. P. Esbjörn's sermon on "Liberty, Justice, and Truth" was published, while Hasselquist urged prayer for the cause of the Union.<sup>67</sup> Swedish volunteers, inspired by emotions of patriotism, changed their Swedish names to McCase, Peters, Hawkins, and the like.<sup>68</sup>

During the Civil War *Hemlandet* abounded in war news, printed letters from Swedish soldiers, and at all times lauded Abraham Lincoln and the rest of the Republican administration.<sup>69</sup> When the campaign of 1864 took place, the reelection of Abraham Lincoln was advocated.<sup>70</sup> The attempt of another Swedish paper, *Skandinavisk Post*, begun in 1863 by G. Obom in New York, to discredit Lincoln was treated with contempt, and the influence of this paper as far as the Swedes were concerned was scorned. *Hemlandet* associated "loyalism," "patriotism" with Republicanism, and accused all Democrats of being Copperheads and traitors who should be driven out of the country.<sup>71</sup> Lincoln's death shortly after the election intensified the paper's hostility to the Democratic party. In the struggle which followed President Johnson was not spared in

the most vicious attacks for attempting to deprive God of His victory in the Civil War.<sup>72</sup> President Johnson was ridiculed and his efforts to treat the wounds of the bleeding South were called treasonous, whereas the radical Republican reconstructionists in congress were presented as the true followers of Lincoln and worthy standard bearers of the Great Party.<sup>73</sup> The South deserved no mercy.<sup>74</sup>

The Swedish Methodists had started a newspaper in 1862 called *Sändebudet*, which, though strictly a religious paper, had supported the Republican party in 1864. Up to that time *Hemlandet* had not had a serious rival in the political field, but in 1866 a serious contender for *Hemlandet's* popularity appeared in *Svenska Amerikanaren*. Although treating matters of religious import tactfully, the new publication nearly outcried *Hemlandet* in condemning President Johnson. Also, when the attempt to impeach President Johnson failed, *Svenska Amerikanaren* believed that every friend of the Republican party and of the Constitution must blush.<sup>75</sup> The Democratic *Skandinavisk Post*, whose editor *Hemlandet* had styled "dummerjösens på Chatham Square," was now also the target of ridicule by the more liberal *Svenska Amerikanaren*.

As early as 1867 *Svenska Amerikanaren* favored an eight-hour working day.<sup>77</sup> Also, it was more willing than *Hemlandet* to recognize that corruption had invaded the Republican party,<sup>78</sup> but it was by no means ready to desert "the principles" of that party.

In the election of 1868 the two antagonistic newspapers agreed on the qualifications of General Grant, the Republican candidate for the presidency. The candidate's faults were polished and turned into merits, and the Swedes were exhorted once more to vote the straight Republican ticket.<sup>79</sup> The party was credited with having enacted the Homestead Act, abolished slavery, and brought the Civil War to a successful close. *Hemlandet* believed the Republican advocacy of protection for American industries to be the key to the country's prosperity.

The following year the *Illinois Swede* saw its beginning, and the mighty trio of the Swedish-American press—*Hemlandet*, *Svenska Amerikanaren*, and the *Illinois Swede* (the embryo of *Svenska Tribunen*)—began a long and intense war. The result was that *Hemlandet* was the only one of the three to

pass through the struggle without any change of name or policy. The editor of the *Illinois Swede* was Capt. Erik Johnson of Galva, a person who had political dreams and who at first as vehemently supported the Republican party as did his rivals. But Captain Johnson gradually was won over by the reform movement, or perhaps the explanation of his becoming a Liberal Republican is that he was disappointed in his own political prospects in the regular Republican party. His paper went through a transformation and changed its name to *Nya Världen*.<sup>81</sup> Shortly before the election *Hemlandet* had also grown more liberal and had advocated certain necessary reforms, though with no intention of joining hands with *Nya Världen* in supporting Greeley and Brown of the Liberal Republican party.<sup>82</sup> When, therefore, the Democratic party also accepted these two reformers as their candidates, whatever sympathy *Hemlandet* might have had for them was lost. The fact that both Greeley and Schurz had wielded some influence upon the policy of *Hemlandet* in earlier elections was now of no consequence. This paper, together with *Svenska Amerikanaren*, preferred the "principles" of the Grand Old Party; they were still able to remember the platforms of 1856 and 1860, the war record of the party, and they believed that this party was the only one which could solve the various problems created by the Civil War. This more than balanced the scale and outweighed the scandals associated with the party.<sup>83</sup> These two old rival papers therefore delighted in ridiculing the change of heart of *Nya Världen*. *Svenska Amerikanaren* thought that the change of policy by *Nya Världen* was due to its belief that the reform movement had gained strength among the Swedes, but assured the readers that this time "*Nya Världen* hade hoppat i fel tunna,"<sup>84</sup> and it satirized the importance of *Nya Världen's* support of the Liberal Republican party, calling it "Herr Erik contra det republikanska partiet"<sup>85</sup> and "Herr Sundell contra U. S. Grant."<sup>86</sup> *Nya Världen* undoubtedly felt immediately that its policy, as well as a change of editors, had injured its influence among the Swedes, because the returns of the election had hardly been heard before the paper guaranteed its readers that no further change in policy would take place.<sup>87</sup> *Nya Världen* had found its adventure costly and returned to the Republican party, hoping that its readers were willing to accept its apologies. The pa-

per which undoubtedly had gained ground in that election was *Hemlandet*; once more it had shown its true Republican colors, while *Svenska Amerikanaren*, though faithful to the same party, had laid itself open to vicious attacks by *Hemlandet*, which paper accused *Svenska Amerikanaren* of aiding the immigrant runners.

But births and revivals of papers are frequent in the history of the Swedish-American press, and, though the sun of popularity was smiling on *Hemlandet*, clouds were looming on the horizon. New papers were started, and the most mighty of them appeared just before the election of 1872—namely, *Nordstjernan*.<sup>88</sup> It supported Grant in 1872,<sup>89</sup> but after a reorganization in 1874 it began to criticize him severely.<sup>90</sup> Reform was the crying need of the times, and perhaps even Enander, editor of *Hemlandet*, might not have been quite so conservative had he not been strongly influenced by Hasselquist.<sup>91</sup> But would *Nordstjernan* profit by the experience of *Nya Världen*? The reorganized paper tried to follow a policy of not committing itself to any single party. But having once given place to editorials for reform and to political scandals of the Republican party, it became more and more a reform paper.<sup>92</sup> It did not dare, however, to lean definitely toward the Democratic party. Its program of reform and its halting political stand was not profitable and, though it had prophesied (March 10, 1876) the ruin of the Republican party, it saw the possibilities of new life and vigor in the party through the nomination of Hayes, only a few months later. *Nordstjernan* had become a Republican party organ; Hayes and his program of peace appealed to it.<sup>93</sup>

After two decades of history had passed, the Swedish-American press in the election of 1876 presented a unified front. An era of acute economic needs and reforms had tested the strength of the Republican party among the Swedes, and had not found it wanting. From 1855 to 1878 only four attempts were made to start Democratic newspapers, only one of them proving successful and that one, the *Skandinavisk Post*, being maintained only through the support of a German Democratic newspaper corporation in New York from 1863 to 1875. Of the three short-lived Swedish-language Democratic papers, one was edited by Obom in 1876 after he had severed his connections with the *Post* and after a (forced) vacation in jail.

Two—*Väktaren* (1868) and *Scandias Stjerna* (1869) were begun by A. M. Johnson of Omaha, Nebraska.

The newspapers differed in many respects; some were edited by ministers who have gone down in history as pioneers in the field of religion and education among the immigrants. Other organs were in the hands of men who had very little, if any, sympathy with religion; some were edited by "drunks" and other "lost sons." Although one denomination fought another for converts, all agreed upon the merits of the Republican party. It was this staunch adherence to the tenets of the Republican party by the Swedish-American press from 1855 to 1876 which is largely accountable for the faithfulness of the Swedes to the Republican party both during and following that period.

<sup>1</sup> Although Obom was a Democrat, his paper probably had practically no bearing upon Swedish political thought, and the paper was soon discontinued. Some Swedish immigrants had also voted the Democratic tickets, believing that this party was the friend of immigrants.—C. F. PETERSON, *Sverige i Amerika*, Chicago, Ill., 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Hemlandet*, Jan. 3, 1855.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1858.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, June 30, 1855. Almost every copy in 1856 shows the influence of Greeley.

<sup>5</sup> O. G. Lange, "Varför äro Svenskarna Republikaner?" *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Sep. 23, 1868.

<sup>6</sup> *Hemlandet*, Oct. 24, 1856.

<sup>7</sup> O. Fritiof Ander, T. N. Hasselquist. p. 153.

<sup>8</sup> Jonas Engberg to E. Norelius, Galesburg. Ill., May 26, 1856.

<sup>9</sup> *Svenska Republikanen*, July 4, 1856.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 22, Nov. 14, 1856.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1856.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, July 4, 1856.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, July 25, 1856 *Hemlandet*, July 25, 1856.

<sup>14</sup> *Svenska Republikanen*, July 18, Aug. 8, 1856.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1856; *Hemlandet*, Aug. 1, 1856.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, August and September issues.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1856.

<sup>18</sup> *Svenska Republikanen*, June 24, 1858.

<sup>19</sup> *Hemlandet*, Aug. 31, 1858.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1858.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1858.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1858.

<sup>23</sup> *Minnesota Posten*, Nov. 7, 1857.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1857.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, July 20, Aug. 3, 1858.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1858.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1858.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1858.

<sup>30</sup> O. C. T. Andreen to Erik Norelius, Moline. Ill., March 22, 1858.

<sup>31</sup> *Minnesota Posten*, Oct. 13, 1858.

<sup>32</sup> *Hemlandet*, Jan. 7, 1859.

<sup>33</sup> *Frihetensvännen*, March 25, 1859.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1860.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1859.



- 36 Ibid., Aug. 24, Sept. 23, 1859.
- 37 *Minnesota Posten*, Dec. 15, 1857.
- 38 *Frihetsvännan*, Feb., March, and April numbers.
- 39 Ibid., June 1, 1860.
- 40 Ibid., March 2, 1860.
- 41 Ibid., June 8, 1860.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., Aug. 10, 1860.
- 44 Ibid., Aug. 24, Sept. 21, Oct. 20, Oct. 26, 1860.
- 45 Ibid., Oct. 26, 1860.
- 46 Ibid., Nov. 2, 1860.
- 47 Ibid., March 8, 1861.
- 48 *Hemlandet*, Nov. 21, 1860.
- 49 Ibid., Feb. 8, 1860.
- 50 Ibid., June 13, 1860.
- 51 Ibid., April 11, 1860.
- 52 Ibid., May 30, 1860.
- 53 Ibid., Oct. 24, 1860.
- 54 Ibid., Oct. 24, 1860.
- 55 Ibid., May 30, 1860.
- 56 Pamphlet entitled "Douglas och Lincoln" found in the Royal Library, Stockholm.
- 57 *Hemlandet*, Oct. 28, 1860.
- 58 Ibid., July 4, 1860.
- 59 Ibid., Aug. 22, 1860.
- 60 Ibid., Oct. 24, 1860.
- 61 Ibid., Aug. 29, Sept. 5, 12, 19, 26, 1860.
- 62 Ibid., Sept. 19, 1860.
- 63 Ibid., Oct. 24, 1860.
- 64 Ibid., Dec. 5, 1860.
- 65 Ibid., Jan. 20, Feb. 6, 20, 1861.
- 66 Ibid., April 18, 24, 1861.
- 67 Ibid., May 1, 1861.
- 68 Ibid., Jan. 13, 1862.
- 69 Ibid., Oct. 9, 1861; Jan. 15, 1862, etc.
- 70 Ibid., Aug. 3, 1864.
- 71 Ibid., April 13, 1864.
- 72 Ibid., Jan. 23, 1866.
- 73 Ibid., July 31, 1866.
- 74 Ibid., July 2, 1867.
- 75 *Svenska Amerikanaren*, May 20, 1868.
- 76 Ibid., April 1, 1868.
- 77 Ibid., May 22, June 5, 1867.
- 78 Ibid., June 29, 1868.
- 79 *Hemlandet*, Aug. 23, 1868.
- 80 Ibid., Sept. and Oct. issues.
- 81 *Svenska Amerikanaren*, June 4, 1872. A number of changes of editorship for *Nya Verlden* and *Svenska Tribunen* took place.
- 82 *Nya Verlden*, May 29, 1872.
- 83 *Hemlandet*, June 11, July 16, 1872.
- 84 *Nya Verlden*, April 24, 1872.
- 85 *Svenska Amerikanaren*, July 16, 1872.
- 86 Ibid., June 15, 1872.
- 87 *Nya Verlden*, Nov. 13, 1872. Space does not permit illustration of the way this paper tried to set forth the political corruption prevalent in the Republican party and, though it leaned toward third party movements, the election of 1876 found the paper safely in the fold of the Republican party.
- 88 *Nordstjernan*, Sept. 21, 1872.
- 89 Ibid., Sept. 21, Oct. 12, 1872.
- 90 Ibid., July 3, 1874.
- 91 *Nya Verlden*, Dec. 15, 1873.
- 92 *Nordstjernan*, Oct. 30, 1874. The political developments and change of editors makes it impossible to cover the political activities of the papers in detail in the brief space here available. An earnest effort has been made, however, to avoid, as far as possible, sweeping statements.
- 93 Ibid., November numbers.

## BOOK REVIEWS

## THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF SWEDISH IMMIGRATION.

By George M. Stephenson, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, Minnesota, The University of Minnesota Press, 1932. 542 pages.)

There is no one who is better qualified than Professor Stephenson to treat this important aspect of Swedish immigration. This work is not the result of a mere year of study in Sweden, but the combined result of years of study and research in the subject. Numerous articles written by Professor Stephenson, as well as his book, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod*, certify the truth of this. The book is therefore exceedingly valuable. Professor Stephenson is a keen observer, and an objective and a critical historian. He has utilized sources never before used in the study of immigration, and though the broadness of the subject has not permitted him to make extensive use of more intimate and personal sources, a surprisingly large number of letters have been cited.

Undoubtedly anyone who tries to treat the history of various religious groups in a digested form, from a historian's point of view, lays himself open to criticism. The Baptist or the Methodist factions might complain that the author has not devoted a sufficient amount of space to their history, and that too much attention has been given to the Augustana Synod. Yet there is no doubt that the relative amount of space given to the various religious groups is based upon their relative importance. The first 146 pages are devoted to the religious conditions in Sweden. Indifference, worldliness had permeated the Church of Sweden. Rationalism had crept into "liturgy, hymns, catechism, and sermons." This led to a reaction within the church of a small group of ministers who were influenced by the piety of C. O. Rosenius, a layman and disciple of George Scott. These sincere pietists sought to reform the church, but did not wish to withdraw from it. The overbearing attitude of the ecclesiastical leaders toward the

reformers caused the growth of other groups, which were not in sympathy with the ritualism or the doctrines of the Church. The soil was indeed fertile for strife and divisions. It was in the midst of this crisis faced by the State Church that immigration to America took place, and the struggle in Sweden between various sects was transplanted to America, where it became even more intense and bitter. The author has effectively pictured this struggle in Sweden, its possible effect as a cause for emigration, and the success of the combatants in America. Here Professor Stephenson shows a wide grasp of actualities and presents an interpretation that is striking and bold. The faults of the pioneers as well as their good qualities are presented in a spirit of fairness.

The same evidence of impartiality has been maintained in the later chapters dealing with a period fresh in the memory of many, and a period which is more difficult to treat because recent developments are always hard to judge. Many of the events have taken place during the lifetime of the author, who has not taken a passive interest in the developments. Yet, he has not depended upon hearsay, his story being well documented at all times, but, in spite of his serious attempt to be fair, he has not entirely succeeded in freeing himself from his own interest in recent events, which may have somewhat colored his interpretation. However, to challenge any of his statements would indeed be difficult, and the second half of the book will be as valuable as the first; a foundation has been carefully laid for the study of Swedish Immigration.

Outside of the great value of combining data, interpreting and fashioning them into a history, which will be more and more appreciated as our prejudices die, Professor Stephenson has provided in this work the most valuable guide to the history of Swedish immigration in general. His bibliography alone is the greatest contribution to the study of Swedish immigration ever made, and his interpretation of the motives of the immigrants in leaving Sweden might have a lasting influence in a new interpretation of immigration, especially from countries where conditions were similar to those in Sweden.

O. FRITIOF ANDER.

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF SWEDISH RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN MINNESOTA, 1853-1885.

*By John Olson Anders, Professor of History, Bethany College. (Rock Island, Illinois, Augustana Book Concern, 1932. 102 pages.)*

This volume is an addition to the rapidly accumulating evidence that historical writing in the field of immigration has entered a new phase, quite different from the older one which was characterized by volumes masquerading under the title of histories but in reality not much more than eulogies of individuals, ecclesiastical organizations, and immigrant stocks. Mr. Anders' book is a digest of his doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Minnesota, which the reviewer has had the pleasure of reading. The ability to make a satisfactory digest is rare, but Mr. Anders has achieved success. There is no classified bibliography, but the text is amply supported by footnotes.

Unlike the earlier efforts to write the history of synods and conferences, Mr. Anders has not conceived it to be his duty to present a history of each congregation, meticulously listing every pastor, organist, sexton, deacon, and trustee who served it. He has sought to correlate significant events within and without the various denominations that planted themselves on Swedish-American soil within the boundaries of Minnesota. His study is even broader in scope, however; in order to explain what happened in the North Star State, he has taken into account and explained what happened among the brethren in other states. He has also paused at convenient stations to take inventory, as it were. There is no other synthesis of the "leading facts" of the period within such a brief compass. He skilfully weaves his way through a maze of personalities and events. He has lived into the sources and really learned to know the men who appeared on the stage. His appraisal of their ability and character is courageous and usually just. There is a great deal of dynamite in Swedish-American history; but Mr. Anders handles it without disaster to himself, though with some damage to certain reputations—which is to say that the author sought to find out what really happened.

GEORGE STEPHENSON.

DEN WALDENSTRÖMSKA FÖRSONINGSLÄRAN I HISTORISK BELYSNING. *By Ernst Newman. (Stockholm 1932. 370 pages.)*

Any complete or accurate history of the Swedish immigrants to America and of their life in this country must seek to trace in these people the influence of one of the remarkable personalities in nineteenth century Sweden, Paul Peter Waldenstrom. His writings and his sermons were everywhere discussed in those days when the stream of emigration was flowing from Sweden to America. His influence was of immense importance in the life of the Swedish Church, and the religious situation among the descendants of the immigrants in this very day is a result of the career of Waldenstrom. The present generation knows not a great deal of that career, and it is a question if even his spiritual descendants longer know what Waldenstrom taught and preached. But this does not affect the truth of the statement that Waldenstrom was one of the fashioners of the present, not only in Sweden but in America, where once his name was on the lips of thousands.

To my knowledge, Newman's book is the first scholarly attempt to understand the Waldenstromian controversy in its relationships to the religious life of Sweden. Much as we may lean to that view of history which considers the creative power of individuals as decisive in the life of a people, we must admit that the power of the individual is dependent upon the social situation in which he finds himself. Newman has sketched in a large way the effect of the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith on the religious life of the people of Sweden. He finds that in the popular mind the central teaching of Luther had degenerated into an intellectual assent to the Scriptures, while the moral life was actuated by non-religious forces. Over against this degraded form of orthodoxism, Pietism and the influence of Zinzendorf set in motion new forces in the more serious minded circles of eighteenth century Sweden. But their one-sidedness resulted in a teaching of God that was no longer the awe-inspiring One that orthodoxism knew, but a sentimentally loving God of whom no one need stand in awe. In the writings of a man like Dippel, in the early part of the eighteenth century, there is proclaimed in Sweden a God who is angry, not at sinners but at sin, and who is in no need of reconciliation—it is man that is to be reconciled.

A century before Waldenstrom appeared the views that he brought to a culmination had attracted attention. Newman describes especially the teachings of dissenters in the diocese of Skara, and of Anders Knös in particular. Swedenborg's influence too is to be reckoned with in the earliest stage of the controversy that came to center around Knös' atonement views, while influences from abroad, especially German Idealism, modified the teachings of the opponents to the orthodox theory of the atonement, around the opening of the nineteenth century. The awakening that is associated with the name of Rosenius in the middle of that century led back to a fresh study of Luther and in general gave new power to the teaching of the Church. But the beginnings of dissent from the orthodox conception of the atonement had developed into more fixed forms, and in Waldenstrom the force of the popular revival was directed into channels of heterodoxy, with the consequent break from the Church.

Against this background, of the historical development of new theories of the atonement and a new concept of the nature of God, Newman sketches the story of Waldenstrom as a religious leader. No attempt is made here to review this part of the book. Emphasis has been laid on the first half because of its importance for the understanding of the man Waldenstrom and his theology. I cannot say that in this larger framework, Waldenstrom looms as large as his contemporaries pictured him. Nor do I believe that in the perspective of time his figure will increase in stature.

CONRAD BERGENDOFF.

#### THE NEBRASKA CONFERENCE OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD

*By Charles Frederick Sandahl, D.D. (Rock Island, Ill., Augustana Book Concern, 1931. 445 pages.)*

The first twenty-three pages of this volume constitute a short and very sketchy survey of the development of the Nebraska Conference. This is followed by a series of short biographical sketches of the pastors and lay preachers of the formative period from 1868 to the first decade of the present century. Then there follows a brief account of nine pages in regard to the separation from the Kansas Conference. From page 70 to page 358 the book gives a brief sketch of each one of the forty-eight congregations composing the six districts of

the Nebraska Conference. From page 359 to the close of the book are found eight sketches dealing with the educational work, missionary activity, and the various charitable institutions of the Conference. Scattered throughout the book are a total of 200 pictures of pastors, prominent laymen, missionaries, church buildings, etc.

A volume of this type is hard to classify. It is not a history in the usual sense of that term. A history of the Nebraska Conference of the more objective type has apparently yet to be written. On the other hand, the historian who may some time in the future attempt that task will find his labors lightened because of the service performed by Dr. Sandahl in giving us this present volume. The real value of Dr. Sandahl's contribution lies in the fact that he has written from first-hand knowledge. The fact that Dr. Sandahl is himself one of the pastors who lived through the formative period of the Nebraska Conference gives to his book a value that perhaps would not attach to a history written by one of the younger generation. The one who in the future may attempt to write a history of the Nebraska Conference will find Dr. Sandahl's book of great value.

HENRY F. STAACK.

EMIGRANTERNA OCH KYRKAN. *Brev från och till svenskar i Amerika 1849-1892. Utgivna av Gunnar Westin, (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1932. 612 pages.)*

In this volume we are given access to an extensive collection of letters relating to the early history of the Augustana Synod and other church groups of Swedish immigrants. Of the 288 letters here published, more than half were either written by or addressed to the great patriarch, T. N. Hasselquist. Nearly all of them are on file in the archives of Augustana College and Theological Seminary.

This correspondence was carried on almost exclusively with men actively identified with the religious awakening then going on in Sweden. It indicates that while the founders of the synod received but scant encouragement from the authorities of the Church of Sweden (cf. e. g., Archbishop Wingård's harsh letters to L. P. Esbjörn), they did enjoy the good will and coöperation of such men as P. Wieselgren, P. A. Ahlberg,

P. Fjellstedt and S. L. Bring. In a footnote Dr. Westin refers to the friends of the young church body in America as being comprised of three groups: "Fosterlands-Stiftelsens män, de sydsvenska lågkyrkomännen och den halvt pietistiska teologiska fakulteten i Upsala."

Touching much of the early history of the Augustana Synod, these letters provide interesting reading and afford an insight not likely to be secured in any other way. As source material for further studies on both sides of the Atlantic the collection will doubtless prove most useful.

A brief but interesting and informative introductory chapter by the editor adds much to the value of the book.

J. VINCENT NORDGREN.



## Constitution

### of the Augustana Historical Society

1. *Name.* The name of this society shall be The Augustana Historical Society. Its office shall be in Rock Island, Illinois.

2. *Object.* The object of this society shall be to collect and preserve documents, publications, correspondence, and objects of historical interest of the Scandinavians in America and of the religious movements among them, especially of the Augustana Synod, and of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in general; likewise to encourage historical research and publication. All files and collections to be gathered by this society shall be the property of the Denkmann Memorial Library of Augustana College and Theological Seminary) *except church archives*

3. *Membership.* Any person paying an annual fee of \$2.00 shall be considered a member. Persons paying \$50.00 shall be elected as life members. Honorary members may be elected by unanimous vote by the Board of Directors.

4. *Board of Directors.* This shall consist of twelve members, nine of whom shall be elected by the Society for a term of three years,—the election to be held in such a manner that the terms of one-third of the members shall expire each year. Three members are to be elected by the Board of Directors of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, one member to be elected each year. When the Board is regularly called five members are to constitute a quorum.

5. *Other Officers.* The Board shall elect annually the following officers: President, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and librarian-curator. A nominating committee is also to be elected at the annual meeting to prepare nominations for Board members for the following year.

Nomination blanks or ballots with at least two names for each office are to be sent out to the members at least 30 days before the annual meeting.

6. *Annual meeting.* The annual meeting shall be held in Rock Island, Illinois, on some day during the Augustana Col-

lege Commencement week each year. Special meetings may be held at any time on call of the chairman of the Board.

7. *Amendments.* Amendments to the constitution may be submitted by the Board to each member by letter at least 30 days before the meeting, and adopted by two-thirds of the votes cast at the annual meeting.

## Reports of Committees

### Report of the Membership Committee

Among the several functions of the Augustana Historical Association enumerated in the constitution is one to the effect that it collects material which has historical value. This may include letters, books, documents, and utensils used by those who come within the scope of the researches made by the society. While we realize that we are a little late in starting to collect material of this sort, we also know that there is an abundance left but badly scattered. It is to be had, however. The society, through the scouting efforts of a few of its active members in Rock Island, has already succeeded in picking up some very valuable material and has housed it in the Denkmann Memorial library and museum.

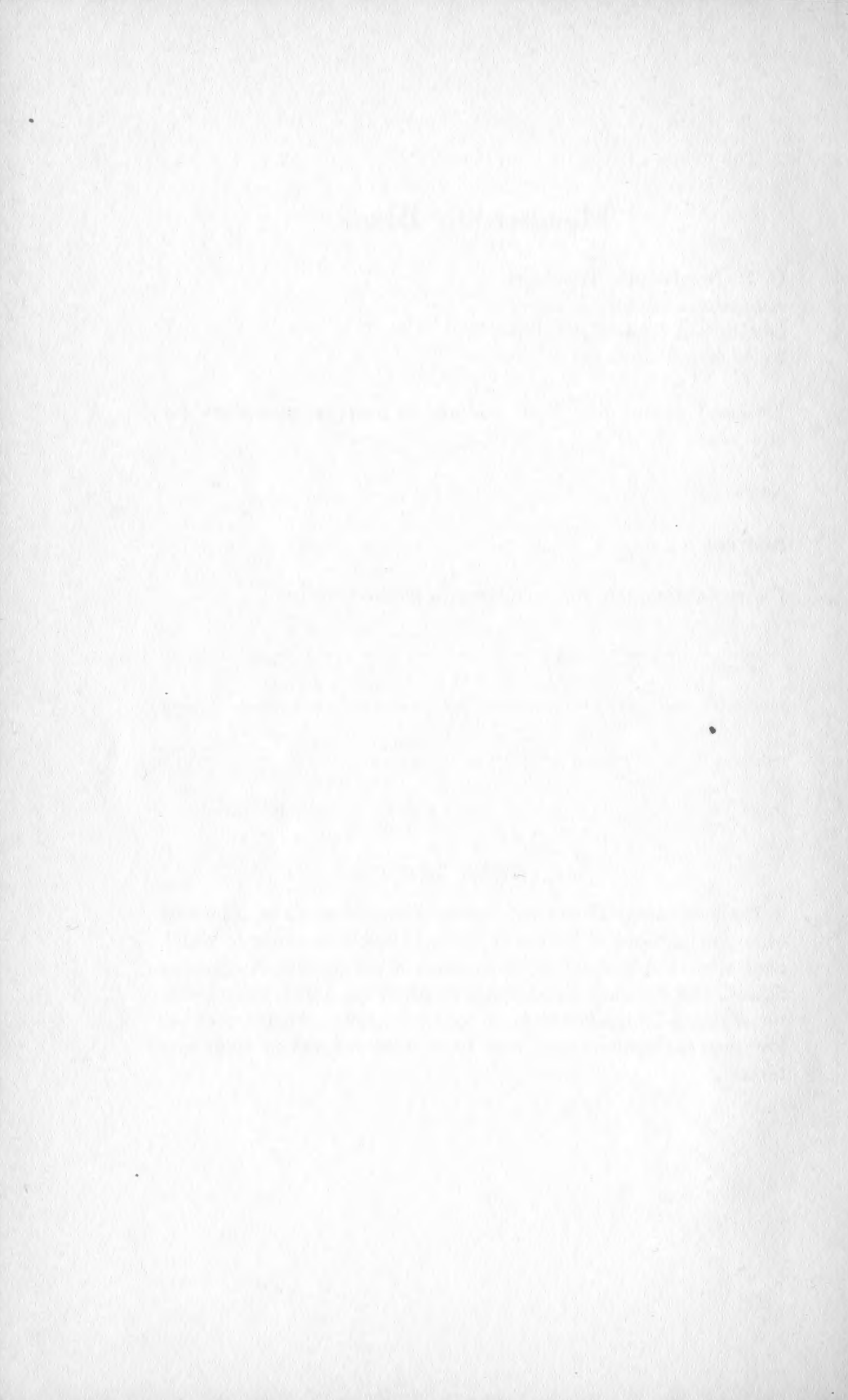
Among the late additions of this kind is a carefully selected lot of utensils used by the early settlers of the Bishop Hill Colony. Almost every piece is hand-made, whether of copper, iron, wood, or cloth. A story could be woven around each piece. There is more of this to be had, but our funds are limited at the present. We hope to get a considerable amount of this kind of material through gifts, but those who have it want to be assured that it will be properly cared for. We can assure all who will entrust us with their articles that such will be the case.

The executive committee is very eager to procure a log cabin, an original one, for the purpose of establishing a log cabin museum. This would be the center of our out-door museum. Augustana is a most logical place for such a display. We know very well that this program calls for some money and some time, but from a historical point of view it is a most worthy activity. We urge all who read this to help us collect anything which might have a bearing on our efforts. If you have anything, send it to us. If you know of the whereabouts of anything, let us know. It should not take a discouraging amount of time before we could have a display of great value and one of which to be proud.

The group at Rock Island is working very hard to build up enthusiasm for the society. It is not to be expected that an organization of this kind should turn out material in newspaper fashion. We do hope, however, to produce with some regularity researches in various fields which will be of interest to both general readers and students.

We urge all who are interested in work of this kind to help us in our endeavors. Join the society. The dues, which are \$2 per year, enable you to receive all the publications.

O. L. NORDSTROM.



## Membership Blank

O. L. Nordstrom, Treasurer  
Augustana Historical Society  
Denkmann Memorial Library  
Rock Island, Illinois

Enclosed please find Two Dollars as membership dues for one year.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I wish to nominate for membership in the society:

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### DOCUMENT NOTICE

The Augustana Historical Society should like to be informed of any collections of letters or other valuable documents which deal with the history of Augustana College, the Augustana Synod, and Swedish immigrants in America, which source material might be made available for the Society. Please note below any suggestions you may have with respect to such material.



# HISTORY



## English Language

**The Origin and History of Swedish Religious Organizations in Minnesota.** By John Olson Anders, Ph.D. Paper, net, 90 cents.

**The Founding of the Augustana Synod.** By George M. Stephenson, Ph.D. Cloth, net, 50 cents.

**The Nebraska Conference History.** By Charles Fredrick Sandahl, D.D. A survey of its work. Cloth, net, \$3.00.

**The Augustana Synod 1860—1910.** A brief review of its history. Cloth, \$1.50.

**A History of American Immigration.** By George M. Stephenson, Ph.D. Between the years 1820 and 1924. Cloth, \$2.40.

**Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration.** George M. Stephenson, Ph.D. Cloth, \$4.50.

**History of Sweden.** By Carl Hallendorff and Adolf Schück. Cloth, net, \$6.30.

**The Background of Swedish Immigration.** By Florence E. Janson. Cloth, net, \$5.00.

## Swedish Language

**Lindsborg.** Utgiven på uppdrag av församlingen i Lindsborg, Kansas, för fyrtioårsfesten av Alfred Bergin. Cloth, \$2.00.

**Emigranterna och Kyrkan** av Gunnar Westin. Boards, net, \$3.00.

**Protestantismens Historia** av Gunnar Westin. Boards, net, \$3.25.

**Minnen från Jubelfesten 1910.** Cloth, \$1.50.

**Minnesota-konferensens och dess församlingars historia.** Av Emil Lund. Vol. I and Vol. II. Cloth, \$4.00 per set.

**Iowa-konferensens av Augustana-synoden historia.** Av Emil Lund. Cloth, net, 50 cents.

## Augustana Book Concern

Rock Island, Ill.

Minneapolis Branch: Nicollet Hotel  
Chicago: 120 So. LaSalle St., Room 623







