

3-1-1985

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Recommended Citation

Hedblom, Folke (1985) "Swedish Personal Names in America," *Swedish American Genealogist*: Vol. 5 : No. 1 , Article 6.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.augustana.edu/swensonsag/vol5/iss1/6>

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Swedish Personal Names in America

Folke Hedblom*

While visiting Minneapolis, MN in May of 1983 I checked the telephone book of that city, which with its satellite communities, contains approximately one million people. I noted that the catalog contained no less than 25 columns of *Ericksons*, i.e. ca. 2,000 individual subscribers. Almost as frequent were the names *Lind* and combinations of the type *Lindberg*, *-bladh*, *-dahl*, *-gren*, *-quist*, *-strom*, etc. Somewhat less were those named *Lund* with similar combinations. Even more common were the *Olsons* with ca. 3,300 names. Here, however, one should keep in mind that many of the *Olsons* may have been of Norwegian origin. There were ca. 2,300 *Larsons*. There had probably been more at the outset, but often *Larson* has been anglicized to *Lawson*, etc. Ca. 500 were named *Swenson*, but here we may assume that many *Swensons* had taken the anglicized form of *Swanson*, of which there were ca. 1,350. There were just a few more than 300 named *Mattson*. Even in the smaller towns north of Minneapolis the *Erickson* name had a strong position in the telephone books. The fact that the *Mattson* name was so prevalent in the telephone book in Mora, MN, is what one would expect, since that name has had a wide distribution in the province of Dalarna for hundreds of years.¹

These observations, made at random, demonstrate that Swedish surnames, much more so than our place names, have survived the demise of the Swedish language as a living minority language in today's America. Of the Swedish place names, most of them of the type Stockholm, Uppsala, Falun, etc., there are now only 800 in use today!^a On the other hand, the Americans who carry Swedish surnames can be counted by the thousands. Most of those carrying these surnames are probably descendants of immigrants, now in the fifth generation. Of these, however, only a miniscule portion exists that still can speak or understand the Swedish language. Their surnames, however, are now a not inconsiderable part of the treasury of surnames of the vast American nation, and are beyond a doubt Sweden's greatest and most lasting contribution to the American language, which it is sometimes called. This language contains, so far as I know, only two borrowed words from the

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Swedish — *ombudsman* and *smorgasbord*.

Many of these Swedish family names have remained intact in their original form and are therefore easy to recognize. Other names have been changed, many of them so radically, that it is difficult today to even guess that they have a Swedish origin.

The mass emigration to America was — as our historians have pointed out — one of the most important happenings in Sweden's as well as all of Europe's history during the 19th century. From Sweden alone, it is estimated that approximately 1.3 million Swedes emigrated between the years 1845 and 1930. That was a large segment of our population, which in 1850 stood at 3.5 million.

In those areas of America, where Swedes settled in large numbers and created their settlements, our language lived on well into the middle of this century, as a language spoken within the family, the church, in the Swedish American press and in literary journals, among the children of the immigrants and their grandchildren for about three generations. Swedish is now a defunct language in all public manifestations and only to a very small degree used in families and more intimate groups.² Of the large flora of Swedish American newspapers which once existed, now only three are left in today's America.

During the 1960s three separate research expeditions were organized in America by myself and my colleague, Torsten Ordeus, a sound engineer, on behalf of the Dialect and Folklore Archives of Uppsala (*Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala*) in order to record the remnants of the Swedish language, particularly the dialects, which were still to be found in the Swedish settlements in various sections of the United States.³ This material has since been augmented by subsequent personal visits to America during the 1970s. It is important for me to stress at this juncture that the information I collected concerning the older Swedish surnames in America, to be found on the recordings and tapes, are not designed to be a systematic study of the surnames in the field. These surnames are for the most part sporadic inclusions in the recorded text as it developed during unrehearsed and mostly casual conversations. The study presented here, therefore, is limited, in that, while it aims at giving a broad outline of the use of Swedish family names in America, it also seeks to give samples of such names as well as by-names which usually are not to be found in the written sources but must be located in the oral tradition materials.

It is the eternal fate of the emigrant that immediately after his arrival in his new country he has to adjust to new conditions in all the phases of his new experience. The acculturation process began immediately. The first hurdle which confronted the Swedish immigrant when he stepped ashore in America was the language, and to this belonged his family name. The names given by the immigrants were totally strange to the customs collector and other officials who immediately after the arrival had to record the immigrant's name and to attempt to grasp the pronunciation of the same.

This was extremely difficult, particularly if the immigrant spoke a Swedish dialect, a fact which was quite common in the early days of immigration.

The Swedes who came to America during the earliest period of the immigration period hailed mostly from the rural areas. They were farmers, often hired servants, male and female, crofters and younger sons of farmers, dispossessed when older sons inherited the ancestral lands. These people had come to America to acquire a bit of their own soil. The names which these early immigrants brought with them to the new land were mostly patronymics. The names consisted of one's baptismal name (usually only one) together with the father's name with an ending *-son* or *-dotter*, depending upon the person's sex. Written thus we find their names recorded on the ships' manifests, which the masters of the sailing vessels, and later the steamships, were by law required to record, and after the arrival in an American port, hand over to the customs agent. The originals or copies thereof were then kept by the local officials, later to be forwarded to the central authorities. They are for the most part nowadays kept in the National Archives in Washington, DC.

The lists which deal with the ca. 4,000 Swedish arrivals in New York between 1820 and 1850, were published by Nils William Olsson in 1967.⁴ The manifests were written by both Swedish and non-Swedish ships' captains. The latter, not being acquainted with the Swedish language, mangled and misunderstood the names so that identification of the passengers often is quite difficult. The fact that male passengers were given the name ending in *-dotter* is not at all unusual. In the main, however, it can be said that the manifests give a rather accurate picture of the names used by the early immigrants in the Swedish population centers. One aspect of these manifests which is surprising, is the fact that so many of the names belong to the nobility. But it is a well-known fact that noblemen from various parts of Europe played a not inconsiderable role among the pioneers of the early immigration period in the middle of the 19th century.

In these passenger manifests one notes a certain modernization of Swedish surname usage. This is particularly true so far as the female names are concerned. In the list from the middle of the 1840s the number of women with names ending in *-dotter* are quite frequent but if we look at passenger ships which arrived in New York in 1850 it is more common that the females are given endings in *-son*. Also family names such as *Boman*, *Björklund*, *Hedberg*, *Wexell*, etc. have increased.⁵ The baptismal names are frequently indicated only with initials. All in all one can detect an increasing influence from the English and American name usage.

1. Surnames

The nomenclature which the newly arrived Swedes found in America was completely different from what they had been used to and which had been in vogue in Sweden since medieval times and even earlier. In America names which

consisted solely of a baptismal name and a patronymic were not accepted. Every individual was required to have a surname, i.e. an established family name, which clearly identified him—and if he was married—also his wife and children, a name which was to be carried on within the family. The baptismal name played a minor role and could be replaced by the initial(s) only. It developed, however, that the most common name forms, which the Swedes divulged to the customs collector upon arrival, i.e. the *-son* names, did not meet much resistance in reality. These names coincided well with the English name usage, since patronymics ending in *-son* are to be found in England even before the Viking times,⁶ when they increased markedly thanks to the Scandinavian influence. As the centuries passed, these patronymics gradually metamorphosed into actual inherited family names.⁷ The Swedish *-son* could be written and pronounced by Americans without undue difficulty. These patronymics were thus recorded as surnames. The easiest of all was of course *Anderson*. This was immediately identified with the British *Anderson*, a well-known family name in America. One only had to slough an *s*. On the other hand *Andersdotter* was an impossibility as a surname and was thus easily changed into *Anderson*, both on the ships' manifests as well as later in America.

Also other *-son* names passed inspection without problems, so long as they were adjusted according to the laws of syllabication and writing processes in the new land. *Eriksson* and *Olsson* were written *Erickson* and *Olson*. Even *Gabrielsson* and *Gustafsson* went very well with the shedding of the extra *s*, and the same thing could be said for *Karlsson* and *Pettersson*, written as *Carlson* and *Peterson*. *Persson* could be changed into *Pearson*, *Pierson* or *Peterson* and *Nilsson* easily identified with the native *Nelson*.

One change which was initiated almost to a degree of 100 percent as the immigrants arrived in America was that all those named *Jansson*, *Jönsson*, *Johansson* and *Johannesson* were collected under the English form of *Johnson*. It was even easier inasmuch as *Jonsson* in the American English language was pronounced [dzan:sn]. *Jonasson* seems to have survived, foremost in the American Swedish settlements, however spelled with only one *s*.⁸

When an entire family emigrated at the same time the father and his sons usually had different patronymics ending in *-son*. It seems as a rule that it was the father's name which was recorded as the surname for the entire family.⁹ Those, however, who settled in the predominantly Swedish areas around the country, where the Swedish language and Swedish traditions were maintained for a longer time, the members of the family retained their patronymics in daily intercourse, at least within their own generation. Patronymics were also used in the parish registers of the Swedish American churches, a subject which will be touched upon later. The object of our interview in Almelund, MN, *Ben Stenberg*, born in 1898, told us that his grandfather used the name *Gustaf Månsson* when he homesteaded in Minnesota in 1873 and that his son in turn called himself *J. M. Gustafson*.

The grandson, however had assumed the name of *Stenberg*.¹⁰

The farmer immigrants from central Sweden, who in 1846 followed the well-known "prophet" Erik Jansson, born in Biskopskulla in the province of Uppland, to his colony Bishop Hill in Illinois,¹¹ likewise followed the same pattern. *Emil Erickson*, born in Bishop Hill in 1884, related that his father was named *Erik Olsson*, when he emigrated from his home parish of Nora in Uppland 1848 (or 1849).¹²

Many immigrants, however, soon traded their *-son* names for other Swedish family names, similar in type to those Swedish surnames in use from the 17th and 18th centuries, primarily among the citizens of the Swedish towns and cities.¹³ There are many name changes of this type in the recorded material. Thus we have the story of the 88 year-old *Albert Hult* in Swedesburg, IA, who related that his father, *Carl Eriksson*, from the province of Blekinge, who arrived in America before the Civil War (he participated in this conflict as a soldier) took the name *Hult* from the "parish of Hult in Sweden."¹⁴ In Stockholm, MN I was told by the brothers *Bollman* that their father, *Anders Svensson*, who arrived in the U.S. in 1863 with his entire family, took the name of *Bollman* after the place name of *Bollsjöhöjden* in his home parish of *Östmark* in the northern province of *Värmland*.¹⁵ Immigrants from *Forsa Parish* in the province of *Hälsingland*, who during the 1860s settled near Cambridge, MN, traded their *-son* names for such names as *Forslund*, *Forsman*, *Forsvik*, etc.¹⁶

As an example of a name change, trading the *-son* name for other types of Swedish surnames I can mention a second generation American in northern Minnesota,¹⁷ who said: "My father came from the province of *Härjedalen* and his name was *Persson*. When he took homestead land¹⁸ he assumed the name *Lager*."¹⁹ *William Quist* in *Vasa*, MN tells of his father, whose name was *Jonasson* from *Småland*, who first called himself *Vinquist* and later *Quist* in America.²⁰ The Dalecarlian immigrant by the name of *Jan Jansson* called himself *Hedlund* in *Lancaster*, MN.²¹ A Mormon by the name of *Axel Bostrom* in *Utah*, who immigrated in 1903 was known as *Eriksson* in Sweden.^{21a} The immigrant from *Värmland*, *Oscar Berglund* in *Kimball*, MN., who arrived in 1905, had been known as *Andersson* in Sweden.²² Sometimes one changed both the baptismal as well as the family name. The well-known pioneer aviator, *Charles Lindbergh's* grandfather was named *Ola Månsson* when he arrived in Minnesota in 1859, but once there he changed his name to *August Lindbergh*.²³ A man, whom I met on the street in *Boxholm*, IA was named *Hedblom*. He told me that his father had taken that name after his arrival in the U.S., but he could not account for the reason of the name change.²⁴

But not only *-son* names were changed. According to one of the informants, *Oskar Bonstrom* of *Buffalo*, MN, his grandfather had arrived in 1863 with his family, having emigrated from the parish of *Östmark* in *Värmland*. He had been known as *Burk* in Sweden, but in America he called

himself *Bönström* or *Bonstrom*, a rather common name among the immigrants from that parish. His grandfather's brothers, who had emigrated at the same time, took the surnames of *Bengtson* and *Erickson*.²⁵ It was not uncommon for brothers to take different names. Within a family named *Svensson* from Småland, those in the first generation took the names of *Swainson*, *West*, *Westerdal*, *Westerdale* and *Barton*.²⁶

A name change with a reverse twist, where a bearer of an unusual name, took a *-son* name can be cited in the case of *Pehr Dahlquist* in one of the settlements in Minnesota, who assumed the name of *Peter Carlson* in connection with his taking homestead land and then married. His reason was stated thus: "It seemed there was always confusion when people attempted to spell his name and *Carlson* was much easier."²⁷ One can say the same thing concerning the immigrant *Hjertén* from the province of Västergötland, who changed his name to *Oberg* after his arrival in Colorado.²⁸

The name of *Burk*, referred to above, was probably a soldier's name. The Swedish soldier names reach back to the end of the 17th century, when Sweden instituted its military reform, known as *indelningsverket*. Many of these names were well adapted as surnames in America. Naming a few examples, I have the farmer in Minnesota, born on his farm in 1898, who related that his father, who in Sweden was known as *August Gustafsson*, after his arrival in America had resumed the name he carried as a soldier in Sweden — *Lund*.²⁹ *Frances Nero* in Wisconsin, born on his farm in 1909, told me that his grandfather named *Andersson* in Sweden had, after arriving in the U.S. in 1870, taken the name of *Nero*, which he had borne as a member of the "King's Guards" in Sweden.³⁰ A Mormon in Utah, who like his father, had the name of *Malmstedt* in Sweden, took the name of *Spjut*, the father's military name, after his arrival in Utah.³¹

Occasionally the immigrant altered his soldier's name. A soldier by the name of *Gustaf Rask* changed his name to *Strand* after arrival in Minnesota in 1869.³²

A considerable portion of the Swedish surnames — if we also include the patronymics, which as stated above, already in Sweden had begun to be transformed into real family names — could, as we have seen, be easily accepted as American names. To this group we can add such names as *Hedlund*, *Lindberg*, *Westerberg*, *Hult*, *Bonstrom*, etc., whether they had been created from place names in Sweden or not. In all of these cases there is a clear line of demarcation between the Swedish and Danish immigrants on the one hand, and the Norwegian immigrants on the other, as pointed out by Einar Haugen.³³ The Norwegians had a much more difficult time with names like *Jørgen Olsen Wrolstad*, where the name *Olsen* was a pure patronymic form and *Wrolstad* was a farm name, sometimes involving a complicated mixture of birth place and family.

1. Anglization

The adjustment to the English American family nomenclature could take place in various ways. Just as in the cases of *Erickson* and *Johnson*,

etc., it often consisted in a minor change in the spelling. In other cases it was more difficult. Some of the Swedish speech sounds and their spellings are completely foreign to the American ear and tongue. Here we find the vowels *å*, *ä*, and *ö*, the consonant combinations *j-*, *sje-* and *tje-* sounds, combinations such as *bj*, *tt*, etc. Substitutions had to be found, which were as close as possible to the original sounds and the orthographic patterns in the American English. To name a few examples: *Hjelm* became *Yelm* or *Helm*, *Håkansson* became *Hawkinson*, *Kilberg* and *Källberg* became *Chilberg*, *Larson* became *Lawson*, *Ljungberg* became *Youngberg*, the soldier's name of *Lod* became *Lodeen*, *Lundin* became *Lundeen*, *Strid*, another soldier's name became *Streed*, again another soldier's name *Svärd* became *Sword*, *Åberg* and *Öberg* became *Oberg*, *Åkerström* became *Ockerstrom*, sometimes shortened to *Ocker* and *Öström* became *Ostrum*. Names like *Levander* were made easier by writing them *Le Vander*.

Another method was to translate the name, wholly or partially. Thus *Nyqvist* became *Newquist* or *Newquest*, *Sjölin* (which also could become *Sholeen*) became *Sealine*, *Sjöstrand* became *Seashore*, *Östlund* became *Eastlund*. In cases such as *Newquest*, it is possible to see a Swedish dialect influence, perhaps from Västergötland, which also may have influenced this spelling. For a number of other examples of Anglization or Americanization of Swedish family names I refer to Swanson.³⁴

Occasionally one traded a Swedish name for an English one. Thus *Björkegren* became *Burke*.³⁵ An old professor at Bethany College in Lindsborg, KS, Dr. *E. O. Deere*, told me that his father, who had immigrated in 1869, and whose name was *Olson*, had been employed by the John Deere Co. in Moline, IL, manufacturer of agricultural implements. One day he was asked by John Deere to change his name — there were altogether too many employees with the name of Olson in the company. The polite father answered by saying that it would be an honor for him to take the name of his employer, to which Mr. Deere immediately acceded.³⁶

2. Christian Names

The earliest Swedish pioneers from the period 1845–1870 settled in areas heretofore practically virgin territory, the forests and prairies of the Upper Midwest, as well as Kansas and Texas, where only roving Indians had set foot. In certain places, foremost in Minnesota, they settled in close proximity to each other, so that practically every Swedish farm bordered on another Swedish settler's place. People from the same general area in Sweden sought to settle in the U. S. close to their kinfolk or neighbors in Sweden. Thus one continued as far as possible to follow the same life style as back in Sweden, which happened to be rural Sweden of the middle of the 1800s. From a material point of view life was rather self-sufficient — clothes, tools and other life necessities were fashioned and made at home. Only a small part of one's needs were supplied from the outside and then mostly via barter or the

exchange of services. Spiritually one's existence was geared to religion and the church, often in a more active way than back in Sweden. There one might have been the object of religious persecution.

During the first decades it was the Swedish Lutheran Church — mostly a low church type — which dominated these communities, harboring strong Swedish majorities. The churches were guided by clergymen from Sweden, who followed the rules and practices of the Church of Sweden strictly, both when it came to orthodoxy, but also when it pertained to such practical things as the Swedish system of keeping parish records. Thus one followed scrupulously in America in the same system as in Sweden, and clergymen issued baptismal certificates, exit permits and other documents for parishioners who moved from one place to another in their adopted land. These Swedish pioneer clergymen could not possibly have envisaged that they, by their action as keepers of the vital statistics, were creating a research source for historians, demographers as well as other disciplines — unique in the world.

In communities of this type the Swedish language dominated social activities — the home, the place of employment as well as the church. Many of the older immigrants never learned English. The children were placed in American public schools at the age of eight, but as soon as school was over for the day, the pupils returned to the Swedish of the everyday world — whether this was the dialect of Småland, Hälsingland or the language spoken in Dalarna. For decades Swedish was also taught in special summer schools, where one studied Luther's Catechism, the history of Sweden as well as its geography.

In such milieus, closely knit Swedish American communities, one finds that the use of patronymics lived on for a few years longer than in other places. Some of these cases have been mentioned earlier. This type of nomenclature received strong support from the clergymen, who continued to use the system in preparing their parish registers. This can be seen in the publishing by the Emigrant Institute in Växjö in 1973 of the first membership roster of the earliest of the many Swedish Lutheran parishes in America. This particular parish record has been kept with an accuracy bordering upon 100%.³⁷ This parish was created in 1854 in the area surrounding the Chisago Lakes in Minnesota, made famous by Vilhelm Moberg in his tetralogy of Swedish immigration. The membership roster spans the time period 1855–1860, to which have been added entries for all births, marriages and deaths up to 1868. In the baptismal register for 1857–1867 all of the children born in America have the usual Swedish first names. The only exceptions to this are a few boys named Henry and William, as well as “Julysses Lincoln,” which doubtlessly reflects the actuality of the Civil War.

In this parish record one can observe how patronymics dominate almost completely. Couples in most cases have the endings in *-son* and *-dotter*, as in the example *John Fredrik Pettersson* and his wife *Mathilda Magnusdotter* from 1860. There are names of the more modern type, as for instance *Anders Persson Norelius* and his wife *Elisabet Jonsdotter* from 1855 and *Anders*

Gustaf Blom and his wife *Carolina Catharina Collin* from 1855.

For those immigrants, who on the other hand, sought their new homes in less homogenous settlements — the cities and other centers of population, and which were peopled not only by Swedes, but also by immigrants of other nationalities, such as Norwegians, Germans, Irish, etc., the conditions were much different, even if the Swedes even there tended to stay together in their church congregations and secular societies. Slowly, however, there were those members who splintered off, joining other congregations with a freer mode of worship, and where records were not kept with the same zeal and consistency as the Lutheran pastors from Sweden had given to the task. This can also be said for the clergymen who followed them, trained in the Augustana Synod (1860–1962), the offshoot of the Swedish Lutheran Church in Sweden, and the largest Swedish American denomination in the United States.

In the heterogenous communities of the nation the Swedish patterns of behavior as well as the Swedish way of life were subjected to influences from various directions, and obviously also from the powerful main stream American culture. Here the Swedish language as well as Swedish nomenclature could not progress or even survive as easily or as untouched as in the homogenous Swedish farmer settlements. It was also there that one met the problems, which always, more or less, impinge upon persons in a bi-lingual community. One was forced to live in a perpetual “language contact” and “language conflict.”

So far as the first or Christian names are concerned the changes came faster and were more inclusive than in the matter of surnames, even if a great many of the names both in Sweden and in the United States had the same origin. This is certainly true with the Christian names, which both in England and in Sweden, ever since the Middle Ages, had been taken from the Bible or the saints' calendar. But the claims of the spoken language and the contacts with Americans immediately placed certain demands on the patterns of first names for the Swedes. A trace of this can readily be seen in the baptismal register from the Chisago Lakes, cited above. Perhaps it is the American pattern which is responsible for the fact that 25 children were given two baptismal names, whereas only twelve received only one. To this should be added the fact that the Swedish first names in their written form could only be used in the family group and the Swedish speaking areas as a whole. Beyond this the Americanization had begun early. How this came about can be told in a family story from the Swedish settlement in Isanti County, MN, published there by Juliette Erickson Person in 1973, with the title “Britta Kajsa.”³⁸ The author's grandmother, the farmer's daughter, Britta Kajsa Eriksson, from Hassela Parish in the province of Hälsingland, immigrated 1869 to the small community of Red Wing, MN. Here she was employed as a servant in the household of a clergyman. His family spoke English and the majority of the people in the community were Americans. Among the friends she had she was known as *Kate* or *Katie*. The following

year her parents immigrated with the remainder of the family. They were *Lisa* and *Erik* and had in America taken the name of *Ostberg*. *Lisa* was called *Elizabeth* or *Lizzie*, and the daughter *Kjersti* became *Christina*. She married a Swede named *Louis Ockerlund*, their daughter was baptized *Sarah*, a Biblical name, which with that particular spelling could be accepted as American. Kate married a childhood sweetheart, who also had come from Hassela, *Pehr Dahlgvist* (he had changed his name to *Carlson*, see above). Their first child was named *Karl-Johan*, but was soon called *Charlie*, "and that name stayed with him all through the years." Erik and Lisa had then moved the entire family to the area of Dalbo, one of the most concentrated Swedish farm colonies in Minnesota, with a great proportion of immigrants from upper Dalarna. Kate's and Per's children received the following names — *Erik*, who soon became *Eddie*, as well as *Ella*, *Emma*, *Margaret*, *Aaron*, *Anna* and *Theodore*. Thus spelled and pronounced in an American manner the names could not be objected to in either quarter.

Even in the most populous Swedish areas the Americanization of the children's first names began already in the immigrant generation. But here the process was a slow one. Of the thirty grandchildren of Erik and Lisa, named in Person's book, only two of them have definite non-Swedish names — *Wilbur* and *Willie*. To this should also be added *Andrew*. Nowhere in the above-mentioned baptismal register from the Chisago Lakes is there an *Anders*, but there are several *Andrews*. Has *Anders* been transformed into *Andrew* already as one passed through the gate to America? In the membership roster, however, which lists persons, baptized in Sweden, the name of *Anders* has been retained. One could compare this with the normalization of *Jansson*, etc. to *Johnson*.

Overall it can be said, though, that the Swedish tradition was quite strong even among those children of the immigrants, born in America. But the conditions changed from place to place and in different surroundings. Some examples can be cited from the recordings we made.

In Falun, WI a woman named *Anna Fink*, born there in 1877, showed us her parents' Swedish family Bible. They had bought it after their arrival in America in 1868 and had recorded in it their children's names and their dates of birth. They had emigrated from the area outside of Ludvika in Dalarna. The children were — *Per Johan*, born 1861, then *Anders Gustaf*, *Johan*, *Emma*, *Emily* and *Anna*, the latter our informant. Anna's children had also been recorded — she was married in 1905. These were *Vincent* (dead as a child), *Harold Wilson*, *Herbert Carl*, *Marion Anne*, *Vincent Emil* and *Dale Norman*.³⁹ As can be seen here, the Americanization of the Christian names had taken a big leap into the second generation. In this part of Wisconsin the Swedish element was not as strong as in the nearby heavily populated Swedish areas of Minnesota, on the other side of the St. Croix River.

In Bishop Hill, IL, where one never was really interested in preserving the Swedish heritage,⁴⁰ *Orlie Chilberg*, born there in 1894 of Swedish parents from Alfta Parish in Hälsingland, told me that his six siblings were

named *Christine, Cora, Clara, Emily, Lilly* and *Emil*.

Visiting hundreds of Swedes in the second and third generations during our travels in the 1960s we encountered the fact that the Americanization of the Christian names was much more in evidence than when it involved surnames. Persons named *Erickson* and *Larson* could have first names like *Ben, Emory, Katie, Lorinda, Mabel, Sterling, Vernon*, etc. American pet names like *Pete* for *Per*, *Betsy* for *Birgit*, etc. were used even when one conversed in Swedish.

Similar changes in baptismal names took place also among the Norwegian immigrants. Einar Haugen,⁴¹ himself the son of immigrants, born and reared in a Norwegian American community in Iowa, mentions that an American of Norwegian extraction from Sogn in Norway who told him that he had been baptized *Rasmus* after his maternal grandfather, but that he disliked it very much. He therefore called himself *Robert* and did not, therefore, have to change his initial *R*. Initials are, as already mentioned, very important in American nomenclature. In the similar way *Haakon* was changed to *Henry, Lars* to *Louis, Trond* to *Tom*, etc.⁴²

The first names of the Norwegian immigrants were, according to Haugen, a constant source of "linguistic embarrassment."⁴³ A man's surname was for the most part a question of the written form, but the Christian name was the handle by which he was known among his colleagues, in the place where he was employed and in the social circles. Here substitute forms were created speedily for such foreign names which the Americans neither could nor had the wish to pronounce. In a group where the knowledge of a foreign language is non-existent and the general educational level is low a foreign name will meet resistance because it is new, strange and unusual. It is also a problem whether the name is male or female. It is difficult to separate such forms as *Sigurd* and *Sigrid*. Since most immigrants had difficulty in resisting the pressures of their surroundings, they often had to accept the names or forms which their new environment pressed on them.

In this manner one often had one name in the home and among one's countrymen and another name on the outside, i.e. in the place of employment. One could eliminate this dilemma by using a Christian name, which was used in both the United States and Sweden, and which in its American form did not meet the problems in either camp and which would not violate the initial, as for instance *Henrik*, which became *Henry, Charlie* for *Carl, Oliver* for *Olof, Sadie* for *Signe, Tom* for *Tore* or *Torvald*, etc. Concurrently the children met the same situation when they started in the American public school and there encountered the teacher's confusion and the mockery of the fellow pupils. The children were obviously more sensitive than their parents. Haugen relates that the Norwegian children thus as "the innocent newcomers thought it was splendid to get such strange names, and in this way a bad habit was established. *Knut* and *Kittel* were changed to *Charley, Halvor* became *Harvey, Helge* was changed to *Henry, Ingeborg* became *Belle, Berit* and *Birgit* became *Betsy*. . . ."⁴⁴

Norwegian parents continued in America to give the oldest son the name of the paternal grandfather and the oldest daughter the name of the maternal grandmother. But in the second generation this custom met opposition, which can readily be seen in the study of Norwegian American genealogies. Whether this observation applies to Swedish immigrants, is something which has not been brought out in any study.

3. Personal Names and Bi-Lingualism

Among the present-day bi-lingual Swedish Americans, whom I met during the 1960s and 1970s I often noticed a kind of uncertainty or wavering in the correct form of their names. There was, what Haugen calls a double standard.⁴⁵ One person, whom we interviewed, exhibited a certain amount of doubt when I asked him how he spelled his name — should it be *Nordin*, *Nordeen*, *Norden*, or something else? So far as his Christian name was concerned this could vary between *Andrew* and *Anders*. Sometimes this uncertainty could be traced to the fact that in the third generation, where a person might speak Swedish fluently and be conscious of having a Swedish name, but since he could neither write nor read the language, he would be unsure how his name should appear in the written or “proper” Swedish form. One such instance was the family in Bishop Hill, IL named *Borg*, where the members of the family always pronounced the name with American articulation, so that to American and Swedish ears it sounded like *Berg*, a much more common name in both countries. One also encounters the wrong form in the written language.⁴⁶ I once heard the well-known Swedish radio reporter, Arne Thorén (now Swedish ambassador in Iraq), while posted in New York, speaking on the telephone to an American party, presenting himself as Thoren, without the benefit of the accent on the last syllable of his name. This coincides with the so called double standard in both speech and in the written form. The same thing can be said concerning the Swedish-born Gösta Franzén, who for thirty years served a professor of Scandinavian studies at the University of Chicago.

There were at least three occasions in the life of the Swedish immigrant in America, when he had to specify as to how his name was spelled. This was true both as to his surname and at least the initial(s) of his Christian name or names. The first time was when he, as a newcomer, officially registered to receive his homestead certificate, an important document, made out in the name of the President of the United States. The second occasion was when he declared his intention of becoming an American citizen or when he later received his final naturalization document and foreswore his allegiance to the sovereign king of Sweden. The third time was when he was interviewed each decade by the official Federal Census enumerator. If he had in any way altered his name in the meanwhile he might later find himself in trouble.

There were, however, and there still remain today, particularly in regions of high Swedish ethnic concentration, individuals, who will not

budge so far as the pronunciation of their names is concerned. One has maintained the Swedish form, the spelling and the pronunciation, despite being surrounded by a crushing majority of non-Swedes. I can cite as an example, the grand old man of everything Swedish, Carl T. Widén⁴⁷ of Austin, TX, who still writes and pronounces his name correctly, even though newspapers and correspondents drop the accent mark. In circles like these one is not apt to find name changes of the type *Eriksson* to *Erickson* or *Svensson* to *Swenson* and least of all to *Swanson*. This observation can be proved by consulting the telephone books and other registers throughout the country.

Norwegians have followed a similar pattern. Haugen⁴⁸ relates how a certain Norwegian immigrant by the name of *Nils Nilsen*, when asked to change his name to *Nels Nelson*, because the illustrious American tongue could not pronounce it, “he stuck to his guns and insisted that ‘his name should be respected!’”

4. By-Names

4.1. Farm Names

In our Swedish villages and rural areas it is a well-known fact that a farm name (*gårdsnamn*) was sometimes attached to the name of the dweller on a particular farm.⁴⁹ Examples of this are *Pers*, *Lassas*, *Per-Ols*, *Klockars*, *Salmakars*, etc. These farm names did not find a wide acceptance in America. Where they occurred, they were used in such cases as when an entire family immigrated and settled on the same farm, and where in addition one was surrounded by persons from the same village or parish in Sweden. In such cases it was natural to continue the use of the farm name. I can cite a few cases that come to mind.

In Bishop Hill, IL descendants of the early Swedish pioneers in the second and third generations as late as the 1960s and 1970s still used such by-names as *Anders-Ols Tilda*, *Klockar-Brita*, *Kärsbäcken* and *Löka-Jonas* for persons who descended from farms in Alfta Parish in Hälsingland. As is well-known, this is the area from which the majority of immigrants came in 1846 and the following years, when they accompanied the “prophet” Erik Jansson to America. The emigrants made up no less than ten percent of the population of Alfta Parish.

Also in the Swedish areas in Chisago and Isanti counties in Minnesota we found that persons interviewed used similar farm names, as for example — *La’rs-Erik*, *Mat’tes-Erik* and *Per-Olsa* as in the phrase “a daughter of Per-Olsa” or “we lived at Per-Olsas here for a year.”⁵⁰ The name *La’rs-Erik* had become so well-known that there were people who believed that this was the farmer’s real name. One person had in vain tried to locate his farm in the surveyor’s plat book and was surprised to find that the name was *Peterson* instead.

Farm names of this type, brought over from Sweden, will probably

disappear together with the Swedish language.

4.2. Other By-Names

Our informants told us that in many Swedish settlements there were so many *Ericksons*, *Carlsons*, *Johnsons*, etc. that it became necessary to separate them by giving them special by-names or appellations. This was the case also with single persons with other names, of the same type as used in Sweden, the so called by-names, also at times known as pet names. Among all of the names to be found in our recordings one can sort them into the following categories:

4.2.1. Initials

One way of separating the various *Ericksons* and *Carlsons* was to use their initials. In Chisago County one separated four persons named *Oscar Anderson* by calling them *Oscar C.*, *Oscar D.*, *Oscar E.* and *Oscar Z.* In addition there were also persons named *Lill-Oscar* (*Little Oscar*) and (*Dalslands-Oscar*).⁵¹

4.2.2. By-Names reflecting origin

Persons were differentiated by sorting them out according to their origin in Sweden. *Dalslands-Oscar* (see above) came from the province of Dalsland, *Jämt-Erik* from the province of Jämtland, *Järna-Anna* from the parish of Järna in Dalarna, *Mellby-Olle*⁵² from Mellby in Nora Parish in the province of Uppland, *Skåninga-Nilson* from Skåne and *Östgöta-Johnson* came from Östergötland. In Parkers Prairie, MN a couple of farmers were named *Johan i Håltet* and *Niclas i Håltet*. They were said to have come "from Håltet in Småland," probably some place called Hultet.⁵³ *Chicago-Carlson* and *Duluth-Johnson* had spent some time in these cities in the United States.⁵⁴

4.2.3. By-Names reflecting place of domicile

Johan i Eket and *Kalle på ön* resided in places where there grew oak trees or on an island (ö).⁵⁵ *Kalle mä talla* had a large pine tree (*tall*) on his farm near the road and *Marta mä bäcken*, lived by a stream (*bäck*).⁵⁶ *Norrbo-Piter* resided at Norrbo, a place near Bishop Hill, IL.⁵⁷ *Västswida-Nilson* resided in "West Sweden" in Burnett County, WI.⁵⁸ A person from Hälsingland, living in Isanti County, was called *Anders sia på vägen*. His farm was located along the highway. Not everyone knew that his actual name was Norelius. The by-name was used as recently as 1976 by a neighbor, the eighty year-old Reuben Eastlund, whose grandfather had arrived there in 1856. To a younger sister he explained in English "And(rew) side of the road."⁵⁹ Thus the name seems to have survived in an English translation.

Rather common was the use of the number of the section within the township on which the farmer lived. Thus there was *Forsman on No. 9*, *Peterson on No. 7*, *Selin on No. 18*.⁶⁰ *Johnsons på etta* and *Larsons på Etta-kullen* referred to the fact that both resided on section No. 1. *Etta-kullen* was a little rise on the section.⁶¹

4.2.4. By-Names reflecting craft or employment

Brevbärrar-Erickson was a letter carrier and *Cotton-Johnson* grew cotton on a large scale in Texas.⁶² *Fisk-Måns* sold fish in Bishop Hill, IL⁶³ and *Gris-Anderson* raised pigs.⁶⁴ In Chisago County, MN there was also *Hanka-mara*, a person who was called when someone's mare fell ill. He attempted to heal the sick animal by inserting a twisted thread (a *hank* in Swedish) through the skin of the mare's chest (a cure known from old Swedish folk medicine).⁶⁵ *Honungs-Carlson*⁶⁶ kept bees and *Horn-Per* visited farms and trimmed (sawed off) the horns of cattle.⁶⁷ *Målare-Carlson* was of course a painter, *Plummer-Anderson* a plumber, *Rakar-Anderson* a barber⁶⁸ and *Slevgubben* made wooden spoons (*slev* is the Swedish word for wooden spoon).⁶⁹ *Snickare-Carlson* was a carpenter and *Spelar-Svenson* was an organist.⁷⁰

4.2.5. By-Names reflecting personal characteristics or peculiarities

Bysk-Olle was a person who was constantly running around in the bushes in order to hunt.⁷¹ *Johan i vädret* was a garrulous fellow,⁷² *Ljugar-Kalle* was none too careful in speaking the truth,⁷³ *Petter Rak* always walked straight as an arrow,⁷⁴ *Rökarn* was known to smoke incessantly,⁷⁵ *Skägg-Sven* had a beard and *Sven Moon*'s name reflected his bald pate.⁷⁶ *Stor-Karl-Johan* or *Starke-Karl-Johan*⁷⁷ was a large and powerful man. *Stor-Brita* was a "large woman from Dalarna."⁷⁸ One immigrant from Sweden (ca. 1910) was known as *Svenska kungen (The Swedish King)* because he was the spitting image of Sweden's late king, Oscar II.⁷⁹

The demand of bi-lingualism is well documented in the name *Big John*, which was given to a large husky immigrant in Bishop Hill, IL. As late as 1970 his family and descendants were referred to by Swedish-speaking people as *Big-John-arna (The Big Johns)* and one of them was known as *Big Johns-Olle*.⁸⁰ *Doodle* was the name of the village eccentric in Bishop Hill. So far as I know there was no Swedish equivalent for his American by-name.⁸¹

4.2.6 By-Names dictated by special conditions

In West Union, MN one kept three Johnsons separated by naming one of them *Harry Grant Johnson*. He had been an enthusiastic supporter of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant for president. "We still (in 1962) call the children *Grant's children*,"⁸² according to my informant. *Jöns Johnson* was called "sji-båt" (*sheep bought*), "he sold sheep for us," as contrasted with *John Johnson-hi-såld (hay sold)*, he sold hay. Another Johnson was called *Pälseven* (the Furcoat), "he must have owned a furcoat." Other names were *Mose-Lars*, *Tuppa-Maja* and *Pipe-gubben*. Our informant did not know how those names had been chosen. One fellow by the name of Gustaf Lundgren was called *Päjkarsen*. He worked on the railroad and borrowed money from others and when the creditors demanded repayment he would say: "I will pay you when 'päj-karsen' arrives." Once a month a train arrived with the pay car, which in the Swedish American tongue became "päj-kars."⁸³

Hackberry-Johnson in Texas had many hackberry trees around his

house.⁸⁴ *Kikarn* (*The Spyglass*) owned a spyglass with which he gazed at the stars as well as at his neighbors.⁸⁵ *Kongen* (*The King*) was a person who always wanted to decide an issue.⁸⁶ *Masan* was a person who did not wish to swear, so he used the circumlocution *masan* for the devil.⁸⁷ *Ståssa-gubben* continually used the phrase *förståss* (you understand).⁸⁸ *Puddi-Johnson* was a chap who was conscious of his good looks. He had looked at himself in the mirror once and was told to have said: "puddi," i.e. "pretty."⁸⁹ *Sjupojka-Johnson* had seven sons. *Sola-Petterson* did not trust his watch and always figured out the time of day by looking at the sun. *Tala-vé-Anderson* lived along the highway between Austin and Elroy in Texas. One often stopped there en route to chat with him (*tala vid* in Swedish) and to drink a cup of coffee.⁹⁰

In Parkers Prairie, MN lived *Greva-Petterson* or *Greva-Johan* and his wife *Greva-Lotta*. He had once worked for a count (*greve*) in Sweden. Their farm was called *Grevamåla*. *Jocke* (*Petterson*) used to play cards with his American cronies and often got the joker card. He once alluded to this fact and the name stuck. His wife was called *Jocka-Fia* (her Christian name may have been *Sophia*). *Rytt-mästarn* was a fellow who had served in the Swedish Army and was nicknamed "the cavalry captain."⁹¹ The *Woodchucks* was the name given to a family from Hälsingland, residing in Chisago County, MN. The many boys in that family were always dirty.⁹²

Swedish names were often garbled by outsiders. A Swede in Texas by the name of *Cederström* was called *Cigar-stream* by his Irish and American friends.⁹³

I have thus come to the end of this brief orientation concerning the main points in the older Swedish American nomenclature as I experienced it during my travels in various parts of America. The material has been assembled from the sporadic observations I made during these travels. The primary goal has been to call to the attention of students of Swedish family names that here is an area, where no systematic research seems to have been done so far.

For some time, however, there now exists in Sweden, as well as in the United States, excellent possibilities for archival studies thanks to the completion of the microfilming of the Swedish American church records. This inventory and the photographing on microfilm has been done under the supervision of the Emigrant Institute in Växjö during the years 1969–1978. It was made possible primarily through grants from the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation in Stockholm and has been carried out by the Emigrant Institute's field worker, Lennart Setterdahl. The microfilming includes ca. 1,600 Swedish American parishes, consisting mainly of their membership rosters as well as the minutes of their church council meetings. The main portion of this vast material comes from the Augustana Church, but there are also records from the Evangelical Covenant Church, a sister organization of *Svenska Missionsförbundet* in Sweden. Included are also some Swedish Baptist and Swedish Methodist parishes. Lately the attention has

also been given to secular groups and their archival holdings, notably The Vasa Order of America and other Swedish American societies and mutual aid groups.

The approximately 2,500 rolls of microfilm are housed in the Emigrant Institute in Växjö as well as the Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center in Rock Island, IL. These records consist of uninterrupted series of parish records from the 1850s to ca. 1930. By means of these primary sources one can now follow the history and development of the Swedish American nomenclature. Ulf Beijbom has analyzed this source material from the point of view of its use as a primary historical gold mine.⁹⁴ He says: "The Swedish American parish records consist of a unique collection of personal data, both for the study of the individual as well as for the study of demography and sociology. Quantatively these records present us with a large volume of genealogical data which easily can be linked to similar source materials in Sweden. The Swedish American parish records serve us better than any other source so far as researching the mechanism of the migration movement as well as the dynamics of the pioneer community." Considering the fact that Americans of Swedish descent lately have increased their interest in their roots, the Emigrant Institute is presently working on computerizing this data for an easier retrieval in the future.

Mention should also be made of the possibilities of research in the Emigrant Register in Karlstad, Sweden. This institution has concentrated on emigration from the province of Värmland and possesses a very well catalogued collection of archival materials for this important emigration county.

Notes

Abbreviations

Am refers to tapes (reel-to-reel) in the phonogram collection of the Dialect and Folklore Archives in Uppsala. Ex. *Am* 234:2 means reel No. 234, segment No. 2.

Ka refers to cassette tapes in the same collection. Ex. *Ka* 12:2 means Cassette No. 12, track No. 2.

¹The American telephone books also show regional differences so far as the frequency of a Swedish American surname is concerned. In Austin, TX, as an example, where the Swedish immigration, which began in the 1840s, stemmed mostly from the northeastern section of Småland, family names like Erickson and combination names of Lind and Lund are seemingly quite rare, which has been corroborated by leading Swedish Americans living there. Among the most common Swedish names are such forms as Swenson and Swanson. Perhaps it is possible via the American telephone books to find in them reflections of a surname geography in Sweden? Concerning this aspect see Ivar Modéer, *Svenska personnamn* (Swedish Personal Names). Handbok för universitetsbruk och självstudier. Ed. by B. Sundqvist and C.-E. Thors with a bibliography by R. Otterbjörk (Lund 1964). – *Anthroponymica Svecana* 5 (Lund 1964).

¹⁴Folke Hedblom, "Ortnamn i emigrantsamhälle" (Place Names in an Immigrant Community). Om svensk ortnamnsbildning i Amerika in *Namn och Bygd*, Vol. LIV (1968), p. 128. See also "Place Names in Immigrant Communities" in *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, pp. 246–260.

²Folke Hedblom, *Svensk-Amerika berättar* (*Swedish America Tells its Story*) (Stockholm 1982), 182 ff.

³Folke Hedblom, "Om svenska folkmål i Amerika" (Concerning Swedish Dialects in America). From the recording expedition of the Swedish Dialect and Folklore Archives in Uppsala 1962 as reported in *Svenska landsmål*, 1962; Folke Hedblom, "Bandinspelnings-expeditionen till Svensk-Amerika 1964 (The Recording Expedition to Swedish America 1964) in *Svenska*

- landsmål, 1965; Folke Hedblom, "Den tredje inspelningsexpeditionen till Svensk-Amerika" (The Third Recording Expedition to Swedish America). A report from the journey 1966 in *Svenska landsmål*, 1966. See also "The Swedish Speech Recording Expedition in the Middle West 1962" in *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly (SPHQ)*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 47-61; "Swedish Speech and Popular Tradition in America" in *SPHQ*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 137-154 and "Research of Swedish Speech and Popular Traditions in America 1966" in *SPHQ*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, pp. 76-92.
- ⁴Nils William Olsson, *Swedish Passenger Arrivals in New York 1820-1850* (Stockholm and Chicago 1967) (Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmiensis, Vol. VI).
- ⁵Gudrun Utterström, *Tillnamn i den karolinska tidens Stockholm (Surnames in Stockholm's Carolinian Era)* (Umeå 1976) (Acta Universitatis Umensis. Umeå Studies in the Humanities, Vol. XI), 56 ff.
- ⁶G. Tengvik, "Old English Bynames" in *Nomina Germanica*, Vol. IV (Uppsala 1938), 146 ff.
- ⁷P. H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London 1967), 75 ff; 315 ff.
- ⁸Ka 12:2.
- ⁹Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America. A Study in Bilingual Behavior. I-II*. Second ed. (Bloomington, IN and London 1969), p. 196.
- ¹⁰Am 307.
- ¹¹Paul H. Elmen, *Wheat Flour Messiah*. Eric Jansson of Bishop Hill (Carbondale, Edwardsville, IL and Chicago 1976).
- ¹²Ka 1:1.
- ¹³Utterström, 27 ff.
- ¹⁴Am 234:2.
- ¹⁵Am 125:126; C. E. Måwe, *Värmlänningar i Nordamerika (Värmland Immigrants in North America)*. Sociologiska studier i en anpassningsprocess. Med särskild hänsyn till emigrationen från Östmark. (Säffle 1971), p. *10.
- ¹⁶Ka 12:2; 30:1.
- ¹⁷The accepted norm within the Scandinavian scientific community dealing with emigrant languages is that the first generation consists of those immigrants who at the time of arrival in America were at least 15 years of age. The second generation consists of those born in America, having at least one Swedish parent or if born in Sweden were at the most 14 years of age when they arrived. The third generation consists of children of the second generation.
- ¹⁸Homestead land was free land given to persons on certain conditions according to the Homestead Act of 1861.
- ¹⁹Am 285.
- ²⁰Am 141.
- ²¹Am 275.
- ^{21^a}Am 395-396.
- ²²Am 128.
- ²³Bruce L. Larson, "The Early Life of Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr. 1859-1883" in *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV (1973), p. 206. (now *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*).
- ²⁴Folke Hedblom, "Diary 1964."
- ²⁵Am 125; Måwe, p. 86 and *28 ff.
- ²⁶H. Arnold Barton, *The Search for Ancestors. A Swedish-American Family Saga* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL 1979).
- ²⁷Juliette Erickson Person, *Britta Kajsa* (Askov, MN 1973), p. 29.
- ²⁸Am 400.
- ²⁹Ka 29:2.
- ³⁰Am 254.
- ³¹Am 392-393.
- ³²Am 99:3.
- ³³Haugen, *The Norwegian Language*, 197 ff.
- ³⁴R. Swanson, "The Swedish Surname in America" in *American Speech*, Vol. III (Baltimore, MD 1928), 468 ff.
- ³⁵Allan Kastруп, *The Swedish Heritage in America. The Swedish Element in America and American-Swedish Relations in their Historical Perspectives* (Minneapolis 1975), p. 468.
- ³⁶Am 185.
- ³⁷Karl Olin, "Chisago Lake-församlingen i Minnesota" (The Chisago Lake Parish in Minnesota) A list of the earliest members 1855-1867 with a foreword by Ulf Beijbom (Lund 1973), p. 15. Stencil; Ulf Beijbom, "Swedish-American Church Records and their Use as a Demographic and Genealogical Guide" in *Arkiv, samhälle och forskning* (Stockholm 1982) (Svenska arkivsamfundets skriftserie 24), p. 28.
- ³⁸Person, *Britta Kajsa*.

- ³⁹*Am* 247:2.
- ⁴⁰Folke Hedblom, "Bishop Hill after a Century." *Studies for Einar Haugen*. Presented by friends and colleagues. Ed. by E. Scherabon Firchow, K. Grimstad, N. Hasselmo and W. A. O'Neil (The Hague and Paris 1972) (*Janua Linguarum, Series Maior* 59), 281 ff.
- ⁴¹Einar Haugen, *Norsk i Amerika (Norwegians in America)* (Oslo 1939) p. 70.
- ⁴²Haugen, *The Norwegian Language*, p. 206 f.
- ⁴³*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 208.
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 206.
- ⁴⁶Olov Isaksson & Sören Hallgren, *Bishop Hill, svensk koloni på prärien (Bishop Hill, Swedish Colony on the Prairie)* (Stockholm 1969) 180 f.
- ⁴⁷Hedblom, *Svensk-Amerika berättar*, p. 103.
- ⁴⁸Haugen, *The Norwegian Language*, p. 205.
- ⁴⁹Harry Ståhl, "Sjungar Jonas och Krongårds Per." Något om Dalarnas gårdnamn in *Ortnamnssällskapet i Uppsala årsskrift* (Uppsala 1956), pp. 17-33.
- ⁵⁰*Ka* 13:1; 32:1.
- ⁵¹*Ka* 17:1.
- ⁵²*Ka* 2:1.
- ⁵³*Am* 120.
- ⁵⁴*Ka* 13:2.
- ⁵⁵*Am* 120.
- ⁵⁶*Ka* 17:1.
- ⁵⁷*Ka* 2:1.
- ⁵⁸*Am* 255.
- ⁵⁹*Ka* 33.
- ⁶⁰*Ka* 30:2.
- ⁶¹Person, *Britta Kajsa*, p. 70.
- ⁶²*Ka* 20.
- ⁶³*Ka* 4:2.
- ⁶⁴*Ka* 20:2.
- ⁶⁵*Ka* 13:2.
- ⁶⁶Hedblom, "Notes."
- ⁶⁷*Ka* 28:2. *Horn-Per* or *Horn-Pelle* is also a Swedish colloquial name for the "Devil."
- ⁶⁸*Ka* 20:2.
- ⁶⁹*Ka* 1:1; 4:2.
- ⁷⁰*Ka* 20:2.
- ⁷¹*Ka* 13:2.
- ⁷²Hedblom, "Notes."
- ⁷³*Ka* 20:2.
- ⁷⁴*Ka* 13:2.
- ⁷⁵Hedblom, "Notes."
- ⁷⁶*Ka* 13:2.
- ⁷⁷*Am* 120.
- ⁷⁸*Ka* 30:1.
- ⁷⁹*Am* 363.
- ⁸⁰*Ka* 2:1.
- ⁸¹*Ka* 2:2; 4:2; Hedblom, "Notes."
- ⁸²*Am* 122.
- ⁸³*Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴*Ka* 20:2.
- ⁸⁵*Ka* 30:2.
- ⁸⁶*Am* 120.
- ⁸⁷*Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸*Ibid.*; R. Otterbjörk, "Tilnavne" in *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* (Malmö 1974), Vol. XVIII, column 315, p. 324.
- ⁸⁹*Ka*: 2.
- ⁹⁰*Ibid.*
- ⁹¹*Ibid.*
- ⁹²*Ka* 29; Hedblom, "Notes."
- ⁹³*Am* 170; *Ka* 20:2.
- ⁹⁴Beijbom, *Swedish-American Church Records*, p. 16.