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THE BRIDGE

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Editorial Statement

New dimensions of the Danish-American experience keep turning up as researchers extend their curiosity into ever new areas. This issue of *The Bridge* explores a number of such areas in ways that broaden our understanding of how Danes and Danish Americans have responded to an emerging global environment. The articles deal with the “push” that led to “chain migration,” bridge-builders in the most literal sense, how a group of friends used American freedom of speech to debate Danish-American ideals, and how a poet and storyteller used his skills in an effort to attract immigrants to Danish-American communities.

The push was strong on many large Danish estates. Laborers and tenants from large estates on Sjælland, Lolland-Falster, Fyn, and Jutland comprised a significant part of the Danish emigration to America. Perhaps some of your ancestors were among them. In parishes where everything was owned or controlled by a wealthy nobleman who lived in a grand castle or manor house, there were not many opportunities for ordinary people, at least not until the land reforms of the early twentieth century. The owners of these great estates seldom emigrated, but many of their former tenants and employees joined the flow of emigrants to America. Pia Viscor has produced an innovative study of emigration from just such an estate, Skjoldenæsholm in the parishes of Jystrup and Valsøllille in central Sjælland.

Many of the immigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille were Baptists, but the subjects of our next three articles were Grundtvigian Lutherans.

Numerous artisans and builders were among the thousands who emigrated from Denmark—carpenters, cabinetmakers, bricklayers, bicycle and piano makers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, and many, many others. Wilber J. Williamson, on the other hand, tells about an incredible group of contractors and engineers who found their vocation, not in Denmark, but in America. On Sundays, they came together in the same Iowa church, one with strong ties to the Grundtvigian movement. Here we see how social and occupational networks were reinforced through a religious organization.

Many individuals featured in Thorvald Hansen’s article were associated, in one way or another, with that same Iowa church and with Grand View College across the street. These folks were not

afraid to speak their minds. The periodical they founded in 1923 became as a storm center and forum for controversial ideas until its demise in 1931. The author calls one of them a “flaming liberal.” Many members of this articulate group became prominent Danish Americans leaders. You may have known some of them, heard them speak, or read their works.

Kristian Ostergaard was a Grundtvigian of an earlier generation. His highly selective guidebook for emigrants steered them resolutely towards settlements dominated by the Danish Church in America. In an era when rates of emigration were soaring, he made a hard pitch to recruit immigrants for such communities. He had little to say about the “other” church body among Danish Lutherans in America, the United Church, and he warned sternly against the wiles of Mormons, Baptists, Adventists, evil companions, strong drink, and the myriad temptations of wild and wooly America. By way of contrast, he described an emerging sense of Danish American ethnic identity in communities committed to building American settlements that were Danish in language and culture. “We will stand as a sprout that still draws nourishment from the mother stem while sending roots into the new soil,” he asserted, arguing that even secular-mind immigrants could benefit from living in a Grundtvigian community in America.

The volume concludes with three perceptive reviews of unusually significant books on Danish-American history. Once again, our book reviews editor, Peter L. Petersen, has done a splendid job of matching highly knowledgeable reviewers with important books.

Tell you friends about the Danish American Heritage Society, share this issue of *The Bridge* with them, and encourage them to use the blank at the end of the issue to join the Society, so they can receive their own copy in the future

Contributors to This Issue

Pia Viscor lives in a 240-year-old house in Jystrup, Denmark, where she has been chair of the Local Historical Society for Jystrup and Valsøllille. She is a biologist, museum educator, and free-lance nature and historical tour guide. She continues to pursue her research on emigration from the four Sjælland parishes of Jystrup, Valsøllille, Haraldsted, and Allindemagle and would like to hear from people whose ancestors came from those parishes. You can reach her by e-mail at <p_vilcor@hotmail.com>.

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Emigration from Jystrup and Valsølle

by Pia Viscor

[Editor's note. Traveling eastwards across the Danish island of Sjælland, you turn off superhighway E66 at Ringsted and take highway A1 towards Roskilde. Soon, you see a sign pointing to Jystrup and take the short side road to that village. The rolling countryside is idyllic, dotted with small lakes and ponds, tidy farmland alternating with forest. Jystrup lies on the eastern shore of a lake, with the church and village of Valsølle on the opposite shore. On a peninsula at the northern end of the lake are ruins of Skjoldenæs castle, besieged and conquered by King Valdemar Atterdag in the mid-fourteenth century. Farther north, you see the manor house of Skjoldenæsholm that replaced the castle. It has been rebuilt several times; the manor you see today was built in the year 1766. Since 1794, the Skjoldenæsholm estate has been owned by the Bruun de Neergaard family.



Skjoldenæsholm

In the year 1801, some 400 people lived in the parish of Jystrup, and another 450 lived in Valsølle parish. At Skjoldenæsholm, which lies in Valsølle parish, lived Major Johan Andreas Bruun de Neergaard, age thirty-two, his wife, Elisabeth Henriette, age twenty-eight, their daughter, Anna Joachimine, age one, a housekeeper, two maids, six menservants (coach-

man, valet, footmen, and the like), nine milkmaids and other female workers, and three farmhands, eighteen people in all. Of course, most households in the two parishes were much smaller. They were mainly households of tenant farmers, crofters, and rural laborers. Some farms had a hired hand or two, besides family members. Crofter families worked their small plots of land without hired help. Many day laborers earned their wages in the vast barns and stables or on the wide fields of Skjoldenæsholm and sent their children to work at an early age. Farmer and crofter families were also required to provide labor to Skjoldenæsholm for so many days a year. In one way or another, everybody in the two parishes seemed to work for Major Bruun de Neergaard. He owned nearly everything: many tenant farms, crofts, and cottages, the mill, vast forests beyond the manor, even the village churches in Jystrup and Valsølille.

Major Bruun de Neergaard was a very **ambitious** man who worked hard to improve his estate, even at the expense of the inhabitants. He evicted every tenant farmer in the villages of Allindemagle and Valsølille and transformed their lands into two large estates, then reneged on his promise to establish crofts for the evicted tenants. They sued, the case went to the Supreme Court, but it was not decided until after the major's death.

The previous landlord, Countess Anna Joachimine Danneskjold Laurvigen, had built schools for her tenants, and in 1780, she had pledged that leases on the Skjoldenæsholm estate would be hereditary and that obligatory labor would be regulated "for all eternity." Major Bruun de Neergaard's failure to abide strictly by this pledge was another cause of unrest in his day. So was the intolerance of the judge of his manorial court, as we will see.

In October of 1845, the major celebrated his fiftieth anniversary as owner of the estate by inviting all of its inhabitants and various local dignitaries, 1,081 people in all, to a great celebration held at Skjoldenæsholm and in the two villages. A few months later, the old major rode around the estate, village by village and farm by farm, inspecting everything and bidding farewell to each and every person. He retired to Copenhagen, where he died soon after.

By 1850, the census showed that the population of Jystrup parish had grown to 564 and Valsølille to 713. A new generation of Bruun de Neergaards lived in Skjoldenæsholm Manor with all their servants, and they still owned almost everything. Reform was in the air, but it was slow in coming. The village folks were beginning to look for something better.

In the 1860's, people from Jystrup and Valsølille began to emigrate to America. This is their story.]

This paper deals with one specific aspect of the history of emigration, the decision to leave, focusing on social and economic pressures felt by those who became emigrants (the “push effect”). I have chosen to approach this subject by means of a case study of overseas emigration from two rural parishes, Jystrup and Valsøllille, in central Sjælland. These two parishes shared a common history as part of the Skjoldenæsholm estate and can therefore be regarded as a functional unit. The period under consideration extends from around 1860, when the earliest documented emigration occurred, until 1903, when the available police records of emigration end. During this period, the combined population of the two parishes was around 1,250 individuals, which is large enough for statistical analysis.

The theory of “push-pull effects,” which has been discussed at great length by scholars, is an attempt to explain the mechanisms that influence people to emigrate. “The push” consists of those forces in their native environment that make people want to leave, such as bad social conditions, economic problems, or poor prospects for the future, while “the pull” consists of attractive forces, coming from overseas, which influence people to cross the Atlantic, such as the possibility of acquiring land or earning more money in America.

There have been many discussions about which of these two factors had the greatest effect. I am convinced that one cannot examine either of them in isolation but must consider them to be working side by side, more or less simultaneously but with varying force. The push of conditions at home is sometimes reinforced by a pull coming from outside, and at other times, it is diminished by outside factors. Consequently, I will not simply present a one-sided picture of the push effect but will try instead to concentrate on the most important aspects of social pressure in the local society.

In 1971, Kristian Hvidt described two valid approaches to emigration history, that of demography and social history, and that of individual biography.¹ To these, I would add a third, the political and economic approach. Broadly speaking, one might ask whether the masses or the individual has the greatest influence on emigration history. Both are undoubtedly important, but in trying to determine why a person makes the decision to leave, in assessing the possibilities for actually doing it, and in investigating the reasons behind the decision to leave, among other factors, the historian can hardly avoid the fact that all of this is the result of personal decisions. Hvidt basically left the personal approach out of his book, while Erik Helmer

Pedersen described emigration history primarily in terms of individual histories, which makes his books come alive and gives the reader a better understanding of historical events.² Niels Peter Stilling and Anne Lisbeth Olsen used emigrant letters in a similar way.³ Historians can deal with general developments and still make the story more enjoyable and understandable for the reader by bringing in the stories of real people, even in a scholarly account, as authors like Robert Ostergren, Ane Dorthe Holt, and Steffen Elmer Jørgensen have shown.⁴

The point of departure for my study is the motivation of specific individuals and families to emigrate, and therefore, this study is centered around the social pressures that influenced such a decision. In examining emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille, I have chosen to focus on the social status of the emigrants and their possibilities for social mobility.

Microstudies like this one allow the historian to deal with events on the level of individuals. The problem with such an approach is that what happens to these individuals might not be typical, so it might not be possible to make general conclusions or to develop historical theories on the basis of a microstudy. However, if a number of microstudies are carried out by means of the same methods, they might produce a spectrum of causes that could lead to a more general theory.⁵

In my view, factors of social pressure include personal reasons for deciding to emigrate. The influence of family and acquaintances in the local area, for example, can have great significance in the process of making a decision. From this, it is a short step to the influence of friends and relatives who have already left. The influence of the former would be regarded as a push factor, the latter as a pull factor, even though it is anchored in the home locality and connected to it. Perhaps one should discuss whether a person's efforts to convince a friend or relative to emigrate would be a pull factor if he wrote letters from America and a push factor if he came home to exert an influence in person.

Associated with these problems of "push and pull" is the question of establishing an "emigration tradition" that results in "chain emigration," as described by Ostergren and Jørgensen.⁶ These matters will also be discussed below.

Sources

Before 1868, there was no central registration of Danish emigrants. What we know about the size and structure of emigration

before that date, and who the emigrants were, has to be dug out of a variety of sources, including American immigration statistics, passenger lists of German steamship lines, and Danish ministerial records, conscription rolls, passport records, emigrant letters, and the like.⁷

On 1 May 1868, Denmark got a law that was intended to protect emigrants during their journey. One provision was that all individuals who emigrated from Denmark had to be registered by name, age, occupation, birthplace or last place of residence, and destination in protocols maintained by the police. These emigration protocols are the main source for determining how many people emigrated from Denmark after 1868, and who they were. The police protocols have been transferred to a database, which has been put on the internet by The Danish Emigration Archives and issued in CD-ROM by the Danish Data Archive. In theory, all emigrants after 1868 should be listed in these protocols, but in fact, as Ane Dorthe Holt has shown, quite a few avoided the central registration system, though they can be identified as emigrants by means of other sources.⁸

This article concentrates on persons who actually did emigrate from Jystrup and Valsøllille, persons whom I can either document as emigrants or present evidence that they must have done so. First of all, I searched for all the emigrants, using the police emigration protocols as my main source, supplemented by other sources, such as conscription rolls, passport records, and Baptist church records.

In analyzing the circumstances of emigration, I investigated the genealogical background of every single emigrant, so far as that was possible. This allowed me to learn about the relationships between emigrants, as well as their social and religious background.

Emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille

The online police emigration protocols identified 101 individuals who listed Jystrup and Valsøllille as their last place of residence. However, this was not actually the number of persons, but rather, the number of signed contracts for tickets. Further examination, using the CD-ROM version of the protocols, gave 154 hits for the two place names. Sometimes, these place names occurred several times in a single person's entry. When these factors were taken into consideration, the result was a reduction of the 154 hits to 102, which was very close to the 101 names from the online source. Comparison showed that one person whose last place of residence was Thostrup in Sorø Amt was interpreted as having been from either Hyllinge or

Jystrup parish. When this entry was eliminated, the result was the same 101 hits from both databases.

In both searches, it was necessary to look for cancelled contracts and individuals who either did not emigrate or who traveled back and forth several times. The 101 hits included three cancelled contracts and two second crossings. When these were removed, it left 96 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille. A later search turned up one individual whose last place of residence was listed as Dydstrup, which was interpreted by the typist as Tystrup, but in fact, the person was from Jystrup. Further analysis led to the elimination of a few other individuals who were not from Jystrup and Valsøllille, leaving a final database of ninety-three emigrants from these two parishes during the period under consideration.

Young men were entered into the conscription rolls at the age of seventeen. The conscription rolls were maintained on the parish level, with notations regarding changes of address, classification, conscription, failure to appear for service, and the like, under the name of the individual, whose date of birth and father's name, sometimes also his occupation, were recorded as well. An examination of the conscription rolls from Jystrup and Valsøllille for the period 1850-1904 revealed an additional eleven persons who were listed as gone to America. Two of these emigrated before 1868, but the other nine were found in the police protocols with other places listed as their last residence, presumably the places where they signed the contract, usually a nearby town. One of them traveled with his wife. In addition, one person was found in the conscription rolls who was not listed in the police protocols.

An examination of the Baptist church archives revealed that another twelve persons who emigrated to America were listed as members of the Vanløse congregation. Of these, eleven emigrated previous to 1868, while one who emigrated around 1898 was not located in the police protocols.

The ministerial records of churches in the Church of Denmark were supposed to list departures from the parish, including those who left for America, but in Jystrup and Valsøllille, as in so many other places, these lists were not maintained as they were supposed to be. Only one person is listed as having emigrated, and this person had already been identified from the police emigration protocols. At another place in the ministerial records, regarding a baptism, the pastor noted that the family left for America after the baptism. This family was also known already from the police protocols. The pro-

protocols of servants maintained by the police gave similar results. It has not been possible to examine the passenger lists of German steamship lines, which might have provided more information about the emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille, both before and after 1868.

A search for individuals from Jystrup and Valsøllille who traveled more than once between Denmark and America produced a total of seven individuals who made two trips and one who made three. Six of these eight seem eventually to have remained in America. There is only one case of true remigration during the whole period under examination, 1862-1903. In another case, a man returned home to settle the estate of his late father, but whether he then returned to America or remained in Denmark cannot be determined.

I have tried to determine whether or not the emigrants actually resided in Jystrup and Valsøllille until the time of their emigration, and I have been able to document that eighty-nine of the 118 emigrants (roughly 75%) actually did reside there until they emigrated.⁹ The greatest problem was in trying to document young men, and especially young women, who came to the two parishes to work on farms, and who came and left between two census years.

In summary, research turned up a total of 118 persons who are thought to have emigrated from Jystrup and Valsøllille. Of these 118, eight crossed the Atlantic more than once, so the sources document a total of 127 journeys.

Clearly, the police emigration protocols are not adequate to document emigration from Denmark. The use of additional sources augmented the number from 93 to 118. This represents an increase of around 27%, and if only the years covered by the police protocols are counted, the increase is still thirteen individuals or 13%. The conscription rolls were especially useful in turning up new names, but they cover only males. There was undoubtedly a similar number of women who emigrated, but who were not named in the police protocols or any other source. A shortfall of around 20% would obviously affect conclusions drawn from any body of data and could easily lead to erroneous results. In this investigation, the twenty-five individuals consisted of two families (ten people in all) and fifteen individuals. Eighteen of the twenty-five were part of the chain emigration described below. Individuals who emigrated before 1868 played a key role in our understanding of the origins of an emigration tradition in the area. The fact that at least ten individuals returned to Jystrup and Valsøllille, either to visit or to stay, is also a

significant factor in chain emigration and the formation of an emigration tradition.

It has been important for me to explain how I found my way to the individuals involved in this study, because the veracity of the whole study depends upon the reliability of this basic material.

Social Conditions

The social conditions under which people lived is crucial in determining whether or not they were motivated to emigrate. Determining the social status of emigrants in terms of age, marital status, occupation, and religion can give a picture of which groups chose emigration as a solution, either to preserve or to improve their situation in society. It can show which forces in local life had an influence upon the process of emigration. If the local pattern of emigration turns out to be significantly different from Denmark as a whole, then we might suspect that local factors played a role.

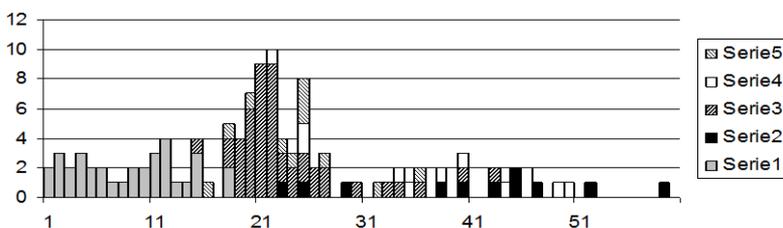


Figure 1. Age distribution of 115 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille.
 Serie 1: children. Serie 2: married men. Serie 3: unmarried men.
 Serie 4: married women. Serie 5: unmarried women.

Age is one factor. Statistical analysis of the age of emigrants can help to find the causal patterns in emigration. Children follow their parents without having any influence on the decision-making process, while adults are assumed to make their own decisions about emigration. Hvidt asserted that the older a person becomes, the more strongly attached one is to the society in which one lives, and I agree. The decision to emigrate was easier for those who were young and not yet established than it was for married couples who had responsibilities including children, work, and leases of property. Therefore, a rising number of children and/or elderly in the emigrant population can be taken as an indication of family emigration, which in turn indicates increasing pressure from the surrounding society.

The age distribution among emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille is shown in Figure 1. It clearly shows a large number of young, unmarried individuals, but a comparison of age groups among emigrants from the two parishes with those for Denmark as a whole in Table 1 shows that there were relatively more children under the age of fourteen among the emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille (18.3% versus 28.0%) and about the same number of adults over the normal age of marriage, assumed to be around age thirty (19.9% versus 20.2%). The conclusion must be that there were relatively fewer young people among emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille than from Denmark as a whole (59.5% versus 49.1%).

Age Group	Rural Denmark	Jystrup and Valsøllille
0-4	8.9	10.2
5-9	4.7	6.8
10-14	4.7	11.0
15-19	18.2	14.4
20-24	27.6	28.8
25-29	13.7	5.9
30-34	6.7	4.2
35-39	3.9	5.9
40-44	2.6	4.2
45-49	2.0	4.2
50-59	3.1	1.7
60-98	1.6	0
Unknown	2.3	2.5

Table 1. Distribution of ages among 118 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille compared with Hvidt's percentages for all of Denmark

Compared with Danish emigration in general, the emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille was characterized by an unusually large number of children under the age of fourteen and relatively few young adults. Both are indications of a large emigration by families. I will return to family emigration later.

The marital status of grown emigrants reflects the proportion of family groups as opposed to single individuals. This will be discussed in more detail when we return to family emigration. The raw data is shown in Table 2 and Figure 2, which indicate that around one-half of the emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille were unmarried adults, who were mainly part of the wave of emigration that began in the early 1880's and concluded in the mid-1890's. Moreover, most of the unmarried adults were men. A comparison with the distribution of ages in Figure 1 makes it clear that the unmarried adults who emigrated were overwhelmingly men. The rather scant material seems to indicate that the average age of unmarried women was somewhat higher than that of unmarried men, but there is no evidence that unmarried women emigrated at a higher age than unmarried men. All of this seems to lead to the tentative conclusion that certain aspects of emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille reflect the general trends for Denmark that Hvidt described, but there were also differences that point towards the need for a local explanatory model.

Children	Married		Unmarried	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
34	11	12	49	12

Table 2. Number of children, married, and unmarried men and women among 118 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille

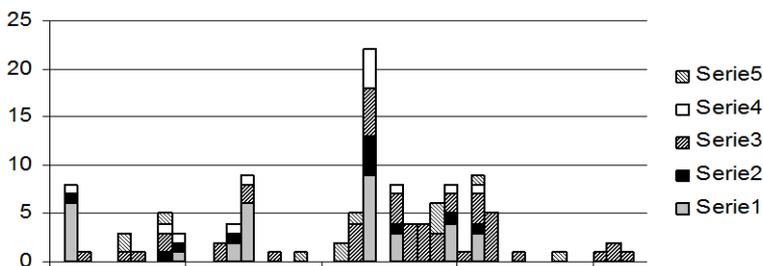


Figure 2. Distribution of children, married, and unmarried men and women among emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille.

Serie 1: children. Serie 2: married men. Serie 3: unmarried men.

Serie 4: married women. Serie 5: unmarried women.

The horizontal scale marks the years 1860-1900 by decades.

Sorting by occupations shows which occupational groups were under greatest pressure to emigrate. In rural areas, where people lived in hamlets, farming villages, and on isolated farms and crofts, most occupations were associated with agriculture. In addition, there were usually a number of artisans and individuals in service occupations, such as the pastor, schoolmaster, and midwife. In Jystrup and Valsøllille, there were also a number of people who were employed on the Skjoldenæsholm estate in forestry, fisheries, and as servants and workers at the manor itself.

In his section on Danish emigration from the agricultural sector, Hvidt had a category of independent landowners that included farmers and crofters who owned their own land. Whether or not these people described themselves as landowners, the fact is that, in many parts of Denmark, the sale of tenant farms and crofts did not take place until well into the 1880's or even later. This was definitely the case in Jystrup and Valsøllille. I have my doubts regarding the description of emigrating farmers and crofters as "landowners." Hvidt does not say much about the more than 3,000 Danish crofters who emigrated, but the fact that many of them did not own their crofts puts their emigration in quite a different light.¹⁰

Stilling raised questions about the meaning of the word, *landmand*.¹¹ I agree with his opinion that *landmand* (plural *landmænd*) was used to designate someone who belonged to the servant or rural laboring class, because most of them were too young to have established themselves as independent crofters or farmers. Scholars have not always used the same principles in categorizing emigrants by occupation, but, as Erik Helmer Pedersen pointed out, it is only possible to compare the results of various authors if those authors use the same methods.¹²

Table 3 shows that a majority of the emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille came from the agricultural sector, as expected. Emigration from these two parishes was dominated by young, unmarried individuals in the categories of "agricultural workers" and "servants." When one lists wives and children under the occupation of the father, the picture changes. The categories of "crofter" (including both "crofter" and "crofter-artisan") and "artisan" increase, because it was mainly within these groups that family emigration occurred. Not only did emigrants from these two rural parishes come from the agricultural sector, but they were primarily people who did not own the land they cultivated.

It is not possible to compare emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille with those from two other parishes that have been studied

in detail, because neither of the earlier authors, Holt and Frøkjær-Jensen, categorized occupations in the same way that I have.¹³ Both of them combined occupational groups that I consider to be separate. For example, Frøkjær-Jensen put *landmænd* in the same group as *gårdmænd* (farmers), whereas I consider *gårdmænd* to be farmers who either rented or owned their own farms, whereas *landmænd* were hired farm laborers. *Indsidder* (lodger) is another debatable category. Holt grouped them with those who owned or rented land, but Solvang described them as people who lodged on a farm, where I presume that they were provided for by the family, the poor-law administrators, or their own labor.¹⁴

Occupation	Men		Women	Men, women, and children
Manager	1			1
Crofter (<i>husmand</i>)	4		(4)	22
Crofter & artisan	2		(2)	12
Lodger (<i>indsidder</i>)	1		(1)	2
Farm laborer ¹⁵	21	1	(2)	25
Servant	19	3		22
Artisan	6		(2)	13
Maid-servant ¹⁶		5		5
Wife		12	(1)	7
Unknown	6	3	(3)	9
<i>Total</i>	60	24	(24)	118

Table 3. Occupations of 84 emigrated men and women from Jystrup and Valsøllille. Numbers in parentheses show married women distributed by the occupations of their husbands.

Religion

The Constitution of 1849 introduced freedom of religion in Denmark. Nevertheless, for the remainder of the nineteenth century, there continued to be a great deal of resentment towards the many religious movements that swept through Danish society.¹⁷ The resentment may have been especially strong in smaller communities, where people could not live anonymously, as they could in cities. People who left the Church of Denmark to join a sect were regarded with a certain amount of suspicion, if not actually persecuted. In Jystrup and Valsøllille parishes, there were two localities where the inhabitants were especially drawn to sects. One was the Kjeldskov-

Svalmstrup area in northwestern Valsøllille parish, and the other was around Hellehuse and Ny Jystrup in the center of Jystrup parish. Baptists were found around Svalmstrup, whereas those in Ny Jystrup were attracted to a variety of sects and free congregations.

Baptists first appeared in Denmark in 1839, when a rather large number of adults was baptized in Copenhagen.¹⁸ The Baptist faith continued to grow, and several congregations were established in western Sjælland and elsewhere. The first superintendent (*forstander*) of these congregations was Niels Nielsen, who emigrated to America with his family in 1865. The congregation in western Sjælland was later divided into several parts, and in 1857, the Vanløse congregation was founded in Stenmagle parish, some five or six miles west of Valsøllille.¹⁹ The Baptists in Jystrup and Valsøllille belonged to this congregation, where the first superintendent was Lars Henriksen.

The Baptists were severely harassed in the early years. An attempt to improve the situation was made in 1842, when Baptists were officially placed among the "tolerated religious communities" that were allowed to practice their faith under certain conditions. However, the Baptists refused to abide by the conditions, perhaps because they were contrary to their beliefs and practices. Harassment flared up again in 1844 but ebbed out in the years leading up to the Constitution of 1849.

A very active figure in the persecution of Baptists in central Sjælland was C. J. C. Harhoff, justice of the district court in Ringsted and of the manorial courts of Skjoldenæsholm and Svenstrup, a large estate in Borup parish owned by the Bruun de Neergaard family. Harhoff began looking into the growth of the Baptist faith in his area in 1845, and in the following years, he investigated every development that he got wind of, hauling people before one of his courts. This persistence on the part of a prominent individual naturally had an influence upon the local population, whose tolerance for Baptists seems to have become very low.

Perhaps this was why several members of the Vanløse congregation became the first Baptists to emigrate to America in 1853. Hansen and Olsen wrote that these emigrant "brothers and sisters found the oppressive conditions [in Denmark] to be intolerable—on the one side, persecution or at least intolerance, and on the other, for most of them, poverty. America, on the other hand, was the land

where they could have the freedom to worship God according to their own convictions.”²⁰

Baptists from the Vanløse congregation formed the core and provided leadership of the first Danish Baptist congregation in America, founded in 1856 in Tompsonville, Raymond Township, Racine County, Wisconsin.²¹ The second Danish Baptist congregation in America was established in 1863 in Clarks Grove, Freeborn County, Minnesota, and it also had a superintendent with connections to the Vanløse congregation. His name was Jens Henriksen, a relative of Lars Henriksen, superintendent of the Vanløse congregation. Thus there were close relations between the Vanløse congregation in Denmark and the first Danish Baptist congregations in America. The establishment of an emigration tradition in central Sjælland was due to these early emigrants from the Vanløse congregation.

The first Baptist convert in Jystrup and Valsøllille, according to the Baptist archives, was a young woman in Valsøllille parish who was baptized as an adult in 1846. She was the daughter of a crofter in Kjeldskov who later became a Baptist. Table 4 shows the number of Baptists in the total population of Jystrup and Valsøllille, according to the censuses of 1860-90. It shows clearly that the Baptist religion took a strong hold in the area between 1860-80, but that Baptists never comprised as much as 3% of the total population.

	Total population	Baptists
1860	1,296	11 (0.8%)
1870	1,269	13 (1.0%)
1880	1,272	37 (2.9%)
1890	1,275	22 (1.7%)
	Total emigrants	Baptist Emigrants
	118	29 (24.6%) [40 (33.9%)]

Table 4. Baptists in of Jystrup and Valsøllille 1860-1890 and among 118 emigrants from the two parishes. [In brackets: Baptists plus relatives of Baptists]

Baptists were concentrated in the Kjeldskov-Svalmstrup area in particular. This may either have been because they moved to that

area after they became Baptists, or because neighbors infected the religious beliefs of one another. There is some indication that it was the former case, because many of the Baptists in that area were born outside of Jystrup and Valsøllille, and many of them came from the same parishes, especially Soderup near Hvalsø, some five miles to the north.

Emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille started in 1862 with the departure of the family of Mogens Christiansen with his wife, his five children, and her child from a previous marriage. The family were Baptists from Kjeldskov. After them, in 1863 and probably 1866, followed four grown siblings from a Baptist family in the same area, and in 1867, one more person, Christen Larsen, from the same locality. His brother was a Baptist. In 1870, Mogens Christiansen's eldest son emigrated with his wife and child. They were also Baptists from Kjeldskov. These people comprised the first wave of Baptist emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille, but the next wave followed soon after.

In 1886, the five people of the Hans Jensen family emigrated, and in 1890, the Christen Hansen family departed. First, the husband left, accompanied by a young man from Kjeldskov who had Baptist relatives, and later, the wife and four children followed. Three grown siblings from the same Baptist family were next, two of them emigrating in 1892 and the third around 1898. They were the niece and two nephews of Christen Larsen, who had left in 1867.

A total of twenty-nine Baptists plus eleven individuals who were related to Baptists emigrated from Jystrup and Valsøllille. Table 4 shows that the Baptist element among emigrants was much larger than the overall percentage of Baptists in the local population. Clearly, an emigration tradition was formed among members of the Baptist congregation in Vanløse, and this tradition had an effect upon Baptists in Jystrup and Valsøllille. I shall return to the effect of this emigration tradition upon those who were not Baptists. The high percentage of Baptists in the total emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille, however, gives strong support to the theory of an emigration tradition in the two parishes.

Future Prospects

The land policy of the Skjoldenæsholm estate and the low level of industrial development in the Jystrup and Valsøllille area left little opportunity for becoming a landowner or finding a good job. The

lack of good prospects for the future led many people to leave the area. Out-migration eventually exceeded the birth rate, as people departed for the city or for America. In many parts of Denmark, there has been discussion of the influence upon emigration of land prices, the average size of farms in a locality, the possibilities for dividing farms or taking new land under cultivation, and similar factors, but this is irrelevant to Jystrup and Valsøllille, where all the land was owned by the Skjoldenæsholm estate and farmed by tenants until well into the 1880's. In many other parts of Denmark, the amount of arable land was increased, but not here, because the local topography made it difficult and the person who owned the estate from 1847 until 1914 had a strong interest in forests and forestry.

Social Background

The possibility of finding work in nineteenth-century Jystrup and Valsøllille, either as an employee or tenant on a piece of land, was very limited. This also made it difficult to maintain the social status into which one was born. Table 5 shows occupations of the fathers of emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille, insofar as this could be determined. The table shows that most of the emigrants were the children of agricultural tenants, primarily crofters.

Father's Occupation	Emigrants	
	Men	Women
Tenant farmer (<i>gårdfæster</i>)	5	1
Small tenant farmer (<i>boelsmand</i>)	1	
Crofter (<i>husmand</i>)	17	5
Crofter and artisan	1	
Lodger (<i>indsidder</i>)	2	
Farm laborer	8	
Artisan	2	
Employee (<i>tjenestemand</i>)	5	
Clergyman	1	
<i>Total</i>	42	6

Table 5. Father's occupation of 48 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille

Upward social mobility			
	Father's occupation	Emigrant's occupation	
	Lodger (<i>indsidder</i>)	Crofter-artisan	1
	Lodger (<i>indsidder</i>)	Crofter	1
	Farm laborer	Artisan	1
		<i>Total</i>	3
Status quo			
	Crofter-artisan	Artisan	1
	Crofter	Artisan	2
	Employee	Crofter	2
	Farm laborer	Farm laborer	3
		<i>Total</i>	8
Downward social mobility			
	Clergyman	Manager (<i>forvalter</i>)	1
	Farmer	Farm laborer	3
	Farmer	Servant	2
	Small tenant farmer	Servant	1
	Crofter	Farm laborer	7
	Crofter	Servant	6
	Artisan	Farm laborer	1
	Artisan	Servant	1
	Employee	Lodger	1
	Employee	Servant	2
	Employee	Farm laborer	1
	Farm laborer	Servant	4
		<i>Total</i>	30

Table 6. Occupations of emigrants compared with their fathers

If we compare the occupations of the emigrants themselves with their social background, as in Table 6, we see a strong tendency towards downward social mobility before emigration. Table 6 assumes that a crofter and an artisan had roughly the same social rank, but that cultivating land conferred higher social status— regardless of whether the land was owned or leased— than working for someone who cultivated it. This table clearly indicates that only a very few individuals in Jystrup and Valsøllille found the opportunity to rise on the social ladder, while a majority of emigrants had suffered

the opposite fate and found themselves on a lower social rung than that of their fathers.

At first sight, it appears that it had not been possible for emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille to maintain their family's social status, to say nothing of upward social mobility. We need to be careful, however, not to interpret these figures too literally, because many of the emigrants were young. They had not yet reached the age when people in the nineteenth century became established. In those days, people did not get married until they could provide for a family, and the age of most men at the time of first marriage was around thirty. Therefore, we might expect that many of those who emigrated as servants, farm workers, and the like had not yet risen to their eventual position in society. In actual fact, we need to admit that these figures might not actually have any relevance to why people emigrated. It would be different, of course, with married couples and older single people, who can be assumed to have reached their ultimate place in society, but we do not have enough of them to reach any statistical conclusions.

We have seen that many of the emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille had a family background in agriculture, and that most of them were themselves working in the agricultural sector. Therefore, I believe one can rightly conclude that social status for the emigrants was seen in terms of *land*. In Jystrup and Valsøllille, there were not many opportunities to acquire land.

In America, on the other hand, the Homestead Law of 1862 offered uncultivated land for free, and in addition, the building of railways all across the country offered the opportunity to purchase cheap railroad land. Consequently, emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille could look forward to many opportunities to become independent landowning farmers in America. Various authors have described how the cultivation of the prairie and the construction of railways drew thousands of Danes to the United States.²² The westward movement of settlement in America is reflected in the destinations listed by Danish emigrants in the police emigration protocols.

Time of departure

As we have seen, there are no reliable statistics of Danish emigration previous to 1868, but from 1868-1903, the general tendency of Danish emigration is indicated by the thin line on Figure 3. The curve rises sharply until 1873 but falls off just as precipitously in the years 1874-77. Thereafter, the curve rises again to its highest peak in 1882, declining sharply in the next three years. Then it goes up again

for two years and remains rather constant between the two peak years of 1887 and 1892. Thereafter, the curve falls again from 1892-95 before moving upwards slowly until 1902, when the last great wave of Danish emigration began to take off.

In summary, Danish emigration from 1868-1902 can be divided into five main periods:

- 1868-1874 Relatively high emigration
- 1874-1879 Low level of emigration
- 1879-1893 Very high emigration peaking in 1882
- 1894-1902 Low level of emigration
- 1903- Rising level of emigration

During the era of mass emigration, there were some remarkable years, as well as periods of both high and low levels of emigration. These swings in the curve reflect national and international conditions in both Denmark and America. Generally, the Danish population reacted to political and economic factors that influenced opportunities at home or in America.

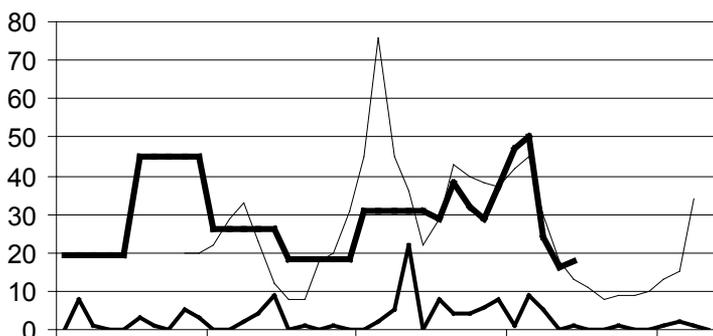


Figure 3. Danish emigration

Bottom line: Emigration from Jystrup and Valsølle 1862-1903

Thin line: Emigration from Danish rural areas 1869-1903²³

Thick line: Baptist emigration from Denmark 1861-96²⁴

The horizontal scale marks the years 1860-1900 by decades.

The thick line on Figure 3 shows total emigration of Baptists from Denmark as tabulated by Hansen and Olsen. The curve follows the main lines of Danish rural emigration except for the 1860's, when Baptist emigration was much higher than average, and the striking peak of 1882 is lacking for the Baptists.

Regarding Jystrup and Valsøllille, the statistical material is not adequate to allow a detailed description of the course of emigration, but the main lines can be sketched. From 1860-75, there was some emigration activity, but then it fell to nothing until 1883, when it rose sharply, peaking in 1884 and continuing from 1886-93 at a slightly higher rate than in the earliest period.²⁵ After 1893, emigration was minimal. Dividing the curve into phases produces the following result:

- 1860-1875 Relatively high emigration
- 1875-1882 Low level of emigration
- 1882-1892 Very high emigration peaking in 1884
- 1892-1903 Low level of emigration

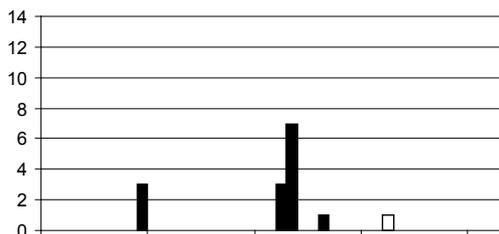
A comparison of these tendencies from Jystrup and Valsøllille with Danish rural emigration in general reveals certain similarities. Waves of high and low emigration follow the same general pattern and coincide roughly in chronology. There are also some differences. Emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille lags slightly in time and ebbs out earlier than the general movement. A comparison with studies of emigration from other parts of Sjælland shows that Chr. Larsen found a similar time lag in emigration from Holbæk Amt, but Niels Peter Stilling did not find it in his more detailed study of Frederiksborg Amt.²⁶

We need to be extremely careful not to interpret the results from Jystrup and Valsøllille with too much confidence, because the small size of the database means that a change in the emigration of a single family could change the whole picture. Nevertheless, the material from Jystrup and Valsøllille does reveal some significant differences from the general pattern, which can possibly be explained on the basis of local conditions. The earliest wave of emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille was that of the Baptists. A few years after it faded away, a new wave arose, which may have been motivated by a desire for a better position in society. For the people of Jystrup and Valsøllille, social status was connected to land, and America had plenty of land to offer. Perhaps the wave of emigration in the years 1883-93 was associated with the possibility of acquiring land in the Midwest.

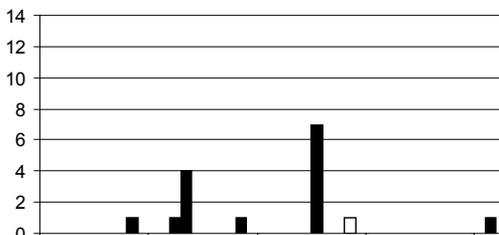
Destination

Among the 118 first-time emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille, the destination of only sixteen is unknown, primarily those who left before 1868. The remaining 102 persons were headed primarily for the states where land was available: Minnesota, Wisconsin, North

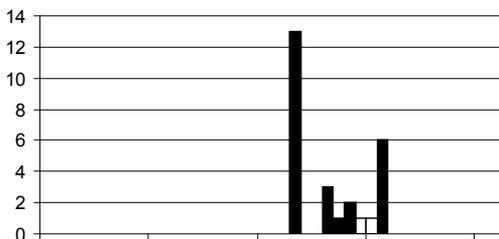
and South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, and Illinois. Of the 118 emigrants, sixty-eight or 57.6% had these states as their destination, while twenty-six were headed initially for New York, and the remaining eight listed scattered destinations, including two bound for Canada and one for South Africa.



Wisconsin



Minnesota



Dakotas

Figure 4. Family (dark) and single (light) emigration to Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas from Jystrup and Valsøllille. The horizontal scale marks the years 1860-1900 by decades.

The large number of people headed for agricultural states is to be expected, since the emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille had an association with and expertise in the field of agriculture. Figure 4 shows emigration to the three areas that were their most frequent destinations: Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Dakota Territory (admitted to the union on 2 November 1889 as the states of North and South Dakota). It clearly shows that the settled states of Wisconsin and Minnesota attracted immigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille throughout the period, whereas immigration to the Dakotas took place when the later wave of settlement reached the upper limits. Note also that emigration to these states began as an emigration of families and later shifted to a movement of single individuals, which points towards the establishment of an emigration tradition with chains of linked emigration over time connecting Jystrup and Valsøllille to specific settlements in the Midwestern states. At the heart of this pattern is the emigration over time of Baptists from Jystrup and Valsøllille to the areas where the first Danish Baptist congregations in America were established. The immigration to the Dakotas, on the other hand, is not a part of the Baptist chain emigration, but rather, a response to the possibility of acquiring land.

Family Emigration

The general picture is that family emigration dominates in the early stages of mass emigration, but that it declines with the passage of time, towards the end of the nineteenth century in the case of Denmark. Hvidt divided the course of emigration into two phases, the first of which began in the 1870's with a large family emigration, which was replaced around 1885-90 by a decline in family emigration and a rise of single emigration. Hvidt's figures for the extent of family emigration in the whole flow of Danish emigration in the period 1868-1900 varied from 46.3% in one place to 40% in another, and he described it as falling from 42.2% in the decade 1870-79 to 29.7% in the decade 1890-99 but averaging 37%.²⁷ Hvidt's figures indicate very large swings, but he expressed a lack of confidence in his own tabulations because he was not able to identify family units clearly in the data. Moreover, Hvidt does not present a clear definition of what he considers to be a "family."²⁸ He seems to be thinking of a couple with or without children, a single married person with children, or married men and women with children under the age of fourteen.

Hvidt sees family emigration as an indicator of social conditions during the era of mass emigration. It took more resources, both mental and financial, for a family to emigrate than it did for a young, single person without obligations to break loose and cross the Atlantic. When families comprised a significant percentage of the emigration stream, it was a sign that the situation at home was desperate.

	Adults	Children	Total
Couple without children	4	0	4
Couple with 1 child	4	2	6
Couple with 2 children	4	4	8
Couple with 3 children	4	6	10
Couple with 6 children	4	12	16
Single with 4 children	1	4	5
Single with 6 children	1	6	7
<i>Total</i>	22	34	56

Table 7. Family emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille using Hvidt's definitions

If I look at my material from Jystrup and Valsøllille in the light of a definition taken from Hvidt—couples with or without children and single individuals with children—and at the same time define family emigration as an emigration in which the family departs as a unit, the resulting picture is shown in Table 7. The fifty-six individuals included in this table comprised 47% of the total Jystrup and Valsøllille emigration of 118 individuals.

	Adults	Children	Total
2 Siblings	2	0	2
3 Siblings	3	0	3
Total from Table 7	22	34	56
<i>Total</i>	27	34	61

Table 8. Family emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille with the dictionary definition and the family traveling together

	Adults	Children	Total
Father leads the way	1	0	1
Children lead the way	3	0	3
Siblings go alone	14	0	14
Uncle	1	0	1
Nephew	1	0	1
Total from Table 8	27	34	61
<i>Total</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>81</i>

Table 9. Family emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille by an expanded definition of "family"

However, a "family" definition different from Hvidt's can also be chosen. One Danish dictionary, *Nudansk Ordbog*, defines it as "persons who are related by blood or connected through marriage or inlaw relationship." Applying this definition adds five more individuals to the total family emigration, as shown in Table 8. Finally, if in addition I also include people who are related to each other but do not necessarily emigrate at the same time, the total in the category of family emigration comes to include nearly 70% of the 118 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille, as shown in Table 9.

Family and individual emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille over time is shown in Figure 5. The general picture is one of family emigration distributed evenly over the whole period of mass emigration. The pattern is strengthened when individual emigrants who are related to other emigrants are included in the definition of family emigration, as shown in Figure 5, Serie 2.

Hvidt estimates that family emigration comprised 37-43% of the total Danish emigration in the years 1868-1900, which compares to the figure of 47% for Jystrup and Valsøllille. It appears that family emigration from those two parishes (defined as a couple with or without children or a single parent with children) was higher than the national rate. Of course, in a large national study like Hvidt's, it can be hard to identify family units. A microstudy has some real advantages in this respect, because it allows identification of family emigration, as Hvidt defined it, with complete certainty, and in addition, it allows an expansion of the definition of family to include all individuals who are related. When such a definition turns out to include as many as 70% of all emigrants, the fact that family connec-

tions played an extremely important role in the emigration process becomes very clear.

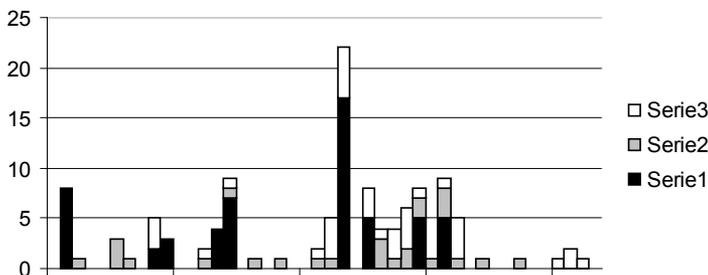


Figure 5. Family and individual emigration from Jystrup and Valsølille 1860-1903

Serie 1: Couples with/without children or singles with children

Serie 2. Individual emigrants related to other emigrants

Serie 3. Individual emigrants

The horizontal scale marks the years 1860-1900 by decades.

Perhaps the great importance of family emigration in Jystrup and Valsølille was due to a combination of the Baptist connection with the very limited possibility to acquire land. The large family emigration played a major role in the formation of an emigration tradition, which resulted in chain emigration. Hvidt's general Danish pattern of family and individual emigration was not reflected in Jystrup and Valsølille. This raises the question of whether the high percentage of family emigration was evidence of social pressure or simply a reflection of other conditions, such as the formation of an emigration tradition.

The decision to emigrate may be made by an individual alone or jointly by a couple or a family, but the push to consider such a decision, and eventually to carry it out, can also come from the surrounding society. If a single individual makes the decision, she or he might discuss it with friends and relatives and may even try to get other to join her or him. Therefore, one can consider people who travel together or who sign contracts at the same time to have taken a common decision, similar to the joint decision within a family. Stilling emphasized that *emigration is a social phenomenon* and that group emigration is a factor that needs to be taken into consideration when describing the emigration process.²⁹

I define "group emigration" as a number of persons who sign contracts for tickets on the same day or who leave on the same day. In addition, I also include persons who leave their home parish alone but travel with others from a neighboring parish, though only if they are headed for the same destination.³⁰ Close examination of the Danish passenger lists reveals that there are grounds to assume that people traveled together when they signed contracts on the same day or even in the same week. The same was probably true to for indirect travel as well.

	Family emigration	Individual emigration	Unknown
Hvidt's definition	56	61	1
Expanded definition	81	36	1

Table 10. Family and individual emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille

In Table 10, emigrants are tabulated according to whether they emigrated in family groups or as individuals. If instead one tabulates them according to whether they emigrated in groups or alone, as in Table 11, one obtains striking different results. Table 11 shows that no more than nineteen out of the 118 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille found themselves in a situation where they were alone in making the decision to emigrate and to carry it out.

Group emigration	Individual emigration		Unknown
	To family	Individual	
87	12	18	1

Table 11. Group and individual emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille

The large amount of group emigration shows clearly that emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille was a social phenomenon. When eighty-seven out of 118 persons travel in groups, and when twelve out of thirty who emigrated alone were presumably headed for relatives already in America, this conclusion is strengthened even more. Once more, the evidence from Jystrup and Valsøllille indicates that an emigration tradition arose in the area.

Emigration Traditions and Chain Emigration

A number of historians have studied emigration traditions and chain emigration. Steffen Elmer Jørgensen showed that chain emigration from the Danish island of Møn was based on relationships between relatives and neighbors, centering largely on the Strandskov clan.³¹ Sune Åkerman, Bo Kronborg, and Thomas Nilsson took these same factors into consideration in their pioneering study of emigration from Långesjö parish in Swedish Småland, but they expanded the concept of neighbors to include whole villages and local areas, and they went on to discuss the influence of "cohort emigration" by people of the same age who had grown up together.³² Friendships formed while growing up together can establish strong bonds, but they are invisible to large-scale national studies, though it is possible to reveal them in microstudies and trace their influence upon the emigration process. Robert Ostergren studied the formation of an emigration tradition from the parish of Rättvik in Swedish Dalarna and showed how emigration fever spread from place to place within the parish.³³ He followed the Rättvik emigrants to Isanti County, Minnesota, where they settled together and transplanted in a new environment the familiar surroundings they had left behind.

If I apply the criteria from these three studies of the formation of an emigration tradition and chain emigration to Jystrup and Valsøllille, we could argue that all 118 emigrants from those two parishes were part of a single chain of emigration, because all of them came from the same local area. In order to present a more nuanced picture, I probed into deeper layers of the personal and social conditions affecting these emigrants: their neighbors, family ties, religious connections, and means of travel. In addition, I examined the question of emigration as a social phenomenon in trying to determine links in the chain of emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille.

Direct	Indirect	Unknown
42	60	16

Table 12. Direct and indirect emigration of 118 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille

As we have seen, the course of emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille was largely determined by local factors, and it quickly formed an emigration tradition. Another question is whether the

emigrants traveled directly or indirectly. Table 12 shows how many from Jystrup and Valsøllille traveled directly to America, and how many traveled indirectly.

Note that, despite the fact that these parishes were not far from the port of Copenhagen, 60% of them traveled indirectly. From the very earliest days of mass emigration, some people traveled directly to America, so the many indirect journeys of people from Jystrup and Valsøllille may be due to the fact that there was not a local agent for a steamship line with a direct connection. It seems reasonable to conclude that indirect travel became an established tradition.

Figure 6 shows a pattern of chain emigration based on the following criteria: (1) Baptists attract Baptists, (2) Family members attract family members, (3) People from the same local area attract each other, and (4) People who travel together are attracted by the same individuals.

I showed earlier than an emigration tradition was formed among Baptists, and that it was connected with the emigration tradition in the Vanløse congregation. Likewise, I have shown that family members attracted each other, as Ostergren and the Åkerman team also demonstrated. Finally, Ostergren, Jørgensen, and the Åkerman team have shown that people were influenced to cross the Atlantic by neighbors and acquaintances, and I have shown that the emigration tradition of Baptists in Jystrup and Valsøllille started in the small local area of Svalmstrup. I am convinced that people who departed on the same date traveled together, and that doing so gave them a greater sense of security. Likewise, the decision to leave must have been easier when you did not have to venture into the unknown all alone.

Figure 6 shows chain emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille. It includes 101 journeys out of a total of 127. In the diagram, the emigration criteria are not weighted, but rather, in the interest of clarity, the shortest possible lines in time are drawn to connect the fields.

The large chain emigration shown in Figure 6 had its origin in three starting points, indicated indicated by the light, medium, and darker fields in the graph. The light field started in 1862 with a Baptist family from Svalmstrup. In the next twenty years until 1882, they pulled sixteen departures after them. In 1884, this chain met a chain that started in 1873 (medium fields) and includes seven journeys. The medium chain has a branch that merged in 1879 with the darker chain, which started in 1875 with the emigration of a family of eight. The darker chain, which includes five departures, joined in 1886 with the original, light chain. From 1886 until the end of the emigration period, there was only one chain, shown by the darkest fields in the lower part of the graph.

Date	N	B	F	L	G	Emigration chain
1862	1♂ 1♀ 6C	B	(F) 1	S		
1863	1♂	B	(F) 2	S		
1866	1♂ 2♀	B	F 2	S		
1867	1♂	(B)	(F) 3	S		
1869/04/08	1♂			S		
1869/04/27	1♂ 1♀			S		
1870/07/21	1♂ 1♀ 1C	B	F 1	S		
1873/04/73	1♂		(F) 4	N		
	1♂		(F) 5			
1874/03/24	1♂ 1♀ 3C		F 4	N		
1875/05/20	1♂ 1♀ 6C		(F) 6			
1877/04/13	1♂	(B)	F 3			
1877/08/11	1♂	(B)	F 3			
1879/05/15	1♀		F 6			
	1♂		F 5			
1882/09/15	1♀	(B)	F 3			
1883/02/13	1♂		(F) 7	G		
	2♂		[F 5]	G		
1884/02/26	1♂ 1♀ 2C		(F) 8	N		
	1♂ 1♀ 6C		F 4	N		
	1♂ 1♀ 1C	(B)	(F) 9	G		
	4♂ 1♀			G		
1886/04/14	1♂		F 7			
	1♂ 1♀ 3C	B	F 9			
	2♂			G		
1887/03/02	1♂	(B)	(F) 10			
	1♂		(F) 11			
1887/03/04	1♂	(B)				
1887/04/09	1♂		F 7			
1888/10/10	1♂		F 8			
1889/03/13	1♂		F 11			
1889/04/03	1♂	(B)	F 10			
1890/02/18	1♂		F 11			
1890/03/11	1♂	B	(F) 12			
	1♂		F 7			
1890/03/12	1♂	(B)		S		
1890/10/15	1♀ 4C	B	F 12			
1892/03/16	1♂ 1♀ 3C		F 11			
	1♂	(B)	F 10			
1892/03/17	1♂			G		
1892/05/24	2♂	B	F 3			
1893/02/18	1♂		F 6	S		
1893/04/05	1♂			S		
1895/03/19	1♂		F 6			
1898/03/08	1♂		F 6			
1898/?	1♀	B	F 3			
1902/03/06	1♂			G		
1902/03/12	1♂			S		

Figure 6. Emigration chain for 101 of 127 departures from Jystrup and Valsølle 1862-1902

Emigration chain for 101 of 127 departures

The emigration chain is based on four criteria: Baptist emigration, family emigration, emigration from a local area, and group emigration.

N: *Number of men ♂, women ♀, and children c.*

B: *Baptist*

(B): *Close family connection to Baptists*

F: *Family, with the number of people in the family*

(F): *Start of a family emigration*

[F]: *Group emigration connected to a family*

L: *Locality with extensive local emigration*

S: *Svalmstrup*

N: *Ny Jystrup*

G: *Participant as member of a group*

On the basis of the four criteria, which worked both as push and pull factors, it becomes evident that an emigration tradition was formed that eventually linked nearly all of the emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille into one long emigration chain. If cohort factors were included, even more individuals would become part of the emigration chain, which would then also have fewer points of origin.

In summary, emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille began with the departure of Baptists from the little local community of Kjeldskov near Svalmstrup. This emigration was part of an emigration tradition formed within the Vanløse congregation, to which these early emigrants belonged. Later, other families and family members followed, and they attracted into the emigration stream other local inhabitants who were not relatives.

On the basis of a study of family ties among the emigrants, their local origins, religious background, and methods of traveling, it has been possible for this study to probe more deeply into the phenomenon of Danish chain emigration than has previously been possible. In order to complete the picture, however, it would be necessary to research the settlement patterns of Jystrup and Valsøllille emigrants in America, as Ostergren did with people from Rättvik, in order to discover whether they reconstructed their local Sjælland community on the other side of the Atlantic.

America letters are another source that could show the pull that emigrants exerted upon those who were still at home. In the case of Jystrup and Valsøllille, research in the local archives and museum and announcements in the local press and church publications failed

to turn up a single letter from America. However, America letters were published in the local newspaper during the era of emigration and undoubtedly helped to shape the picture of America among their readers. This study, however, did not look into that side of the matter.

Conclusion

When you carry out a microstudy like this one, it is extremely important that you identify the factual, historical emigrants. The source material for a microstudy is usually limited, and if you miss a single family, both the statistical analysis of the material and your understanding of it can be influenced significantly, possibly leading to false interpretations and conclusions.

This study has shown how important it is to examine other sources besides the police emigration protocols, even though the protocols are supposed to include all Danish emigrants after 1868. My source material was increased by 13% when additional sources were used. In addition, I found that around 8% of the emigrants gave a nearby town as their last place of residence, despite the fact that actually lived in Jystrup and Valsøllille down to the time when they emigrated.

Many and varied sources were used to document or establish the likelihood that people actually emigrated, including conscription rolls, ministerial records, lists of employees, church records including those of the Baptists, records of farm and croft leases, and steamship passenger lists.

This study has also shown the importance of applying a clear methodology in order to allow comparison with other studies. The results of this study indicated that local social pressures in Jystrup and Valsøllille were the cause of the formation of an emigration tradition that took the form of chain emigration. This study also points to a number of social push factors that motivated people to emigrate. The local area did not offer many possibilities for a growing population. There was no expansion of land under cultivation, no farms that families could divide because they owned them, no possibilities for acquiring ownership of farms or crofts, little industry or even places of employment for artisans. At the same time, there was a certain intolerance of people who joined new religious movements and sects. The lack of freedom of action, possibilities for upward social mobility, and limitations on religious freedom created an emi-

gration tradition among members of the local Baptist congregation. Once they had emigrated, members of the Baptist congregation exerted a pull on others to join them in America. This pull factor worked in synergy with the various push factors. Given the conditions that prevailed in Jystrup and Valsøllille in the last half of the nineteenth century, it does not seem to have been hard to convince others, even those who were not quite so oppressed as the Baptists, to seek their fortunes in America. Thus, ninety-four of the total of 118 emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille became part of one long emigration chain.

The value of this microstudy is that it has been possible to see events on the level of the individual. Genealogical research has been essential in order to get down to the personal level. It has revealed causal connections that were both personal and local, but the narrow focus of the study has made it difficult to draw general conclusions or formulate theories about emigration across oceans.

I see this study as one piece in a greater puzzle. It has provided certain explanations and revealed local phenomena that were relevant to emigration from Jystrup and Valsøllille. If the results are to be of more than local interest, they must be comparable to other local studies from other parts of Denmark. At the present time, there are only a few studies on the local level that can be compared with this one. It would be tremendously valuable if a number of such studies could be carried out, using my model or that presented by Erik Helmer Pedersen in 1975, in order to give historians a broader and more finely nuanced picture of the local and personal factors that played a role in the history of emigration.

It would be especially interesting if this study could be supplemented by a similar study of the nearby Allindemagle and Haraldsted parishes, which were also a part of the Skjoldenæsholm estate. That would increase the material more than threefold and eliminate some of the statistical problems that arise from too small a database. At the same time, it would provide a check on the methods used in this study.

Expansion of research into the history of people from Jystrup and Valsøllille after they came to America would allow comparison with other studies of Scandinavian trans-Atlantic emigration by Ostergren, Gjerde, and Norman.³⁴ At present, however, I am aware of only a few families and individuals who remained in America and whose descendants live there today.

¹ Kristian Hvidt, *Flugten til Amerika, eller Driokræfter i masseudvandring fra Danmark 1868-1914* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1971), 15. See also Kristian Hvidt, *Flight to America: The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York: Academic Press, 1975), 3.

² Erik Helmer Petersen, *Drømmen om Amerika* (Copenhagen: Politiken, 1985), and *Pioneerne* (Copenhagen: Politiken, 1986).

³ Niels Peter Stilling and Anne Lisbeth Olsen, *A New Life: Danish Emigration to North America as Described by the Emigrants Themselves in Letters 1842-1946*, trans. Karen Veien (Aalborg: Danes Worldwide Archives and Danish Society for Emigration History, 1994).

⁴ Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1988). Ane Dorthe Holt, "Udvandringen til Amerika from Humble sogn," in *Studier i dansk befolkningshistorie 1750-1890*, ed. Hans Chr. Johansen (Odense: Odense universitetsforlag, 1976), 76-120. Steffen Elmer Jørgensen, "Three Farm Families on Either Side of the Atlantic: An Example of Family and 'Chain' Emigration from the Island of Møn in the Nineteenth Century," in *Danish Emigration to the U.S.A.*, ed. Birgit Flemming Larsen and Henning Bender, trans. Karen Veien (Aalborg: Danes Worldwide Archives and the Danish Society for Emigration History, 1992), 175-89.

⁵ Erik Helmer Pedersen, "Udvandring fra de danske landdistrikter," 1066 1975, 4: 9-19.

⁶ Ostergren 1988. Jørgensen 1992.

⁷ See Hvidt 1971, Pedersen 1985, and Steffen Elmer Jørgensen, *Emigration Fever: The Formation of an Early Rural Emigration Tradition on Lolland-Flaster and Møn, Three Danish Islands, ca. 1830-1871*. Doctoral thesis, European University Institute, 1991.

⁸ Holt 1976.

⁹ In 69 cases (roughly 58%), there was more than one source of documentation for the departure of a given individual. The documentation came from the police emigration protocols, conscription rolls, samples of ship passenger lists, ministerial records, tenant rolls, and the like.

¹⁰ Editor's note: Danish crofters (*husmænd*, singular *husmand*) lived in rural cottages and generally had a garden plot, a few fruit trees, some chickens and geese, and the right to graze a cow in the commons, but they earned their living either as independent artisans—smiths, turners,

weavers, potters, and the like—or as farm laborers. Many crofters in Jystrup and Vansøllille worked as laborers on the Skjoldenæsholm estate.

¹¹ Niels Peter Stilling, "Udvandringen fra Frederiksborg amt 1869-1899," *Erlvershistorisk årbog* 1978: 94-148.

¹² Pedersen 1975.

¹³ Holt 1976 and I. Frøkjær-Jensen, *De drog ud fra Dragsholm* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Hansen, 1998).

¹⁴ Gunnar Solvang, "Husmænd," in *På herrens mark: Stønsbundet eller fri*, ed. Johan Erichsen, Peder Michelsen, Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen, and Mette Skougaard (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1988), 96.

¹⁵ Includes *landmand, landarbejder, arbejder, arbejdsmand, røgter, mejerske, gartner*.

¹⁶ Includes *jomfru, husjomfru, pige*.

¹⁷ Editor's note: On rural revival movements and emigration, see the articles by J. R. Christianson and Hanne Sanders in *The Bridge* 1999, 22/1-2: 22-41 and 42-50.

¹⁸ On Baptists in Denmark, see S. Hansen and P. Olsen, *De danske Baptisters historie* (Copenhagen: Den danske Baptist-Litteratur-Komite, 1896); A. Pontoppidan Thyssen, *Vækkelsernes frembrud i Danmark i første halvdel af det 19. århundrede*, vols. 1-2 (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1960-61); and N. S. Lawdahl, *De danske baptisters historie i Amerika* (Morgan Park, Illinois: Forfatterens forlag, 1909).

¹⁹ Hvidt confuses the location with Vanløse near Copenhagen.

²⁰ Hansen and Olsen 1898, 186.

²¹ Editor's note: N. S. Lawdahl, "Danske Baptister I Amerika," in *Danske i Amerika* (Minneapolis: C. Rasmussen, 1908), 1/2: 185-88, notes that former members of the Vanløse congregation established a short-lived Baptist congregation in 1855 at Ole Bull's colony of Oleana in Abbot Township, Potter County, Pennsylvania, while others from Vanløse in 1856 founded what came to be called the Raymond congregation in Thompsonville, the first enduring Danish Baptist congregation in America.

²² Hvidt 1971 and 1975. Pedersen 1985. Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen, *Dannebrog på den amerikanske prærie: Et dansk koloniprojekt I 1870'erne – landkøb, bygrundlæggelse og integration* (Odense: Odense Bys Museer, 2000). Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen, *Dannebrog on the American Prairie: A Danish Colony Project in the 1870s – Land Purchase*

and the Beginnings of a Town, trans. James D. Iversen (Odense: Odense City Museums, 2000).

²³ Hundredths of absolute figures, redrawn from Hvidt 1971.

²⁴ Tenths of absolute figures, taken from Hansen and Olsen 1898.

²⁵ From 1862-75, 36 persons emigrated, and from 1886-93, 45.

²⁶ Stilling 1978. Chr. Larsen, *Drømmen om Amerika – udvandringen fra Holbæk amt 1869-1903* (university research paper).

²⁷ Hvidt 1971, 193, 194.

²⁸ Hvidt 1971, 192 et seq.

²⁹ Stilling 1978.

³⁰ Research reveals that many of the emigrants from Jystrup and Valsøllille were born in one of the neighboring parishes, and that the people of Jystrup and Valsøllille had well-developed connections with people of neighboring parishes.

³¹ Jørgensen 1992.

³² Sune Åkerman, Bo Kronborg, and Thomas Nilsson, "Emigration, Family and Kinship," *American Studies in Scandinavia* 1977, 9: 105-22.

³³ Ostergren 1988.

³⁴ Ostergren 1988.

Gjerde 1985. H. Norman, *Från Bergslagen till Nordamerika: Studier i migrationsmönster, social rörlighet och demografisk struktur med utgångspunkt från Örebro län 1851-1915* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1974).

Translated from Danish by J. R. Christianson

The Bridge Builders of Luther Memorial

by Wilber J. Williamson

The congregation of Luther Memorial Church in Des Moines, Iowa, celebrated its centennial anniversary in 1999, during which time there was a good deal of reflection concerning the historical roots and activities of the church during the preceding one hundred years. Much of the early history of the congregation was closely associated with Grand View College. During the first decades, the school provided worship facilities as well as the pastor services for the emerging congregation. With financial support from the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, a building was erected in 1917, which has served as the home for the congregation since that time.

Danish immigration into the urban area of Des Moines in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represented a variety of professions, trades, and occupations that included pastors, teachers, craftsmen such as cabinet makers and carpenters, various tradesmen, laborers, and domestics. Membership of the congregation included skilled house builders and craftsmen such as J. L. Jensen, who was awarded the contract for the church building in 1917; Einer Jepsen, an accomplished painter; Soren Paulsen, a building contractor; and the Berg family, who built houses well into the post-World War II period.

The focus of this article, however, is on the remarkable development of a group of road and bridge contractors among the membership of Luther Memorial. Over the years, this became a story of competition, cooperation, and learning experiences that contributed to the successful growth of these companies and also served as spawning grounds for the emergence of additional bridge builders among the church membership.

The genesis of this development can be traced to two different sources that appeared during the Depression decade of the 1930's. One was the move of Einer Kramme, a Danish immigrant, into big-time bridge building in 1936. The second included the sons of Thorvald Jensen, who moved a successful bridge and road construction company from Kimballton, Iowa, to Des Moines in 1939.

Einer A. Kramme was born in Aalborg, Denmark, and came to the United States in 1920 as an eighteen-year-old tourist with mixed feelings about returning to Denmark. His original contact was with Chris Kramme, a sewer contractor in Fort Dodge, Iowa. Having been trained in Denmark as a carpenter under his father's guidance, Einar worked

for a time with Chris Kramme but eventually came to Des Moines to become an independent builder. Attending Grand View College to improve his use of the English language, he met a fellow student, Dagmar Lauritsen, from Viborg, South Dakota, a community that would contribute a good deal to this story over the years. They were married in 1926, and Einar established his own construction company that same year. During the following decade, he was awarded contracts with the Iowa Highway Commission, the city of Des Moines, and other town and county governments. The big break came to the E. A. Kramme Company during the depths of the Depression in 1936, when they built a 750-foot deck-plate bridge on East Fourteenth Street in Des Moines. That summer was extremely dry, and the lack of rainfall allowed the construction to be completed well under the estimated cost. E. A. Kramme was well on his way to a successful career.

HAWKEYE PORTLAND CEMENT CO.

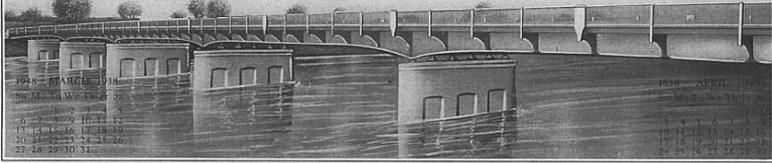
DES MOINES, IOWA



Hawkeye Cement Used
Exclusively

1938 JANUARY 1938							1938 FEBRUARY 1938						
Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1			1	2	3	4	5
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28					
30	31												

E. A. KRAMME CO., INC. CONTRACTOR, DES MOINES, IOWA
 DESIGNED BY IOWA STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION, AMES, IOWA
 KEEFNER CONCRETE AND MATERIAL CO., DEALER, DES MOINES, IOWA



1938 MARCH 1938

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					
27	28	29	30	31		

1938 APRIL 1938

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
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23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

DES MOINES RIVER BRIDGE, EAST FOURTEENTH STREET, DES MOINES, IOWA

With the onset of World War II, E. A. Kramme and the Jensen Company joined forces to build airports, bridges, military camps, and the like. There was no lack of projects for the contractors during the war, though the labor shortage was a major problem. But the construction expansion continued during the postwar years, when E. A. Kramme, together with Hartvig Jensen, created the Iowa Bridge Company in 1947. During the succeeding twenty years, this company did great deal of work for the Rock Island Railroad, the Iowa State Highway Commission, and the United States Corps of Engineers.

A final E. A. Kramme cooperative venture was with Arch Alexander in 1954, when work projects as far away as the District of Columbia, the Hudson River, and Puerto Rico were completed. When Alexander was appointed Governor of the Virgin Islands, Einer went into

semi-retirement from contracting. More and more of his attention was placed in managing the farm holdings he had acquired over the years. Einer Kramme was an active member of the Luther Memorial Congregation and had served as chairman of the church council. A pipe organ donated by Einer and Dagmar Kramme served the congregation for many years. Einer died in 1981, and three of his former employees who were members of Luther Memorial went on to establish their own construction companies: Fred Lauritsen, Ruben Lauritsen, and Sofus Kramme.



Einer Kramme

The second company that has played a major role in this story was the Jensen Construction Company, which had its origins in Kimballton, Iowa. Thorvald G. Jensen started making concrete culverts as early as 1902, and in 1912, he formed a company to build bridges and “help to get Iowa roads out of the mud,” which was the goal during that era. When T. G. Jensen retired in 1932, his sons inherited the operation. Erling, the eldest, had worked for his father since 1928. His brother, Evald, an engineering graduate from Iowa State University, joined with Erling to move the company to Des Moines in 1939. A third brother, Bernard, joined in 1940, and the youngest brother, Gerald, came aboard after World War II. Today, Gerald is the only survivor of these four brothers.

With the onset of World War II and the restriction of highway construction, the Jensens and E. A. Kramme formed a partnership and built a variety of facilities, including military bases and ammunition plants, including the one that is now the John Deere Manufacturing Plant in the Ankeny area. Following the war, the Jensens returned to highway and bridge construction and the installation of electric power lines throughout the Midwest. In 1952, they formed the United Contractors, together with their first cousin, Kelly Jensen, who also came from the Kimballton area. The Jensens were so fully involved with the construction of the Kansas Turnpike that Evald and his wife, Elna, moved with their two daughters to Kansas to be close to the job. The Ruben Lauritsens moved to Kansas as well, to be on hand in supervising the various turnpike projects.

In 1960, another organizational change created the Jensen Construction Company, with Erling Jensen as president. Erling and his wife, Rose, were pillars of the church during the postwar period. He played a key role in the building of the Sunday School addition to

the church. Erling and Rose were noted for their generous support of the church, Grand View College, and many college students. Rose continues to live in her home across the alley from the church.

During the building of the Des Moines Freeway, the Jensen Construction Company was awarded contracts for the bridge over the Des Moines River, as well as other bridges and overpasses on I-235.

It was during this period that Viborg, South Dakota, had an impact, when two young men from that community, Jim Rasmussen and Irv Ibsen, came to Grand View College. Here they met two fellow students, the daughters of Evald and Elna Jensen. The end result of these romances was the marriage of Jim and Sandra and that of Irv and Elizabeth. Both young couples were following different careers when they were persuaded to return to work for the Jensen Construction Company and provide new blood to supplement an aging generation. In 1975, a tragic accident seriously injured Irv Ibsen, when he was hit by an out-of-control semi while on the job. Irv never fully recovered from his injuries and died in 1983.

The decades of the 'sixties, 'seventies, and 'eighties were years of tremendous growth for the Jensen Construction Company, involving multimillion-dollar projects, including bridges over the Missouri River in Chamberlain, South Dakota, a railroad bridge in Omaha, the mile-long bridge over Saylorville Lake north of Des Moines, work on the Oklahoma Turnpike, as well as extensive projects in Arkansas and Louisiana.

There is more to be said about the emergence of the Rasmussen Group, Inc., from its Jensen origins, but let us look at other important companies from the setting of the Luther Memorial Church.

Hartvig Jensen, born in Kimballton, had a brother, Kelly, and they were first cousins to the T.G.Jensen brothers

As a young man, Hartvig had worked for his uncle on various jobs in western Iowa. When he moved to Des Moines in 1941, he went to work for the Jensen Construction Company as foreman on several war projects in Sioux Falls, Watertown, and Mitchell, South Dakota, to mention a few. Hartvig proved to be such a capable and successful builder that he became a partner with E. A. Kramme to form the Iowa



Kelly & Erling Jensen & grandson

Bridge Company in 1947. Over the next twenty years, this partnership was involved in many Interstate Highway contracts, as well as other projects such as the South-East Fourteenth Street Viaduct in 1957. Son Roland Jensen gained valuable experience as foreman on many of the jobs, and he and his father organized the Hartland Construction Company in 1967. Much of the work of this company was in the Des Moines area and the state of Iowa, with projects for the Iowa Department of Transportation and the U. S. Corps of Engineers. Many bridges and bridge renovations from the years 1967-92 carry the stamp of the Hartland company. Hartvig died in 1983, and Roland managed the company until he retired and sold it to the Rasmussen Group in 1992. Roland's son, Doug Jensen, continues in the same work with the Rasmussen Group.

Kelly Jensen, one of the more colorful personalities of this contractor concomitance, helped to build wooden forms for concrete culverts for the Jensen Company in Kimballton as a fourteen-year-old. He left home at the age of sixteen and gained life experiences by serving on the crew of a banana boat between South America and the States and working on the Alcan Highway during the war. Coming to Des Moines, Kelly joined with the Jensen Construction Company to form the United Contractors at a time when considerable work was being done on the Kansas Turnpike. Kelly was involved in building the first expansion bridge in Iowa City, as well as the first experimental all-aluminum-girder overpass on I-80 at Eighty-Sixth Street north of Des Moines. This overpass had recently been replaced because of an extensive change of the Eighty-Sixth Street interchange. In his later years, Kelly is remembered for his generous support of programs for feeding starving children in other parts of the world. Upon his death in 1987, the United Contractors company went into the hands of his son-in-law, Gary Sandquist, who is no longer associated with Luther Memorial Church.

Another remarkable success story was that of Sofus Kramme, a brother of Chris Kramme from Fort Dodge. Both Chris and Sofus ended up working for the Kramme and Jensen contractors in subsequent years. Sofus became a highly respected and successful project foreman, and in 1948, he established his own company, with help from the Iowa State Bank and Sam Andersen, another successful builder from the Luther Memorial congregation. With its first contract, which involved replacement of the bridge at Sixty-Third and University in Des Moines, the K. S. Kramme Company was on its way. Three sons, Bob, Dick,

and Harold, became integral parts of the company, which was reorganized as a corporation in 1965. This corporation completed many projects, building structures, bridges, and culverts for the Iowa Department of Transportation, as well as jobs for the U. S. Corps of Engineers, especially in the Red Rock area of southern Iowa. Sofus died in 1985 at the age of eighty-four, and the sons continued to reach retirement age. Three of Harold's sons worked with the company until an auction sale closed the operation in October of 1993. Since that time, Bob and his son-in-law, Tom Pickard, operated a poured-concrete basement wall business. Dick works part-time for Betts Cadillac, and Harold is a project inspector for Snyder and Associates Engineering Company in the Clinton, Iowa, area.



Sofus Kramme

Fred and Ruben Lauritsen were brothers of Einer Kramme's wife, Dagmar, and they came to Des Moines from Viborg, South Dakota, to work for E. A. Kramme. Fred was in military service during World War II, and following his discharge, he and his wife, Edna, moved in with the Krammes until they were able to find suitable housing on their own. Fred worked for the Kramme-Jensen Company on the Kansas Turnpike but soon established the Fred Lauritsen Construction Company, which was to become another of the successful bridge builders of Luther Memorial Church. Fred retired in 1981, and his son, Bob, continues with the Lauritsen Construction Company in Ellston, Iowa. Fred was the last survivor of this first generation of bridge builders. He died in the year 2000, some time after he and Edna had celebrated their sixty-second wedding anniversary. Edna continues to reside in Heather Manor in Des Moines. Ruben Lauritsen, who died a number of years ago, established the States Construction Company, which worked on many bridge and road contracts in Kansas and Iowa over the years. The company is now part of the Rasmussen Group.

Søren Christian Andersen was born in Brønderslev, Denmark, in 1893, migrated to this country in 1911, and came to Iowa because of a sister who lived on a farm near Norwalk. During the years before World War I, Sam, as he became known to his friends and fellow contractors, worked as a carpenter on various jobs, including the building

of the Valborg Home in 1914. With the entrance of this country into the war, Sam joined the army, which eventually facilitated his receiving U. S. citizenship. Following the war, Sam embarked on a career of house building in the Des Moines area. Jacob Esbensen, one of the original members of Luther Memorial congregation and Sam's father-in-law, co-signed a note to finance his start in his building career. When Sam decided to expand his building operations into road construction, his low bid on a road project in the early 1930's was held up by the Iowa State Highway Commission until he produced a letter from his friend and banker, W. H. Brenton, of Dallas Center, Iowa. Here was a classic example of a small-town banker aiding a small-time contractor to be awarded the project, and Sam was well on his way as a successful contractor. Incidentally, this Dallas Center Bank has grown into The Brenton Banks, a well-known and successful institution in Iowa.

Because of a shortage of labor and an abundance of building contracts during World War II, Sam cooperated with other local contractors in extending Second Avenue north of Des Moines to serve the new munitions plant near Ankeny. The war also produced a personal tragedy when Wayne Andersen, the only son of Sam and Myrtle, was killed in the Battle of Okinawa in 1945. Wayne had been expected to be the future of the business. The company was incorporated as the Andersen Contracting Company in 1948 and continued as a successful bridge and culvert builder well into the 1950's. Sam developed cancer and died in 1962, and the corporation was dissolved. Sam Andersen was known for his generous and cooperative nature. One example of this was his early support of Sofus Kramme and his building operation.

At the end of the twentieth century, a large construction had emerged with roots in the contracting companies of the previous generation. The Rasmussen Group was incorporated in 1988 and included the Jensen Construction Company, the Jensen Road Company, the Jensen Paving Company, and the Hallett Construction Company, an aggregate cement mixers operation. The outright purchase of the Hartland and The States Companies has been added to these operations. With a staff of capable engineers, project estimators, management, and projects supervisors, The Rasmussen Group has been awarded contracts involving bridges spanning such rivers as the Missouri and the Arkansas, complex road and overpass structures throughout the country, as well as the development of salt-water ports. The creation of new machines and techniques to deal with difficult construction problems has been a contributing factor to

the company's success. For example, the construction of a grinding machine installed with diamond-chip-covered discs greatly improved that type of operation. When the Department of Transportation awarded contracts to complete the beltway route around the metropolitan area of Des Moines, twenty-one of the thirty-one bridges on the Highways 65 bypass went to The Rasmussen Group. All of this reinforces the opinion that over half of the bridges and overpasses in the Des Moines area have been built or restored by contractors from Luther Memorial Church. Jim Rasmussen continues to head the organization, and his two sons, Kurt and Jeff, have an ever-increasing participation in the operation of the corporation. Jim and his wife, Sandra, Kurt, Jeff, and their wives and families continue to be active members of Luther Memorial.

The saga of the bridge builders of Luther Memorial began in the decade of the 1930's and continues to this day. The latest addition to this roster has been the appearance of the Jenco Construction Company under the leadership of Herluf Jensen. He represents the next



Kurt, Jim, and Jeff Rasmussen

generation of contractors that come from the Kimballton Jensen family. It can be said that he gained valuable experience working for the Jensen Construction Company.

These builders have had an important impact on the congregation, the city of Des Moines, the state of Iowa, and beyond. There is a model ship that hangs in the nave of Luther Memorial Church, as is the custom of many Danish churches. Some years ago, a wag suggested that this ship could be replaced by a concrete mixer. Not one of these builders gave the idea any credence, as they knew well the priorities of their lives and their Christian faith.

Sources Used

Most of the material for this article comes from the records of The Rasmussen Company and from the Einer Kramme business records. A good deal of material also came from personal interviews of the sons and daughters of the featured contractors.

“For Freedom of the Word”

by Thorvald Hansen

If you were to peruse the pages of *Dannevirke*, the Danish language weekly, for the first half of the year 1923, you would find the pages filled with articles pro and con concerning the pastoral pledge (*præsteløftet*). The pastoral pledge is not to be confused with the pastoral vow to remain true to the Christian faith. No one objected to this. The pledge, on the other hand, was a promise to remain true to the canonical books of Lutheranism. Some had refused to take this pledge and had, accordingly, been denied ordination. This matter was to be dealt with at the annual meeting of the Danish Lutheran Church at Cedar Falls, Iowa in June of 1923. A compromise was indeed reached at that meeting. That compromise proved acceptable to most of those who were involved.

This was only one of the controversies that shook the Danish Church in America during the first half of the decade of the 1920's. It was only through compromise and the forced resignation of the president of Grand View College, one of the professors, and the pastor of what is now Luther Memorial Church that some measure of tranquility was restored.¹

While these controversies raged, *Dannevirke* had been a major battleground. Though that paper had no official connection to the Danish Lutheran Church, it was nevertheless closely related to it. Its long-time editor, Martin Holst, was active in the church and faithfully reported on the developments and the controversies in the church. Indeed, his reporting on the synod conventions was much more comprehensive than that of the annual report issued by the church. If one wanted to know what really happened and who said what, it would be necessary to turn to *Dannevirke*, which went far beyond the usual “moved, seconded, and carried” reporting.

During the time the controversy was at its height, the editor experienced a flood of material. On the basis of space alone, Martin Holst found it necessary to return, unpublished, some contributions to the debate. This was resented by a younger and more liberal-minded group. Rightly or wrongly, they and their sympathizers felt they were being discriminated against and that their contributions were being singled out for rejection. In the words of one of them, “We must try to get away from the idea that an editor must be a pa-

triarch of the paper. Each must take responsibility for what he writes. In this way, broadmindedness is best preserved."² It was this group which decided that some action on their part was needed.

On the last day of February in 1923, this small group gathered at the home of Pastor Holger Strandskov in Kronborg, near Marquette, Nebraska, to consider their common life in the Danish Church. Three of the pastors present lived in Nebraska, namely, Aage Møller, of Nysted, near Dannebrog, Alfred Jensen, from Cordova, and the aforementioned Holger Strandskov. Karl Nielsen, who was currently at Ringsted, Iowa, would move to Cordova within the year.³ There were also some laymen present, but they are not identified. In the view of the assembled group, a new paper was necessary for a free exchange of information. Aage Møller was convinced, and the others agreed, that the existing weekly, *Dannevirke*, as well as the youth paper, *Ungdom*, and the synod paper, *Kirkelig Samler*, which was seen as being for older people, could not do this satisfactorily. The decision of the group was to publish a new paper. This new paper was to be called *For Ordets Frihed* (For Freedom of the Word).

The new publication was to be a monthly and was to have eight pages. It was to be edited by Aage Møller, The format was to be eight by eleven inches, and 10 point type was to be used. There came to be some deviation from this format from time to time. Alfred Jensen was to be the business manager at the beginning, but Pastor Holger J. Koch, of Denmark, Kansas, assumed that position in mid-1926. That task later reverted back to Alfred Jensen.

The first issue of the new paper made its appearance in April of 1923. Ironically, the first two issues were printed by Holst Printing Company, of Cedar Falls, Iowa, the owner and publisher of *Dannevirke*. Later issues were printed in Omaha by Axel H. Andersen, and eventually, they were printed on the presses of the Tyler, Minnesota, *Journal*. Since there were as yet no subscribers, 1500 copies were printed and mailed to the congregations for free distribution. The paper was scheduled to appear again as soon as the necessary articles had come in and the financial condition of the paper would permit. The same announcement went on, "Since the paper is distributed free, it goes without saying that the publishers and their circle of like-minded friends would be appreciative of gifts and of contributions of articles, so that, in the coming months, the paper can fulfill its role."⁴ It was not until the third issue appeared in June

of 1923 that an appeal was made for subscribers. Initially, the subscription price was set at \$1.00 per year, but by June of 1927, this was raised to \$1.50. It should be noted that postage for the paper was one cent per issue. Subscriptions were to be sent to the business manager. The total number of subscribers is not known.

The editor urged writers to keep their articles brief, because the paper was necessarily small. However, though some articles were brief and to the point, many were very long and, not least, some of those written by the editor himself. Articles written by Karl Nielsen, and there were many, tended to be very long. The pages of the paper were to be open to writers of all stripes. "A group of people doubt this," wrote the editor, "but try writing."⁵ The language used was generally Danish, but not exclusively so. Paging through the paper, one can find numerous articles written in the English language, including some by writers who were quite capable of writing Danish.

Aside from a statement by the editor about the new paper, the very first article was written by a layman. He wrote about the pastoral pledge, to which he was opposed. So, too, the lead article in the second issue was about the pledge. This article, of almost four pages, was written by Karl Nielsen. But if the first issues reflected the position of the founders, the opposition was not long in making itself heard. The third issue contained an article by Pastor Franz Peder Gøtke, a man who was anything but sympathetic to the founders of the new publication. In this issue, there was also an article reprinted from the Danish folk school paper, *Højskolebladet*. Nor was the publication confined to matters pertaining only to the Danish Church. The July 1923 issue carried an article about a change in the presidency of Amherst College.

The August 1923 issue had news of the fiftieth anniversary of the congregation at West Denmark. That issue also contained an article by Karl Nielsen which bore the notation that space had been denied in *Kirkelig Samler*, the official church paper. There is also an article, signed simply -n, which dealt with the possibility of Henry Ford being nominated for the presidency in 1924. "One should not be surprised at this," says the author, "because it is a logical outcome of the spirit of our times."⁶

A lighter note is struck by the editor when, in September of 1923, he wrote a short article under the heading, "Mother's Sandwiches." He tells of the joy of receiving a new school lunch pail that originally had been a tobacco can. He says, "It was with pride that a boy could swing this before his comrades."⁷ Then he goes on to write about

the various kinds of delicious sandwiches his mother prepared for his school lunch.

Women as well as men wrote for the paper, and the first article by a woman appeared in the October issue in 1923. The author was Marietta Johnson, and she wrote about the school and teaching. The article had obviously been written in English, because it bears a notation by the editor that he has translated it. Whether it was reprinted from another source is not stated. Both at the close of 1923 and the beginning of 1924, the editor, in a page one article, seeks to encourage more people to subscribe to the paper. He is well aware that there exists a plethora of papers and magazines, but he suggests that one can give up one or two that he cares little for and subscribe to *For Ordets Frihed*. In this article, he also urges prospective writers not to be dissuaded by their lack of grammatical precision. "There is," he says, "only one language that is correct, and that is the one formed by the individual."⁸

In January of 1924, there was an article on Danish gymnastics by Enok Mortensen. Poetry did not often appear in the paper, but on page six of that issue, there was an original poem, written by the same Enok Mortensen. The poem is written in Danish and is called "Forventning" (Expectation). The essence of it is that there is often great joy in the expectation of an event or a meeting of an individual. There was a book review by Alfred C. Nielsen, who at that time was active in the folk school movement. The lay pastor, L. C. Laursen, writing as "Karl Marg" and who at times also wrote as "Per Nabo," made his first appearance in March of 1924. So, too, did Pastor C. S. Hasle and a layman, P. A. Moller. The president of Grand View College, Pastor Carl P. Hoiberg, had previously written, and there was a reply to him in that month. Indeed, many of the articles were replies to previous ones. Sometimes, the writers were in agreement, but very often they wrote to refute what had been said.

It would be tempting to go through each issue, one by one, to examine and comment on the contents. This would, however, not only be time-consuming, but might well be boring for the reader and no good purpose would be served. Instead, the dominant articles and their writers in each volume will be given some attention.

The second volume began with the April 1924 issue. For several months that year, there was an exchange between V. S. Jensen and Karl Nielsen regarding something Jensen had written that revealed his position on the Bible. Karl Nielsen, at one point, chided Jensen for his piety. This exchange is strange, because these men had been

of the same mind in the matter of the pastoral pledge. V. S. Jensen had been a strong supporter of Nielsen, had tutored him in English, and had even gone so far as to renounce his ordination because of the pastoral pledge. This he did while a professor at Grand View Seminary. There was some question as to whether he could, therefore, continue as a pastor, but this was resolved in the affirmative by Pastor S. D. Rodholm, who was then the synod president.

The editor has an interesting article regarding the paper in the January issue of 1925. He writes, "That which makes our paper one that cannot easily be done without here and there [is that] there is no institution behind it."⁹ He believes the paper is as refreshing as a conversation. He recognizes that the written word has its limitations, but there is nevertheless good use for a paper such as *For Ordets Frihed*.

By this time, the number of laymen who were writing had increased. Ole Jensen, Erik K. Moller, who like Enok Mortensen was not yet ordained, Jens Krustrup, and J. C. Jensen were among those who wrote in volume two. Women were also making themselves heard more often. One was Kari Jensen, the widow of a pastor in Cozad, Nebraska, and another was Mrs. T. G. Muller, of Kimballton, Iowa. Karoline Kjolhede contributed to the discussion from time to time. She was a prolific writer, and if something appeared that was not to her liking, she did not hesitate to say so. For many years she was the president of the Women's Mission Society. However, the editor and Karl Nielsen continued to write most of the articles. The latter had an article in almost every issue, while the editor's comments and articles abounded. There were also articles reprinted from sources in Denmark.

In May of 1925, on page seven, there appeared a lengthy announcement, in the English language, of a summer conference to be held by "The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order." The conference was to be held on the campus of Olivet College, in Michigan. In September of that year, there is a report on the meeting by the Rev. Alfred Jensen, who states that he and Pastors Aage Møller and Marius Krog attended a portion of that meeting.

In June of 1925, the paper reprinted an interview with Pastor A. Thorkild Dorf from *Dansk Tidende*, a Chicago based paper. Dorf had just returned from a meeting of the Examining Committee for the Grand View Seminary. He had not been pleased with his visit to the college. What should have been a pleasant journey was not, he said, and went on, "It [the school] was intended to be the gathering point for our church work, but unfortunately, for many years it has been

divisive, a real storm center."¹⁰ Professor Carl P. Hoiberg, whom Dorf recognized as having a good education, was nevertheless, in Dorf's opinion, a divisive influence that was not good for the college. O. C. Olsen replied to the Dorf interview by saying that he wanted to point out what had not been said, namely, "That at the college, good and solid work is being done that has won recognition from several universities."¹¹

For several issues in late 1925 and early 1926, though not consecutively, Henry David Thoreau's "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" was presented. The editor also wrote a piece about Ralph Waldo Emerson, in which he wrote about Emerson's difficulty with communion and his ultimate withdrawal from the pulpit. He praises Emerson for his emphasis on the life of the spirit.

The year 1926 brought a change in one respect. Karl Nielsen left his congregation in Cordova and returned to Denmark. He became the pastor for an independent congregation at Aagaard in Øster Starup on the Jutland peninsula. He continued to speak and write, and often, his articles appeared in *Højskolebladet*, from which they were copied and reprinted in *For Ordets Frihed*.

In November of 1926 the paper began to be issued twice each month. No explanation for this change is given. By June of 1927, however, it was back to one issue per month. During the fall of 1927, the format of the paper again changed. It now became a six by nine inch paper and, beginning in November of that year, was issued twice each month. The size was to continue, but the publication schedule was to become intermittent, with two papers being published in some months and only one in others. There was no consistent pattern. A likely explanation is that when there were plenty of articles on hand and the financial situation permitted, it was issued twice each month.

There was an interesting exchange in early 1927. It involved an American schoolgirl, writing in English, in defense of the public school. The public school was a favorite whipping boy of the leading writers, particularly Aage Møller. The girl, Violet Andersen, from Brooklyn, New York, apparently could read Danish, and she had read one of the articles by the editor, attacking the American public school. This moved her to write in reply. Writing in English, she said the paper seems to give you a license to deliver any message you wish to your readers. Then she wrote, "You have abused that privilege to the utmost in berating the United States and its schools."¹² Aage Møller wrote a reply to this letter, calling some parts of it nonsense. However, either he did not understand her posi-

tion or was so anxious to defend his own, that it was simply a rehash of his old arguments of compulsion being associated with the school.

That fall also saw the beginning of a series of five articles called, "Fra Begge Sider af Korbuen." (From Both Sides of the Chancel). The articles were written by the lay pastor, L. C. Laursen, using the pseudonym, Per Nabo. His thesis was that pastors in America, because they had often worked a longer period before they became pastors, were better able to understand the layman than were pastors in Denmark.

The June 1928 issue was sixteen pages, eleven of which were given over to an exchange of letters between Einar Dixen and Pastor Peder Kjolhede, the synod ordainer. Einar Dixen was one of those who could not accept the compromise on the pastoral pledge which was reached in 1923. He had been theologically trained but had never been ordained. He still sought ordination, but Kjolhede steadfastly refused to ordain him unless he would accept the compromise. Dixen never was ordained and he spent his life in California, doing carpentry and working at various jobs.

In addition to the founders and those who contributed articles frequently, such as Carl P. Hoiberg, Johannes Terkelsen, C. S. Hasle, and Alfred C. Nielsen, new names appeared under articles from time to time.

A series of six articles in 1929 were written by C. P. Hoiberg and were called "Præsten fra Aagaard" (the Pastor from Aagaard). This was an account of the life and theological positions of a man named Brucker, who had served at Aagaard in Jutland. According to Hoiberg, this man was not understood in Denmark and much less in America. The congregation there was Grundtvigian and, though it used the property of the Church of Denmark, it could choose its own pastor. When Karl Nielsen returned to Denmark in 1926, he became pastor of this congregation. In September of 1929, Hoiberg addressed a letter to him as the new pastor in Aagaard. In this letter, Hoiberg expressed disagreement with the present position of Karl Nielsen, who appeared to have broken with his own past. He was installed by the previous pastor, Brucker, and Hoiberg writes, "The installation talk humbled you, and you needed that."¹³

With the opening of the decade of the 1930's, things began to change. The country was deep in the throes of a depression, and the synod treasurer misappropriated a good portion of the funds that

had been intended for the endowment fund of Grand View College. There were other things to think about than the controversies of the past. These things contributed to the demise of *For Ordets Frihed*, which occurred in 1931.

The last issue of *For Ordets Frihed* was dated 1 July 1931. In that issue, at the request of the editor, Pastor Alfred Jensen wrote about the discontinuation of the paper and what really amounted to an analysis, not only of the paper, but of the strife out of which it grew. The article is too long to present in its entirety, but some excerpts from it are in order. Alfred Jensen writes, "According to my thinking, it would have been necessary for this paper, more and more as time went on, to have stated positively lines of development needed within Danish congregational life. Instead, it has become, more and more, marching in place by bringing the thoughts and expressions of many individuals to light." And again, "Perhaps it is superficial, but in the opinions of many, and I am one of them, this publication has been more than paper and ink. There is something within me that shrinks from the idea of ending it. It is therefore that we have dragged out so long the sending out the last issue. We are so different within our common Danish Church that many will rejoice in this ending, a few will be sorry to see it go, and the vast majority will be untouched by the event. But the word of truth can never die. I take comfort in the thought that there has been at least some truth in this paper in its short lifetime."¹⁴

As business manager, he then urged those who have not yet paid for their subscription up to the first of April to do so as soon as possible. Refunds will then be sent to those who have subscribed beyond that period.

Those who had played a significant role in the brief life of *For Ordets Frihed* went on to face new problems and new challenges. Aage Møller left Nysted, and after brief periods at several congregations, moved to the congregation at Solvang, California, where he was to remain as pastor until 1951. He later retired and lived in Solvang until he died in 1973. Karl Nielsen, whose coming had set the controversies in motion, had returned to Denmark in 1926, served a congregation there for a short time, and then left the ministry. He moved to Germany and was involved in youth work there. He wrote some books, many articles, and a play. He was divorced from his wife and married again in 1933. It is not known when he died.

Holger Strandskov, Erik Moller and Enok Mortensen, all of whom are now deceased, went on to become pastors in the Danish

Church, where they became widely known and deeply respected. Enok Mortensen, in particular, distinguished himself by becoming archivist and historian of the church, and he published a history of the Danish Lutheran Church in 1967. Alfred Jensen probably became the most prominent because in 1936 he was elected to the presidency of the church, a position he held until 1960. He died in 1966.

Aage Møller, the flaming liberal of an earlier day, a liberal who felt he and his counterparts must have their own publication, did not change much. He continued to be the most liberal, if not radical, clergyman in the Danish Lutheran Church in America. He was, however, widely respected. The others, on the whole, became more conservative. This is not to suggest that any of them became ultra-conservative, but it is to say that those who knew them in later years would be surprised to learn that they were once associated with so liberal a cause as *For Ordets Frihed*.



Aage Møller



Alfred Jensen



Enok Mortensen

In most cases, the quotations used were originally in the Danish language. The author has made and takes full responsibility for such translations as were necessary.

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- ¹ Editor's note: For more information on these controversies and the president of Grand View who resigned, see Thorvald Hansen, "Carl Peter Hoiberg," *The Bridge* 2001, 24/1: 56-64.
- ² Aage Møller, *For Ordets Frihed*, April 1923, 1.
- ³ Editor's note: Karl Nielsen's refusal to take the ordination vow had touched off the whole controversy, see Hansen 2001, 61-62.
- ⁴ Alfred Jensen, *For Ordets Frihed*, April 1923, 8
- ⁵ Aage Møller, *For Ordets Frihed*, July 1923, 1.
- ⁶ -n, *For Ordets Frihed*, August 1923, 7.
- ⁷ Aage Møller, *For Ordets Frihed*, September 1923, 8.
- ⁸ Aage Møller, *For Ordets Frihed*, January 1924, 1.
- ⁹ Aage Møller, *For Ordets Frihed*, January 1925, 7.
- ¹⁰ A. Th. Dorf, *For Ordets Frihed*, June 1925, 5.
- ¹¹ O. C. Olsen, *For Ordets Frihed*, June 1925, 6.
- ¹² Violet Andersen, *For Ordets Frihed*, 15 February 1927, 6.
- ¹³ C. P. Hoiberg, *For Ordets Frihed*, 15 September 1929, 4.
- ¹⁴ Alfred Jensen, *For Ordets Frihed*, 1 July 1931.

Kristian Østergaard's *Udvandrer Bogen*

translated and edited
by Gerald Rasmussen

Kristian Pedersen Østergaard (Ostergaard in English) was born 1855 in Volstrup, Hjern parish, near the little town of Struer on the southern shore of the Limfjord.¹ He grew up on the family farm and, like many other Danish farm boys of that day, went to work as a hired hand after eight years of schooling and confirmation. As a farmhand, he spent all of his spare time in reading. At an early age, he began to teach in private schools, first on Fyn and later on Langeland, though he had no formal training as a teacher. Time and again, he attended short courses at Askov Folk School.

When the first folk school in America was established in 1878 in Elk Horn, Iowa, Ludvig Schrøder, the head of Askov, recommended Østergaard as a teacher. Østergaard came to America and taught in Elk Horn under O. L. Kirkeberg (1849-1925), the founder of the school, and his successor, H. J. Pedersen (1851-1905). In 1881, he married Maren Stine Svendsen (1860-92), a native of Møn and former student in Elk Horn. When Pedersen moved to Michigan in 1882 to establish Ashland Folk School, the Østergaards went along, and he taught in the new school until 1885.²

Kristian and Maren Østergaard returned to Denmark in 1885 with their two children, and he started a folk school of his own in Støvring, near the Rebild Hills south of Aalborg. The school dragged along without much success and without financial support from the reactionary Provisional Government, which considered him far too liberal. His wife died in 1892, only thirty-two years of age, and Østergaard returned to America with their six children, where he enrolled in the Danish-American seminary in West Denmark, Wisconsin.³ He married Marie Kristine Hansen (born 1870) that same year.

*Kristian Østergaard was ordained in 1893. His first call was in Marquette, Nebraska, and he continued to serve various calls of the Danish Church in America until his retirement in 1916. When he published *Udvandrer Bogen* (*The Emigrant Book*, Copenhagen: Olaf O. Barfod, 1904), he was serving as pastor in Ringsted, Iowa.*

*While teaching in Elk Horn and Ashland, Østergaard wrote frequently about Danish-American affairs. He published a collection of short stories, *Fra Skov og Prærie* (*From Forest and Prairie*) in 1883. Later, when he was struggling to survive in Støvring, he wrote fiction in order to earn money. His stories dealt with Danish-American life and were popular on both sides of the Atlantic. First came *Vesterlide* (*The Western Land*,*

Odense: Milo, 1889), followed by Nybyggere (Pioneers, Copenhagen: Andr. Schou, 1891), Blokhuset (The Log House, Copenhagen: Andr. Schou, 1893), Anton Arden og Møllerens Johanne (Anton Arden and Johanne, the Miller's Daughter, Copenhagen: Folkets Bogsamling, 1897), Et Købmandshus (A Merchant House, 1909), and Dalboerne (The Valley People, Copenhagen: Nationale Forfatteres Forlag, 1913).⁴ Østergaard wrote frequently in Danish-American newspapers and periodicals and in the Danish folk school journal Højskolebladet.

It was primarily as a poet and writer of songs, however, that Kristian Østergaard received recognition among Danish Americans. His collection, Sange fra Prærien (Songs from the Prairie) was published in 1912. These and Østergaard's numerous occasional songs were sung almost everywhere that Danes gathered in America. The 1931 edition of Sangbog for det danske Folk i Amerika contained fourteen of his them, others were translated in The World of Song, one of his hymns was translated into English for the joint hymnal of the Danish Church and the United Church, and one appeared in the authorized Danish hymnal.⁵ Kristian Østergaard died in Tyler, Minnesota, in 1931.

J. R. Christianson

Introduction

Udvandrer Bogen (The Emigrant Book) is a small book, measured in both size and numbers of pages. It measures five by eight inches and is bound in cardboard with reinforced spine and corners. It was published in Denmark in 1904 by the Committee for the Danish-American Mission, contains 116 pages, and is divided into three sections.⁶ Østergaard (Ostergaard in English) wrote the first section of thirty pages, consisting of direct advice to prospective emigrants, which is the section translated for this article. He also wrote a few lines of advice, here and there, which are also translated.

In the second section of the book, pages 31-38, the author reviews the immigration laws that were current in 1904, with careful attention to those who would be denied entry: paupers, anarchists, people with contagious diseases, cripples, bigamists, and individuals with loose morals. This section includes a three-page description of the physical facilities at Ellis Island and what the emigrant can expect to experience there, noting in passing the rights that immigrants have if they run into trouble. At the end of Section Two, Ostergaard writes four short paragraphs of "words to the wise." It appears that he needed to fill some space between the two sections. They are translated here:

"A good book is a good friend. Be sure you have something good to read as you travel."

"A good pocket map of the United States is worth taking along, so you can at all times see where you are traveling."

"Resist any temptation to drink alcoholic beverages. Drink water and retain your reason; that is what all good men do over here."

"The emigrant is entering a battle for survival. He needs to have God with him and practice diligence, frugality, and sobriety, and to be wide awake."

Section three, pages 38-110, consists of collected essays, which the author asked others to write. Each essay describes a specific community of Danes. All of the guest essayists either lived, or had lived, in the communities described. The information included is general in nature, often expressing the interests of the writer but emphasizing economic conditions and church and congregational life.

New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maine are the first states described, with considerable information included. Ohio and Indiana follow, with three- and eight-line descriptions indicating that communities of Danes are disappearing – already in 1904! Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin get lots of attention, with references to large and thriving Danish colonies. West Denmark, Wisconsin, for unknown reasons, has its own chapter, followed by Iowa, Nebraska (with the inevitable photo of a sod house), Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, Kansas, and Dannevang, Texas. California concludes the list.

On pages 106-10, the author identifies many congregations of both Danish synods in twenty-one different states.

Toward the end of the book, the author lists the number of Danish immigrants in the various states, the District of Columbia, and Indian Territory. The information was garnered from the U.S. census of 1900. After noting that many Schleswig Danes were counted as Germans, the author goes on to write that around 350,000 Danes lived in the United States, including a significant number who first lived in Canada.

Ostergaard concludes the book with references to three schools associated with the Danish Church in America: Grand View College, Danebod Folk School, and Nysted Folk School. Notable by its absence is any reference to Dana College, which was affiliated with the other Lutheran body among Danes in America, the United Church. However, the list of Danish colonies includes places whose pastors were affiliated with that church. Ostergaard includes information about three publications associated with the Danish Church in America: *Kirkelig Samler* (Church Gatherer), the newspaper *Dannevirke*, and *Kors og Stjerne* (Cross and Star), a journal

published in Denmark that specialized in Danish-American church affairs. The book ends with quotations from reviews of Ostergaard's earlier novels and a recommendation for a book by Christian Balling entitled *En Sommer i Amerika*.⁷

Gerald Rasmussen

110	111																																																																																																								
<p>Redville og Weinlock (den forenede Kirke). Seattle (begge Samfund).</p> <p>Ovenstaaende er saa fuldstændig en Liste, som jeg i Øjeblikket kan give. Men alt er forønderligt i vore kirkelige Forhold, og næste Aar kan der være en hel Del ændret for de mindre Kredses Vedkommende. De større derimod vil næppe ændres meget i en Hast.</p> <p><i>Præstendresser</i> er det unyttigt at give i en Bog; derhii skifter de alt for ofte. Men de vil kunne faaes ved Henvendelse til Formanden for »Udvalget for dansk-amerik. Mission: Pastor Th. Helboe, Vællekilde pr. Harve.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-----</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Danskernes Fordeling</p> <p>i de forskellige Stater i Nordamerika (United States).</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Nedenstaaende Liste har ikke nogen stor praktisk Betydning for Udvandrerne, da det ikke nytter ham at vide, hvor mange af hans Landsmænd der findes i en Stat, hvis han ikke kan finde dem og komme i Forbindelse med dem. Men en vis Interesse har det dog at se paa denne Liste, især fordi den saa tydelig viser, at hvor spredte vi end lever, saa er det dog i nogle fåa Stater, at de allerfløeste af vore Landsmænd er samlede. Listen er efter Folketællingen i 1900 og maa da anses for at være <i>omrent</i> rigtig.</p>	<table border="0"> <tbody> <tr><td>Jowa</td><td>17,102</td><td>Indiana</td><td>788</td></tr> <tr><td>Minnesota</td><td>18,269</td><td>Nebrada</td><td>339</td></tr> <tr><td>Wisconsin</td><td>16,171</td><td>Rhode Island</td><td>268</td></tr> <tr><td>Illinois</td><td>18,686</td><td>Alaska</td><td>260</td></tr> <tr><td>Nebraska</td><td>12,631</td><td>Oklahoma</td><td>226</td></tr> <tr><td>Utah</td><td>9,132</td><td>Vermont</td><td>225</td></tr> <tr><td>California</td><td>9,040</td><td>Louisiana</td><td>218</td></tr> <tr><td>New York</td><td>8,748</td><td>Florida</td><td>204</td></tr> <tr><td>Michigan</td><td>6,390</td><td>Arizona</td><td>193</td></tr> <tr><td>S. Dakota</td><td>6,028</td><td>Maryland</td><td>177</td></tr> <tr><td>N. Dakota</td><td>3,965</td><td>Arkansas</td><td>135</td></tr> <tr><td>New Jersey</td><td>3,890</td><td>Virginia</td><td>128</td></tr> <tr><td>Washington</td><td>3,626</td><td>Tennessee</td><td>117</td></tr> <tr><td>Kansas</td><td>2,914</td><td>Alabama</td><td>98</td></tr> <tr><td>Pennsylvania</td><td>2,531</td><td>Columbia (District).</td><td>88</td></tr> <tr><td>Massachusetts</td><td>2,470</td><td>Georgia</td><td>88</td></tr> <tr><td>Connecticut</td><td>2,249</td><td>Mississippi</td><td>88</td></tr> <tr><td>Colorado</td><td>2,050</td><td>Kentucky</td><td>77</td></tr> <tr><td>Oregon</td><td>1,663</td><td>New Hampshire</td><td>76</td></tr> <tr><td>Idaho</td><td>1,426</td><td>Hawaii</td><td>72</td></tr> <tr><td>Missouri</td><td>1,510</td><td>West Virginia</td><td>60</td></tr> <tr><td>Ohio</td><td>1,468</td><td>New Mexico</td><td>57</td></tr> <tr><td>Texas</td><td>1,089</td><td>S. Carolina</td><td>55</td></tr> <tr><td>Montana</td><td>1,041</td><td>Delaware</td><td>43</td></tr> <tr><td>Maine</td><td>886</td><td>N. Carolina</td><td>85</td></tr> <tr><td>Wyoming</td><td>684</td><td>Indian Territory</td><td>53</td></tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Ved Folketællingen opgiver mange Sænderjyder sig som <i>Tyske</i>, og det er et Spørgsmaal, som jeg ikke kan afgøre, om de Sænderjyder, der vel opgiver sig som Danske, men alligevel som »fødte i Slesvig, Tyskland« er medtagne i Folketællingslisten som Danske eller som Tyske. Desuden er det umuligt, at Folketællingen faar alle med. Listen er 8 Aar gammel.</p>	Jowa	17,102	Indiana	788	Minnesota	18,269	Nebrada	339	Wisconsin	16,171	Rhode Island	268	Illinois	18,686	Alaska	260	Nebraska	12,631	Oklahoma	226	Utah	9,132	Vermont	225	California	9,040	Louisiana	218	New York	8,748	Florida	204	Michigan	6,390	Arizona	193	S. Dakota	6,028	Maryland	177	N. Dakota	3,965	Arkansas	135	New Jersey	3,890	Virginia	128	Washington	3,626	Tennessee	117	Kansas	2,914	Alabama	98	Pennsylvania	2,531	Columbia (District).	88	Massachusetts	2,470	Georgia	88	Connecticut	2,249	Mississippi	88	Colorado	2,050	Kentucky	77	Oregon	1,663	New Hampshire	76	Idaho	1,426	Hawaii	72	Missouri	1,510	West Virginia	60	Ohio	1,468	New Mexico	57	Texas	1,089	S. Carolina	55	Montana	1,041	Delaware	43	Maine	886	N. Carolina	85	Wyoming	684	Indian Territory	53
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The Emigrant Book

by Kristian Ostergaard

Foreword

With the composition of this book, I have set myself the task of providing reliable information about the everyday environment in those places in the United States where the Danish Church in America is active and also providing plain directions, information, advice, and warnings for the immigrant.

Where there are Danish churches and schools, it is like a Danish parish, where the residents have permanent land holdings and employment and regular worship services, much like in Denmark. And where

these people find subsistence, there is a good chance that others will also find it. Therefore, information is included about wages and working conditions in those places, job opportunities for young men and women, factory work, skilled labor, railroad and mine work, agriculture, and land prices, among other things.

The Immigrant Book, by pointing the way to employment, can be of far greater value than its cost to the buyer. Every immigrant ought to have it in his suitcase, no matter where he travels in North America. Because it shows the way to jobs in places where there are Danish congregations, with Danish churches and schools, it points the way to the best part of our people in America.

There are many newcomers who, from the very first day, care nothing about their countrymen or the church. They have come to earn money, and that is all they care about. But if they ever really settle into one of these good Danish circles, they will not want to give up the social life that they have come to value. Then they will understand that it is a good thing to be among one's own kind.

It is dangerous for the young man or woman who comes to America to be thrown out like a ball into chance circumstances. If they will in the beginning search out the communities such as the ones described in this book, they will in the future always have an American home town, even if they later move on to other places.

Married persons, who have many children and who therefore will likely need assistance from others during difficult periods, will also be well-served to settle in these communities, where there is a stable, well-established Danish settlement, based on a core of church and school.

I. To the Emigrant

Motto; Do not allow yourself to be tempted, but allow yourself to be guided.

I can remember, ever since my childhood, how swarms of people tried to tempt others to travel with them to America. Some promised happiness and salvation, if only one would follow along to the Mormon country, Utah, and become a Mormon. Many allowed themselves to be tempted by that lamentable delusion and regretted their naivety too late, when they discovered what they had joined but could not turn back.

Others promised gold and green forests but were unable to deliver on their promises, as no one can know what another person can accomplish here in America. It depends on so many different things. Consequently, all the golden promises are more or less fraudulent.

To tempt others to emigrate is irresponsible. To allow oneself to be tempted is unwise. People who are well off in their fatherland can easily become disappointed by searching for something better over here, since this country is rich in disappointments, as it is in the fulfillment of one's desires—even ambitious ones.

As I begin writing this little book, it is with the honest intention of not tempting a single person to forsake fatherland, home town, family, and friends to travel over here. I address myself to the person who has already decided to emigrate.

No matter what your motive is in coming over here, if you are an honest person, I wish you happiness and progress. But I also hope that you will take time to consider *what* you are doing and *how* you are doing it. It is not a trifling thing to leave one's native land and find new paths in this country. Your future will depend on more factors than you can now understand.

Perhaps you plan to come over here for a few years, earn some money, and then return home to settle down in your home area. Of the thousands who planned to do that, only a few returned. When they earned some money, they wanted more, and then they stayed until their desire to return diminished. They put down roots here, married, and settled down. Or else, after many years, their expectations were not realized, and they did not want to return home just as poor as when they left.

Or they found such great opportunities to make money here that they were quite unable to tear themselves away and committed themselves to their work until, perhaps after the passage of many years, they were able to take a short trip home and discover that they and all the others back home had changed drastically since they had left. Or, unfortunately, they may have fallen into bad company, drinking and dissipation, and degenerated more quickly than it ever could have happened in our old fatherland.

America is the land of opportunity—opportunities to rise or fall, opportunities for salvation or degradation. Do not allow any tempting voice deafen you to the truth that you are in danger, no matter where you go, and that here, where you can achieve an independence and affluence that would not be possible at home, here also lurk thousands of dangers and disappointments. Therefore, pray God to preserve you on the path, place yourself in His protection, and then, finally, use all the

good sense He has provided you. That includes allowing yourself to be guided, not tempted, by those who are better informed than you are.

II. Danish Americans

Danish immigration to North America is one of the most recent waves. First came the Spanish and French, English and Dutch, but Swedes were also among the early ones. Along with Finns, they founded a colony on Delaware Bay in 1638. The Norwegians came later and had very little impact until they joined the movement that populated the rich woodlands and prairies in the middle of the country, especially Minnesota.

Danish immigration was of little importance until after the last Schleswig-Holstein war [in 1864], but Danish colonies were founded shortly thereafter and have grown steadily in both size and population.⁸ Unfortunately for those who love Danish culture, however, these colonies have occurred by chance and happenstance. Precious little has been done on the basis of considered and careful planning. When we have as many Danish colonies as we have, in spite of this, we must thank God for our haphazard luck.

Other nationalities, such as the Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans, have huge efforts underway, whereas we are just beginning. They can point with pride to their accomplishments in both private and public life. We Danes have been far too scattered, and we have not done enough congregate in the colonies that we do have—not to mention our neglect with regard to founding new ones.

Moreover, what we have of colonies and other mutual efforts have not been adequately brought to the attention of those who stand with their wanderer's staffs in hand, ready to come here. Therefore, our people are spread too thinly, which is damaging to the individuals who are cast into danger when they are thrown out on their own, into a foreign environment, and it is also damaging to all of our mutual efforts.

We are beginning to be aware of ourselves as *Danish Americans*. We also need to begin informing our countrymen back home about where we are located, our goals, and our activities. We have certainly neglected opportunities for solidarity and collective activity, but on the other hand, neither have we been blown away by the wind.

We older folks have paid a price for our rights as American citizens. Our children hold those rights by birth. When we call ourselves Danish Americans, not only do we assert that we are American citizens, but, at the same time, we also claim our Danish identity. We

do so with the full understanding that the best thing for us, and also for the country we live in, is that we maintain our nationality as long as possible.

Every nationality that branches out to America and continues to maintain a connection [with its homeland] does America a mighty service, because in those relationships among countrymen here, and in a lively exchange with the homeland, especially in spiritual life, there is strong support for individuals.

Therefore, we must consciously support the older Danish colonies and establish new ones as well. We will be American citizens with all the faith we possess, but we will not precipitously give up our mother tongue and our Danish culture to imitate a foreign one.

We will learn the English language, and we will learn all that is good from our fellow Americans, but we will not stand over here like a branch that is chopped off and stuck, rootless, in foreign soil. We will stand as a sprout that still draws nourishment from the mother stem while sending roots into the new soil. I do not know how long our mother tongue can last here, but all we need to know is that we must hold on to it with all our energy right now. Language is the instrument that binds us to our folk culture, and if that connection is cut, only withering-away and death will follow.

Every Danish immigrant should know this. It ought to be a matter of honor to preserve connections with family in Denmark while adapting into the American nation, and also to maintain our mother tongue at the same time that we improve our command of the English language.

We are perhaps half a million people of Danish ancestry here in the United States, but many are so foolish that they will not admit their nationality. In spite of that, in recent years, many of us have experienced a need to be together and work together. A statue of Bertel Thorvaldsen has been erected in New York, and one of Hans Christian Andersen in Chicago.⁹ There are Danish churches and schools throughout the land. Danish books and magazines are being published and Danish meetings attract participants from the most distant places. These are signs that we are not ready to give up, but to the contrary, we say to any brave Danish man or woman who travels over here: Here we are, and you are welcome among us. Do not believe that you must surrender yourself or your identity. Join with us in our common efforts for all that is good.

On a train trip, I once met a young fellow-countryman who had convinced himself that he had forgotten how to speak Danish.

"I cannot speak Danish," he said, with very poor English pronunciation.

"How long have you been in this country?" I asked, because his age and appearance showed that he had not been here all that long.

"One year," he answered.

I could hardly suppress a smile, but it is sad to meet that kind of countryman, who throws his mother tongue overboard, and with it, all connections to his fellow countrymen.

III. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

It was around thirty to forty years ago that Danes, who had settled over here and made a good life for themselves, began seriously to feel and say that there was, after all, something they missed. At home, they could go to church on Sunday, whenever they wanted to, and not all people realized that this was a blessing. People took it for granted and did not recognize its value until they could no longer do it.

English worship services were always available [in America], but language was a problem, and the services were not Lutheran. Norwegian sermons could sometimes be heard, but even though they were Lutheran, they were not the same. There were plenty of born-again Christians, Baptists and Adventists, who tempted folks to abandon the religion of their childhood, and a few were torn away, but those who wanted to stay true to their childhood faith and teachings began to write to Denmark to ask if it was not possible to get Danish Lutheran pastors over here.

Yes, that could be done, and by the early 1870's, there were already some Danish Lutheran pastors at work [in America]. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in close connection with the Church of Denmark. A church journal, *Kirkelig Samler* (Church Gatherer), was published, and it is now in its thirty-first year of publication. More and more pastors began to work here. Some of them live here yet, others work in the Church of Denmark, still others have died, but new ones continued to arrive.

In the middle of the 1870's, people began to think about building a Danish folk school for young adults, and one was built in Elk Horn, Iowa, opening on 1 November 1878. Around the same time, some settlements started Danish elementary schools. At the folk school in Elk Horn, they founded a weekly journal, *Dannevirke*, which will celebrate its

twenty-fifth year [of publication] next year. In all those years, it has worked faithfully for cooperation among Danish Americans, especially in school and church.

This work continued to spread in ever-wider circles, but in 1893, a schism occurred when a group of pastors who sympathized with the Inner Mission in Denmark left the Danish Church in America, joined with others who had been associated with a Norwegian Lutheran church body, and together formed a synod, which is now known as the United Danish Church in America. The Danish Church in North America, then, is divided into two synods, whose names are almost alike, and which, for short, are called: (1) The Danish Church, and (2) The United Church.

The Danish Church is supported through the medium of the Committee for the Danish-American Mission by voluntary contributions of men and women in Denmark, primarily sympathizers with the Grundtvigian movement, and through triennial Danish government grants for schools to the same committee. The United Church is supported by the Inner Mission in Denmark.

No year passes without the building of a new church or expansion of an older one. The generosity of those who contribute is truly admirable. It is more difficult to collect money for schools, but those also grow from year to year. Great progress has been made this year, when one Danish colony collected \$4,000 for a folk school, while next year, twice that amount will be used to build a Danish seminary in the capital city of Iowa.

Churches and schools will be mentioned in following chapters, where the specific towns and settlements in which they are located are discussed.

IV. Where Will You Settle?

The two Danish Lutheran church synods mentioned above (the Danish Church and the United Church) have churches all over the country. They are the strongest Danish organizations in America. Therefore, they should have done something years ago to inform Danish immigrants about where they are and what they aim to do. Most of all, they should have given information about daily life in all those places where they have active churches. It is obvious that those who are not apathetic or opposed to Christianity will be happiest if they settle where everything, including church affairs, is as Danish as it is possible to be in a foreign land.

Where there are Danish churches and schools, Danish libraries and Danish newspapers, Danish festivals and Danish hospitality, one will feel more at home than there where everything one meets is foreign.

Many a person has traveled to friends and relatives who have been here many years and has been disappointed to discover that the old friends have abandoned everything Danish. Their language is English or a horrible mixture of English and Danish, habits and lifestyle are completely un-Danish, and the Lutheran church, which has nourished all of us spiritually, is scorned and denigrated, while they have either abandoned Christianity or believe they have found it at last in some sect or another. People can be so dull and lazy that they do not even feel especially repelled by this, and they slide without resistance into the same lifestyle. There are whole Danish settlements of several hundred people where this has happened, and where they split up between different sects on the one hand and raw materialism on the other.

Enlightened people with some spiritual sensibility are disappointed and unhappy when they first come to such a settlement. However, if the economic rewards are satisfactory, it often happens that they start to drift with the current. Their spiritual needs diminish, and material ones take their place. They let sleeping dogs lie: "life is good."

Yes, the fact that "life is good" and they are on the way to prosperity has led many families to go on living in a place where only material well-being is present. Even previous folk school pupils and others who grew up in good homes in vital, lively congregations in Denmark can be found in such situations.

Could they not have been just as well off in a material sense if they had settled in a place where their fellow countrymen have gathered around their ancestral church? Yes, most certainly. However, it is not easy for settled people to pull up roots and travel to such a place. And yet, in the course of time, many families have done so, when they became aware of the value of that move. Moreover, they have been happy that they did so. However, most stay put where they first settled down.

There should have been a more vigorous effort to gather our people together over here. It is more than twenty years since I began to speak and write about that, and some things have been done, but much more remains to be done. There is no reason whatsoever that our small Danish population should be scattered to the wind, all over the country.

We must wave our flag high over all the settlements, where we live like we did at home and provide a good life in more than just in a material way, so that people can see where we are and what we are about. Our people should support the old colonies, insofar as possible, and also found new colonies when that can be done successfully.

Many have been blessed by the founding of the large Danish colonies around the towns of Tyler and Diamond Lake in Minnesota, with Danebod Folk School and the church as their center. They became a symbol of unity, and many families who had come by accident to live in unsatisfactory places have left them and traveled to those two Danish towns, and they have never regretted it. There, Danish people have found one another in a common love of culture, the mother tongue, church, and school, after having longed for them for many years. Their joy found its most beautiful expression in F. L. Grundtvig's song, where he writes,

From our society in our fatherland
We scattered ourselves to foreign beaches
And thought then – what next?
But friends have learned to miss their friends.
Now we will gather again
And gather around the best.

Now let them who were alone
And sighed and prayed alone,
And forgot the sounds of songs of praise
To experience here with friends
A place of comfort in Jesus' name.¹⁰

To my countrymen who want to emigrate to North America, I ask, Where are you going? Not because I recommend a specific location. I would be uncomfortable, for example, if many people came here to Ringsted, Iowa, and were disappointed because they did not find all that they needed.

No, I ask in order to get people to think carefully before they choose a spot to settle: Consider carefully whether you will be satisfied to live where you happen to have relatives or friends, or whether you might feel more at home in another location. In what follows, I have collected information about material living conditions in settlements where the spiritual needs of Danish Lutheran Christians might also be met.

Artisans, farmers, tilers, creamery workers, factory workers, housekeepers and cooks, any persons, people of any occupation must examine the following information for themselves and decide which place suits them best. I cannot guarantee against disappointment. One can-

not predict a year in advance what type of work or income level is likely at any one place, since changes occur. But I can say this much: A place where others of your countrymen, men as well as women, have earned their daily bread in a given occupation is the most likely place for you to find the same.

In the many years that I have traveled among countrymen, here in various parts of the United States, I have seldom seen a situation where settlers have not welcomed the “newcomer” (as we call them) and shown both hospitality and assistance.

V. Some Friendly Advice

During the course of the years, I have often received letters from people in Denmark who were considering emigration and wanted advice from me about whether or not, in the given circumstances, they should emigrate to America. Of course, I have answered as well as I could, and occasionally, the result was the exchange of several letters.

But this kind of referral to me, or to other countrymen over here, is usually ill-advised. It is terribly difficult to give advice to a person you do not know, and who would not be likely to understand the most comprehensive response in the right sense. All we can do with confidence is to offer general advice and warnings, and give references and information. As soon as you get into specifics, whether Madsen or Jensen ought to do this or that, you tread on unstable ground, because it is not possible to know what is best for the individual in this or that situation.

Get advice instead from God and your own conscience, from your family and friends, and if, after that, it is your firm decision to emigrate, then do so in God’s name. Then the information contained in this book may be of value to you.

Just to have the names and some information about so many places where fellow countrymen have settled in large numbers can be valuable. When you arrive, however, at one of those settlements where your fellow countrymen live, and where they, with diligence and frugality, have worked themselves up to positions of independence, do not forget that, if you want to earn their confidence and friendship, you must also work hard and be thrifty. We have seen too many who tried to succeed as parasites, either as actual beggars or in other ways. There are few doubts where those people end up.

When you arrive among your countrymen, do not walk indifferently past the church that they have raised in their midst. It was

built with great sacrifice by people who worked hard for every dollar they gave to it. It was built with a love of God and fellow human beings. It is a solace and a joy to them. They spend their best hours there, and the day will come when you will find something there that you have sought elsewhere in vain.

Do not think that, when you have a hundred or a thousand dollars, you have everything that you need. Money and the arrogance that goes with it can be stolen from you before the sun goes down. In this country, the waves are rough, and those who run aground will need a lifeboat.

You will meet people who will offer you questionable or wicked amusements: billiards, card games, drink, and the dance hall's intoxicating sensuousness, and who will try to convince you that when you get to America, you need not fear man or God—you can do whatever you feel like doing.

Against these voices, I will simply state my own experience, through the course of many years to this very day, that many people sink to the bottom because they cast off all reins to their behavior, but I have never seen a person get into difficulty because they feared God and obeyed his commandments.

I especially warn you against intoxicating drinks and against any persons who invite you to drink with them in hidden speakeasies or public beer saloons. Even if he is your best friend, he will become your worst enemy if he leads you into the habit of drinking beer or other intoxicating drink.

You may have been used to drinking a beer a day in Denmark and believe that it did you no harm. That is not true of American beer, which will very quickly give you a craving for more and more of it. Drink instead plain water, soda water, pop, or other non-alcoholic drinks, which are available in every American town, and *never* set foot in a tavern from the minute you arrive on American soil, since the danger is much greater than it was in Denmark. I could fill the whole book with stories about the terrible misfortunes that a craving for alcohol has caused for some of our countrymen over here, but I will be content with this general advice. Those who do not follow it will only harm themselves.

The best American employers despise and fire those who submit to drinking. Only those who are sober can work their way up to the best positions. Sober people, whose brains have never been fogged over by

alcohol or dulled by nicotine, are the ones who have built the United States into the mighty nation that it is.

If all Danes were more temperate, our beautiful little fatherland would have double its present population and be twice as strong, and emigration to foreign countries would not be necessary, as it has now apparently become. Those who dull their brains with self-indulgence make themselves impossible to live with and force their children to emigrate. Over here, the slumbering talents of those children are often awakened, but that benefits our new homeland and not Denmark.

VI. Ordinary Advice and Warning

Go to school! Those who seek work in America should leave Denmark early in the spring. The previous winter should be used to go to school. It is of indescribable value to be well-educated. The young man or woman who comes over here should go to school again here. You should never stop learning.

Learn English! Those who have the opportunity to do so will profit by getting instruction in English before leaving Denmark. You cannot speak English, of course, just because you have spelled your way through a book or two, but you can learn it more quickly after coming here, and you will quickly realize the value of knowing how to read a bit of what you see on a sign or in a newspaper.

You should take along two of the best dictionaries from home, an English-Danish and a Danish-English dictionary, since they will certainly be useful. On the other hand, the small pamphlets for self-instruction in English are of little value to anyone. Use the dictionaries and a book that is easy to read.

Public and Private Schools. Here in the United States, they have provided well for basic education, especially in town schools, which are well-organized and well-led, with equal access for rich and poor children. In those schools, however, they may not teach about religion, which in any case could never be satisfying, since the people are divided up in so many denominations. Higher education includes state normal schools and state universities, but also, many private schools and universities. In addition, every nationality of any consequence has its own national institution, where the mother tongue is used as well as the official English language. These national schools are usually founded and administered by a church synod. For example, the Danish Church has its school for the education of pastors and teachers in Des Moines, Iowa (see under Iowa), as well as folk schools, which are also discussed elsewhere in this book. There are many Dan-

ish elementary schools, where children are taught in the mother tongue and Lutheran beliefs without neglecting the English language.

Clothing. The same clothing you use in Denmark can also be used here. It may be too warm in summer, but even better in the winter. Bring all the clothing you have that is too good to throw away. Bed clothing should also be brought along, if it cannot be sold for a reasonable price, perhaps not by single people, but older people will never regret taking their feather or down comforter (*dyne*) along, because they are not used very much here.

Trunks. You should have two or three suitcases of a reasonable size, rather than one that is too large, since very large, heavy ones will be damaged before the end of the journey, no matter how well-made. Tie up the suitcases securely to absorb shocks. Sacks and bags can be used for bedding and old clothes but are not especially attractive. Glassware and other fragile items should not be brought along, though it is possible with careful packing, if it is not too heavy and does not come into contact with other heavy items.

Pocket Watches. The pocket watches you bring along from Denmark are good enough over here, until you are so careless as to let an American watchmaker repair them. After that, they will be useless. Therefore, it is not worth using a lot of money for that purpose; instead, buy a good American watch.

Bicycles. A good two-wheeler can be purchased for twenty-five dollars. With that information, you can figure out whether it will pay to bring one from home.

Books. A good book is a good friend. Do not go off without it. If you have many books, so much the better. Good Danish books are scarce over here. There is no customs duty on books. Sell only the useless ones. Do not forget your Bible and hymnal. He who writes this knows by experience that they are good companions in quiet hours.

Tools. The only people I know of who decided to bring their farm implements with them are some Russians in Nebraska. Hand tools would make more sense to bring, but it would usually not pay to do so. The same applies to sewing machines.

Money. It is probably superfluous to warn against bringing too much money, since emigrants seldom have more than they need—except for embezzlers, who skip out with other people's money. Such people need to be warned that the long arm of the law can reach them in every corner of this land, no matter where they might try to tempt life. It is just as foolish as it is shameful and dishonest to flee with other people's money, since punishing justice has a divine power that no one can avoid in the long run.

If, by chance, you have more money along than you need, you should take good care of it. Better to have an inside pocket or two than too much money in the outer pockets. On board [the ship], you can entrust money to the bursar. Any large amount of money not needed on the crossing should be invested in an American bank draft, which should be well-hidden. Smaller amounts can be exchanged for dollars and cents in Copenhagen.

If you make a friend on the journey, it is not worth the risk of telling him all your secrets – keep them instead to yourself. Likewise, it is not worth the risk to tell him how much money you have because he might turn out to be the kind of person who would want to have a share of it. Remember the old saying, Until you have shared a pint of salt with somebody, you don't really know him.

Steamship Lines. The Danish-owned Scandinavian-American Line is usually praised by those who sail with it (especially as opposed to the German ships) for its good service and clean facilities.¹¹ Their ships do cross the Atlantic as quickly as the large English ships, but on the other hand, you are free of all the inconveniences associated with transfers, and finally, you are mainly with people you can talk to.

Selecting a job. It is probably the case that most emigrants have no choice at first but to take whatever work they can find, and only later will they find opportunities for the kind of work that they were used to at home or the kind that they prefer. It can be difficult, however, for an office worker to be a ditch digger, or for a university graduate to be a farmhand. When your body is not used to hard work and you may even be too lightly-built for it, this can be a rather discouraging beginning, but it is not necessary to subject yourself to that kind of experience. There are many kinds of factory jobs to choose from, which would be much easier for such people, instead of hard physical labor that requires bodily strength.

Those who travel to a place where they happen to have relatives or acquaintances must take whatever jobs are available there. If the relative is a farmer in Iowa, for example, and the immigrant is better suited to work in a shoe factory, he should have gone instead to a place where that kind of work is available. The opposite is also true: if a farm worker has a relative in one of the industrial cities in the east, he would not be wise to stay there, for there are not the opportunities in farming that there are here in the Midwest.

My aim in this book is to gather enough information about where various kinds of work can be found, so that there is enough to choose from. The information about working conditions in the various settlements is collected from reliable people in each location.

Those who have the easiest time finding jobs are artisans, servants, machinists, factory workers, railroad workers, and the like. It is more difficult for those who would make their way by using their education or training, unless they are very skilled in their profession—then there are jobs for them all over the world. A young business person, office worker, pharmacist, teacher, and the like should not expect to practice his or her occupation immediately. On the other hand, do not damage your health by taking a job you cannot tolerate. Use your reason to choose among the settlements listed in the book, look for a temporary job in a line of work that you can manage to carry out, and when you have oriented yourself, can speak and write the English language well, have made some connections, and so on, then you can probably find your niche.

Independent Employment. An old saying is that “he who wishes to become a master quickly will remain an apprentice for a long time.” Quite a few people had to emigrate because they wanted to be their own boss too soon and were therefore demoted to a subordinate position. That does not destroy a person’s future, but it is best, in any case, to avoid becoming a master in this country as soon as you arrive as a stranger. A subordinate position is the school where you can learn a great deal, and where the cost of instruction is not too expensive. Learn thoroughly, from the bottom up, and in time, you will have your chance to advance.

City or Country? Native-born Americans have a rather unfortunate desire for city life. The long working days in the country, having to get up early and always be home every evening to milk the cows, does not please them. It is much more appealing to stand in a doorway, chewing a cigar and gossiping with passers-by. They do not want to stay home with their parents. Consequently, the farm that the father has built up occasionally goes to a Danish hired hand, who begins as a tenant and ends as the owner.

Statistics have recently revealed, here in Iowa and in neighboring states, that the largest percentage of farm owner-operators are immigrants. What I observed when I first came to Iowa twenty-five years ago is still true: that the Danish farm lad, who takes a farm job and is faithful in his work, can in a few years rent a farm and in a few more years own his own farm, while those who find work in a city seldom earn more than enough for food, clothing— and pleasure. The latter is what keeps people in cities, and those who place immediate pleasure ahead of a secure and independent future must lie in the nest they have built for themselves.

For skilled farm workers who want to come here, I give this advice: Find a job in one of the agricultural states and stay with it. City life is a maelstrom that grinds down too many [immigrants] into poverty and all kinds of misery. Look for the different settlements in this book, where agriculture is mentioned, and choose one of them. Should there not be well-paid work in one of those places when you arrive, there will usually be some close by.

The United States or Canada? The Canadian government works hard to attract emigrants to that country. Our government does not need to advertise because people come here on their own.

The emigrant stream of Gothic and Germanic peoples moves from east to west through the northern states. These states offer the best living conditions for us Danes. Here we have our settlements, our schools and churches. Here we seem to be satisfied, and for good reason. The southern states are usually too hot, Canada too cold. No wonder they need to advertise to get people to move to those locations.

With that, however, I am not saying that it would be a bad idea to move to Canada. Land is cheap, and many from the States have bought land there in the last few years. However, the cost of land is one thing, another is what the land can produce, and a third has to do with the cost of transportation to market. There are places where the crops are good enough and where dairy products can be produced, but where freight costs rob farmers of a significant part of their income.

I have not included information about Canada in this book, only from the United States. On the other hand, I do not dare to advise against moving to Canada, if you want to rely on the Canadian recruiting agents. Later, if you regret moving so far north, this book will show you where you can find countrymen south of Canada's border.

[Kristian Ostergaard concludes his book with the following paragraph:] This book's guidelines show the way to a settlement where fellow countrymen live. There are enough places to choose from. No matter what kind of work you want, there will be some of your countrymen who make a living doing that same kind of work. Search out your fellow countrymen, do not move away from them. We must join together for mutual daily and spiritual support.

¹ M. F. Blichfeld, "Kristian Østergaard" *Dansk biografisk leksikon* 1944, 26: 595-96.

² Enok Mortensen, *Schools for Life: The Grundtvigian Folk Schools in America* (Solvang CA: Danish-American Heritage Society, 1977), 25-38. On Ashland, see also *The Bridge* 2000, 23/2: 45-79, and 2001, 24/2: 16-17.

³ In 1883, Østergaard had argued publicly against the establishment of this seminary, see Thorvald Hansen, *School in the Woods: The Story of an Immigrant Seminary* (Des Moines: Grand View College, 1977), 18-19.

⁴ Enok Mortensen, *Stories from Our Church: A Popular History of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America* (Des Moines: DELCA, 1952), 152-54.

⁵ *Sangbog for det danske Folk i Amerika*, 7th ed. (Cedar Falls IA: Holst Printing Company, 1931). *Hymnal for Church and Home*, 4th ed. (Blair NE: Lutheran Publishing House, 1953). *Den danske salmebog* (Copenhagen: Det kgl. Vajsenhus' forlag, 1973).

⁶ *Udvalget for den dansk-amerikanske Mission*, going back to a commission established in 1869 as *Udvalget til at fremme Evangeliets Forkyndelse for Danske i Nord-Amerika* (Commission for the Furtherance of the Proclamation of the Gospel Among Danes in America), see Enok Mortensen, *The Danish Lutheran Church in America: The History and Heritage of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication Lutheran Church in America, 1967), 34. R. Andersen, *Pastor Claus Laurits Clausen* (Brooklyn: Forfatterens Forlag, 1921), 164.

⁷ Jens Christian Balling (1843-1916) was schoolmaster in Lindeballe near Vejle from 1867-1905 and a well-known writer and lecturer. Many of his former pupils emigrated to America, and his writings were as popular among Danish Americans as they were in Denmark. Balling edited the religious periodical, *Vægteren* (The Watchman), from 1883-1905. He also collected Danish proverbs and wove them into witty stories in *Ordsproglærdom* (Textbook of Proverbs, Copenhagen: Karl Schønberg, 1877 ff.), which appeared in several editions. Balling spent the summer of 1901 lecturing in Danish settlements throughout the Midwest and described his tour in *En Sommer i Amerika* (A Summer in America, Copenhagen: Karl Schønberg, 1902). Among his former students in America were two brothers of his son-in-law, the Danish artist, Hans Gyde-Petersen (1862-1943). See Hans Kau, *Læreren og Forfatteren Christian Balling: Et Mindeskrift* (Kolding: Konrad Jørgensen, 1917), and *The Bridge* 1995, 18/2: 58.

⁸ Denmark fought two wars with Germany over Schleswig-Holstein in 1848-50 and 1864. Following the 1864 war, all of Schleswig-Holstein was ruled by Germany until 1920, when the Danish-speaking areas known as Sønderjylland were returned to Denmark, see *The Bridge* 1999, 22/1-2: 11.

⁹ The classical sculptor, Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768-1844) and the storyteller, Hans Christian Andersen (1805-75), were two Danes who were famous throughout America.

¹⁰ Frederik Lange Grundtvig (1854-1903) was a son of Bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig. He emigrated in 1881, served from 1883-1900 as pastor in Clinton, Iowa, and became a leading figure in the Danish Church in America, as well as a prolific author of hymns, poetry, and works on theology, folklore, and ornithology.

¹¹ The Danish "Thingvalla Line" began carrying steamship passengers direct from Copenhagen to New York from 1879 and survived as a passenger line, despite disastrous collisions at sea and fierce international competition, until 1898, when it was taken over by Det forenede Dampskib-Selskab (DFDS), which changed its name to the Scandinavian-American Line. However, the new line also suffered tragedy in 1904, when its passenger ship, *Norge*, hit a reef west of Scotland and went down with the loss of 627 lives. See Kristian Hvidt, *The Westward Journey*, trans. and ed. J. R. Christianson and Birgitte Christianson (Mankato MN: Creative Education, 1982), 54-57, and Holger Munchaus Petersen and Jens Lorentzen, *Rejsen til Amerika – med Thingvalla liniens udvandrerskibe før 1898* (Copenhagen: Høst & Søn, 1977).

Endnotes by J. R. Christianson

REVIEWS

Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen. *Dannebrog on the American Prairie: A Danish Colony Project in the 1870s – Land Purchase and the Beginnings of a Town*. Translated by James D. Iversen. Odense, Denmark: Odense City Museums, 2000. Pp. 288. \$30.00 hardbound. Order from The Danish Immigrant Museum, Box 470, Elk Horn, IA 51531.

As is frequently the case, the subtitle of a book is more precise in describing its contents than the title. Instead of being an examination of the town of Dannebrog or its citizens, as the title suggests, this book is largely a detailed study of Lars Hannibal, an immigrant from Lolland, and his role in acquiring a large tract of farm land in Nebraska in order to form a Danish colony. The author, the director of a museum in Odense, wrote his study, published in 2000, in Danish. The English translation, intended to adhere as closely as possible to the Danish, was done by James D. Iversen, currently president of the Danish American Heritage Society. While in general the book reads well, there are occasional awkward sentences and word choices as a result of the close translation. Also, some material, such as methods of incorporation, land policy, and railroad land grants, that may have been necessary for a Danish audience but not for an American reader, could have been placed in footnotes.

The work itself is based on an impressive use of primary sources as the author pieced together a picture describing the development of the colony. Traveling to numerous archives and depositories in such locations as Chicago, Fort Worth, Texas, and St. Paul, Nebraska, he searched through railroad records, land titles, and scores of other primary sources. One cannot help but being overwhelmed with the extensive and painstaking research.

Hannibal (originally Hannibalsen) traveled to America in 1856 and settled on some land near other Scandinavians in Pine Lake, Wisconsin, just west of Milwaukee. When the Civil War broke out, he enlisted in the Union army and saw action in Tennessee and Mississippi. Following an injury, he returned to Wisconsin and operated a restaurant. Rising land values in Wisconsin made ownership difficult for poor Danish immigrants, so he decided to form a land company, which would obtain a large tract of land and establish a Danish colony.

The corporation was granted a charter by the state of Wisconsin and began selling shares. The location of the colony would be dependent on

finding an area that best met the following requirements: (1) A large tract of land, (2) Potential for agriculture as practiced Denmark, (3) A climate acceptable for Danes, (4) Possibility for a town in the center of the colony, (5) A location on a railroad or a possible future route, (6) Water power for a mill, and (7) Inexpensive land. The options at that time were limited to Kansas and Nebraska, and in February of 1871, Hannibal and three other men went to Nebraska to locate such a place.

Unfortunately, Hannibal did not have extensive wealth of his own and very few Danes or Americans of Danish descent had sufficient money to buy stock in the company. As a result, the land company method of colony building was abandoned in 1871 and the project continued under Hannibal's encouragement, with each individual settler looking out after his own land purchases. The area that met many of the requirements was in the southwestern part of Howard County along the Loup River, and while some land was purchased from the railroad, most was obtained through the Homestead Act.

Even though the colony never reached the size Hannibal originally anticipated, thirty-five Danes, in 1871, took land totaling 2,479 acres. Hannibal purchased as much land as he could afford, before it was purchased by non-Danes, in order to hold it for later immigrants. He also anticipated the need for a town, so he worked as a developer of the colony as well as a promoter of the town. The town was called Dannebrog and received a post office in 1872, with Hannibal as the post master. By 1875 there were approximately seventy-five Danes in town and 500 in the countryside.

Although the author's intent was to describe a single settlement and cautioned the reader against drawing broader conclusions, he did broach the issue of Danish assimilation in his "Introduction." So the question can be asked: "Was the Dannebrog community a Danish colony or a colony of Danes?" The evidence presented in most of the book supports the side of assimilation, because the Danes were trying to function in an American context. Not only were money, language, crops, equipment, measurements of land and weights American, but Hannibal himself was effective because he quickly learned the ways of doing things in America. He learned English, fought in the Civil War, familiarized himself with land legislation, and then as a town developer he laid out Dannebrog's streets in the American style, recruited a lawyer and a doctor for his town who were Americans, supported the first newspaper in the town which was printed in English, and joined the typical American fight with St. Paul to make Dannebrog

the county seat. St. Paul won. Not until the end of the book does the author talk about the Danish vestiges. As more Danes joined the settlement, a Danish pastor established a Danish church, a newspaper in Danish replaced the English one, the Danish Constitution Day was celebrated, and there were references to wooden shoes. Exercising less caution than the author advised, one can conclude that the pattern sounds familiar. People adjust or assimilate where it is necessary and retain as much as is convenient. At the time of his research, the author found Dannebrog to be an American community with a Danish tradition.

This is a handsome book, enriched with excellent graphs, illustrations, maps, and color photographs, and it serves as a good example of using many small details to draw a larger picture.

George R. Nielsen

Peder Kjølhed, Peter Sørensen Vig, and Ivar Marius Hansen. *Danes in America: Danish Lutheranism from 1860 to 1908*. Translated by Edward Hansen and Inga Larsen. Edited by John W. Nielsen. Foreword by Peter L. Petersen. Blair, Nebraska: Lur Publications, 2001. Pp. xx, 186. \$22.50 softbound.

One of the most significant sources for the study of Danish immigrants to America prior to 1908 is *Danske i Amerika*, which was published by the C. Rasmussen Publishing Company of Minneapolis and Chicago. In this large volume, the story of early immigrants and their descendants is told, often in great detail. A companion volume, made up of four periodicals on the subject of immigrants, was issued in 1916. Two of the many articles in the first volume tell the story of Danish Lutheranism in the new world. Unfortunately, these stories, as well as all those in the two books, are buried in the Danish language. Not only so, but the books have long been out of print and, therefore, difficult to come by.

Lur Publications, an adjunct of the Danish Immigrant Archives at Dana College, has dealt with both counts of this problem. Under its auspices, the sections on the two churches have been translated and reprinted. Through the softbound book which resulted, the average reader now has access to the early history of Danish Lutheranism in America to 1908. Scholars may still wish to consult the original Danish,

but the account is now open to all, regardless of lack of linguistic skills.

As one who has countless times consulted these works, I can attest to their importance. Other histories of the two church bodies have been written, notably by John M. Jensen for the United Danish Church and Enok Mortensen for the Danish Church. However, for fascinating detail and first-hand information, these accounts cannot be surpassed as regards the period prior to 1908.

While there are things that I would have translated differently, it is beyond my area of competence to be critical of translations. As nearly as I can determine, the translators have done their work well, and the result is an accurate and readable book. This latter is important, because translations can often be stilted and difficult to read. Translations do not always flow or do justice to the original.

I am most familiar with the work of Peder Kjølhed and know that he spent the better part of two years writing his history of the Danish Church. He took time off from his regular preaching duties and "holed up" at the otherwise vacant Ashland Folk School in Michigan. In addition to a great deal of first hand information, he consulted many sources, sources that, for the most part, are no longer available. The result is that today his is the only authentic source of information regarding the church prior to 1908. As nearly as I can determine, nothing has been omitted in the translation.

Though I have frequently consulted it, I do not pretend to be as familiar with P. S. Vig's and Ivar Hansen's story of the formation and history of the United Danish Church. Vig has a well-deserved reputation as a historian. Wisely enough, the writers of this history do go back and trace the origins of the United Danish Lutheran Church. This inevitably does lead to some duplication since both major bodies have the same origin. However, such duplication as there is, is one of substance and could hardly have been eliminated. This translation may serve to introduce non-Danish readers to the checkered history of Danish Lutheranism in the United States. They will discover that, for one brief period, there were three distinct Lutheran bodies.

A glossary is included with each of the histories. One of these contains a common, but serious error. In writing about *Dannevirke*, the Danish language weekly, that particular glossary states that *Dannevirke* was "A periodical publication established by the early Danish immigrant church." *Dannevirke* was not a publication of the

church. It was begun in Elk Horn, Iowa, in 1880 by Pastor O. L. Kirkegaard and Kristian Østergaard.

An attempt has been made to include such photos as were in the original, and this has met with some success, though at this late date such pictures are not always available. Nevertheless, though they are often of poor quality, many pictures have been included in the new book. I did run into a couple of misspellings, or typos, but this is to be expected. Proofreading is difficult and never foolproof. Peder Kjølhed, P. S. Vig, and Ivar Hansen produced a thoroughgoing history of the early period of Danish Lutheranism in America. Now, thanks to Lur Publications, that comprehensive history is available to all readers.

Thorvald Hansen

Birgit Flemming Larsen, editor. *In Denmark Born-To Canada Sworn: Danish-Canadian Lives*. Aalborg, Denmark: The Danish Emigration Archives in collaboration with the Danish Society for Emigration History, 2000. Pp. 181. Map. Index. \$19.00 softbound. Order from Mr. Rolf Buschardt Christensen, 679 Eastvale Court, Gloucester, Ontario, Canada K1J 6Z7. Add \$3.00 for postage and handling.

This is the ninth book in the series on Danish emigration, and the second that deals specifically with Canada, published by the Danish Emigration Archives in Aalborg, Denmark. According to the preface by Birgit Flemming Larsen, this book was presented to commemorate the nineteenth conference of the Federation of Danish Associations in Canada in Aalborg in 2000 and to draw attention to the contribution the Federation's yearbooks have made to the history of Danish-Canadian emigration. It consists of forty personal histories of Danish-Canadians, which appeared in these conference books between 1985 and 1999, preceded by an article on Scandinavian immigration to Canada. Some of the personal histories are biographies and others autobiographies, and they ranged in length from two to ten pages. The earliest person to be written about is Anders Carlson, who was a pioneer settler in New Denmark, New Brunswick in 1872, and the latest ones are people living in Canada today. Although the largest number of histories deals with Danes who arrived in Canada after World War II, there are quite a few about those who came between the world wars or before World War I. Several also tell of people born in Canada of Danish parents.

The introductory article, "Movement under the Polar Star: Scandinavian Migration to Canada," by Harald Runblom, professor of history at the University of Uppsala, discusses several aspects of Scandinavian immigration to Canada in general. He maintains that most literature on the subject deals with the individual Scandinavian countries, whereas Canadian authorities have treated Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes as a group. Icelanders and Finns, though, have stressed their distinctiveness more than the other three groups.

All Scandinavians in North America, he argues, feel that the discovery of Newfoundland by Leif Eriksson shows them to have been the first Europeans on the North American continent. In addition, each Scandinavian group, as a sort of legitimization, can point to its own early arrival in North America prior to the time of mass migration. For example, the Swedes have their seventeenth century settlement in Delaware, the Finns founded settlements in Alaska prior to 1867, and the Danes point to Munk's expedition to the Churchill River in the early 1600s.

Runblom goes on to say that until the final decades of the nineteenth century, Canada was mainly a transit country for Scandinavian immigrants, especially Norwegians, on their way to the United States. There were some settlements formed, prior to the last two decades of the 1880's, by Swedes in Ontario and Quebec, by Norwegians in the Gaspé Peninsula, and by Danes in New Brunswick. In 1874, the first main group of Icelanders arrived in Ontario. He then mentions the opening of the prairie provinces to Scandinavian immigrants from the United States in the 1890's and the Danish settlements of Dickson and Standard. Many later immigrants came directly from Europe, but the Danish immigration was on a fairly low level. In the 1920's, land was still available, and recruiting was carried out in Copenhagen, where there was considerable interest in emigration. There was interest also in Finland. There then follows a discussion of the Finnish presence in eastern Canada and the radicalism of many of the Finnish settlers.

The final part of Runblom's article deals with certain aspects of ethnicity. First, he discussed the time of arrival, using the Icelanders as his examples. Then he uses Swedish and Finnish examples when he considers U.S.-Canadian connections, including those of ethnic organizations that have chapters in both countries. At the end, Runblom mentions the formation of the Federation of Danish Associations in Canada in 1981.

I am not convinced that an article on Scandinavian immigration as a whole, instead of one dealing exclusively or primarily with Denmark, was the proper choice to lead off this volume. Accepting that it was the right choice, I do not think that the one chosen was necessarily appropriate. In the first place, it was written by a scholar primarily of Swedish emigration, rather than by someone who focuses chiefly on the Danish. Runblom refers far more often in his article to immigration of Scandinavians other than Danes to Canada. A considerable amount of space is devoted to Finns and Icelanders. I feel that readers of this book would have been more interested in an article dealing first and foremost with Danish immigration to Canada.

There are a few comments I have on Runblom's article itself. He divides the period of mass migration to Canada into four periods—the years before 1901, from 1901 to the beginning of World War I, during the 1920's, and after World War II. He does not explain why the first phase ends in 1901 when most scholars, at least as far as the Scandinavian immigration is concerned, combine Runblom's first two phases into one, extending to the onset of World War I. On page 14, he refers to "archeologists Anne Stine and Helge Ingstad." Helge Ingstad was not an archeologist. Two references are given to Gulbrand Loken's monograph, *From Fjord to Frontier*, when Runblom mentions the Norwegian settlements on the Gaspé Peninsula, but no reference is made to Palle Bo Bojesen's *New Denmark, New Brunswick, Canada: Udviklingen i en dansk udvandrerkoloni 1872-1914* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 1993) when the Danish colony in New Brunswick is noted. On the following page, Aksel Sandemose's articles on Canada are referred to without a footnote. For a discussion of Sandemose's trip and his writings on Canada, my article "Aksel Sandemose and Canada," *Danish Emigration to Canada*, Udvandrerarkivets skriftserie: Udvandrerhistoriske studier nr. 3. (Aalborg: Det danske Udvandrerarkiv, 1991), 146-61, and Johs. Væth, *Aksel Sandemoses Canada: Rejsebetrægtninger i udvalg 1927-28*. (Copenhagen: Poul Kristensens forlag, 1994) should have been noted. On page 16, Runblom observes that there was a substantial Danish immigration to Canada after 1945. I think he should have pointed out that the Danes were by far the largest group of Scandinavians to come to Canada in that period, attracted, among others things, by the desire on the part of Canada to acquire skilled craftsmen. Finally, on page 19, the Icelandic Department at the University of Manitoba is referred to as the "Icelandic Institute".

As far as the rest of the volume is concerned, I have a few comments as well. There is nothing said in the introduction about how the articles were selected. Some of the articles on well-known, influential, or interesting people are extremely short (for example, M. B. Sorensen and Pastor Peter Rasmussen), and I think many readers would like to have had more information about them. Unfortunately, there are misprints on many pages of the texts.

I don't mean to detract from its positive aspects with these negative comments, because I feel the book does have value. For a number of years, the Federation of Danish Associations in Canada has been encouraging Danish-Canadians to write autobiographies and biographies of community members or to have themselves interviewed on video tape. Thus, the present volume supports the Federation's efforts in this regard. It makes these personal histories more available than they were in Confederation books. Were eventually enough of these collected, they might give an overall picture of the life of Danes in Canada, especially following World War II.

Christopher Hale

Danish American Heritage Society

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