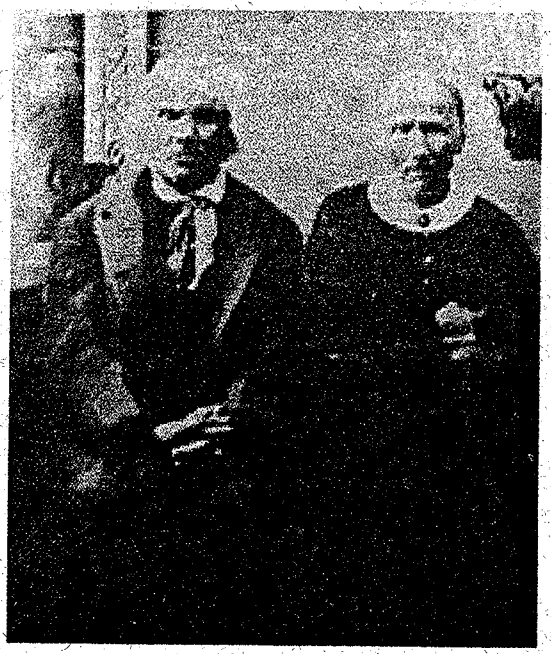
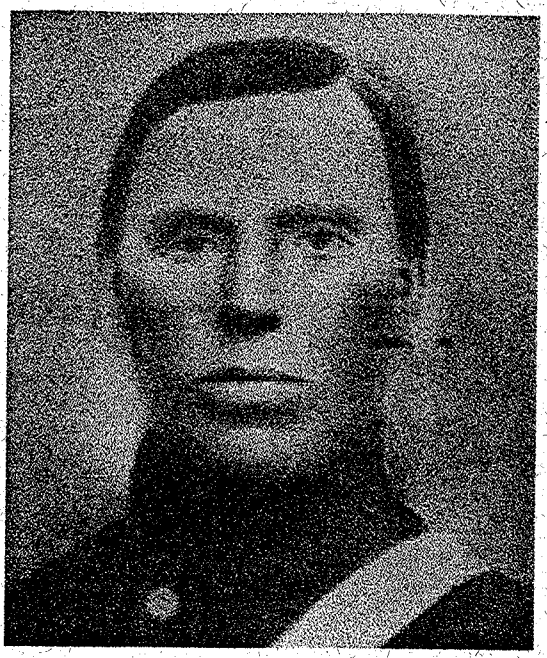
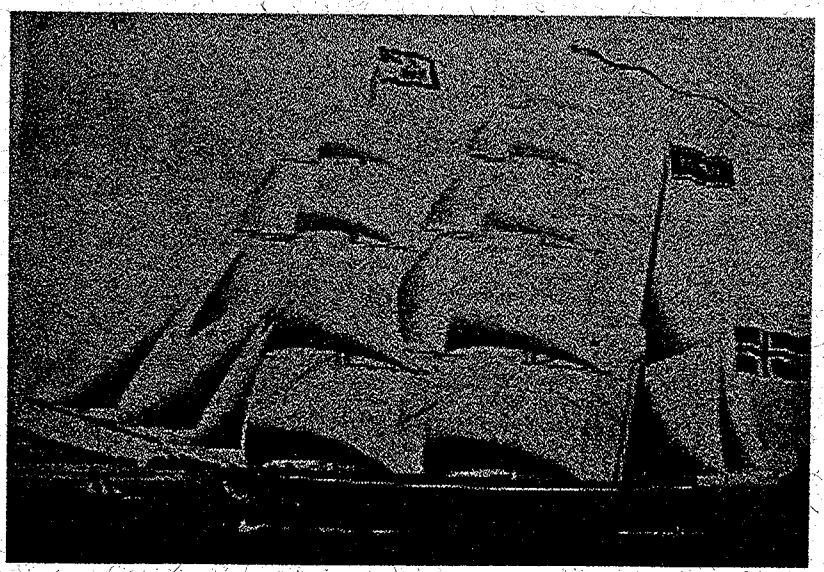




FROM VIK TO THE KOSHKONONG:
THE CHRONICLE OF A NORWEGIAN FAMILY,
1800 - 1870



FROM VIK TO THE KOSHKONONG: THE CHRONICLE OF A NORWEGIAN FAMILY, 1800-1870

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COVER

Top left: Photo of Anders Halvardsson and Brita Sjursdatter Alrek, circa 1870. Source: Ron Pearson.

Top right: Photo of Halvard Anderson Alrek (son of Anders and Brita) in Civil War uniform, taken 1862. He served in Company B, 15th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment. Source: Ron Pearson.

Bottom: Photo of the sailship Juno. Tor Sjurson Lillesand and family immigrated to America aboard this ship in 1846. Source: Rasmus Sunde, Ein Stad Skal Ein Vera, (Otta, Norway: Engers Bøktrykkeri, 1989) 67.

ABSTRACT

This study is an account of the life and times of a Norwegian immigrant family. It is a history of the Lillesand family, 1800-1870, integrated with the histories of Norwegian emigration and those Norwegian immigrants who settled the Koshkonong Prairie in southeastern Dane County, Wisconsin. Conditions in Norway and the opportunities America offered caused three Lillesand siblings of Vik, Norway, to emigrate in the middle of nineteenth century. The Lillesands and their Norwegian immigrant counterparts developed a unique culture on the Koshkonong Prairie by incorporating the new American influences into their traditional old world values.

INTRODUCTION

Deep within my genealogy lies a Norwegian family which traveled thousands of miles to a foreign land in hopes of better opportunities. As a result of changing conditions in rural Sogn, Norway, and the possibilities existing in America, the Lillesands, a farm family from Arnafjord Parish in Vik, emigrated to America in 1846. Settling on the Koshkonong Prairie in southeastern Wisconsin, the new immigrants brought their inherent value system which helped recreate the familiar surroundings they had left behind in Norway. This paper is in part the story of this Lillesand family which set forth on the journey to find a more favorable future. I will reconstruct the history of my early ancestors between the years 1800 and 1870 integrating it with the histories of the Norwegian emigration and the Koshkonong settlement in order to place the Lillesands within the larger context.

For many years historians and other social scientists have been fascinated with the reasons for and consequences of the mass immigration surge to the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because historical studies are based on specific supporting evidence which lead to broader generalizations, immigration research has led to

numerous writings on immigration as a whole or on a particular ethnic group. These writings introduce a number of generalizations about immigrants on such things as reasons for a group's immigration, characteristics of an immigrant group, hardships encountered by a group in the new land, the group's contributions to the new society, and so forth. However, by amassing a sample of individual units and then deriving generalizations from them in order to represent the majority of single units, the significance and uniqueness of the individual unit is lost. Thus, a problem arises in how an individual immigrant unit fits into the generalizations of its respective group. Consequently, I have chosen to research a family which is of personal interest to me.

The Lillesand family will be treated as a case study in order to relate a unit to the broad picture of Norwegian immigration. The characteristics which will be analyzed in this study include social status, reasons for emigration, time of emigration, place of settlement, occupation, family, religion, and Americanization. This study is divided into four distinct content areas: pre-emigration conditions in Norway, emigration from Norway, immigrants in America, and pioneer culture on the prairie.

The first area of investigation assesses the situation

the Lillesands found themselves in during the first half of the nineteenth century. Norwegian census manuscripts, church parish records, and Bygdabøk for Vik I Sogn will provide a description of the Lillesand family in Norway. The investigation will also present the economic and demographic conditions which led the family to emigrate.

The second part, emigration from Norway, provides information on the journey itself. Supporting evidence such as passenger ship records, emigration records (in Rasmus Sunde's Ein Stad Skal Ein Vera), and the Norwegian Pioneer Association Record Book will document the route the family took, details of the voyage, and the hardships the family encountered upon arrival in America.

Part three, immigrants in America, examines the settling of a Norwegian community in southern Wisconsin. A quantitative analysis of population schedules from the U.S. Census manuscript for Christiana Township, Dane County, shows that as early as 1850, a majority of the inhabitants were Norwegian.[1] In addition, analysis of the 1860 agriculture statistics provide a wealth of information about individual farms.

Pioneer culture of the prairie comprises the final portion of this study. Inquiry into the culture will explain the beliefs, customs, and institutions which helped the new

immigrants create a distinct Norwegian-American society. Koshkonong Prairie church records provide a valuable source of information on the importance of the neighborhood to the family. In addition, manuscript letters, personal interviews of family members, and naturalization records recount the effects of Americanization.

The secondary literature will provide a generalized profile to which the individual family can be compared and contrasted. Among the secondary literature authors, Theodore Blegen contends that Norwegian immigration to the United States was exceeded in percentage of total population of the old country only by that of Ireland. His classic work argued for the plausibility of studying Norwegian immigration. Blegen provided the basic foundation which contemporary Norwegian immigration researchers have followed. Jon Gjerde supports the suggestions of early researchers that American historians should analyze the immigration effects on the European community as well as the American settlement. Gjerde asserts that Norway and America possess sufficient source materials needed for such a study.[2]

Further review of the literature suggests two view points of Norwegian immigration. Odd Lovoll and Ingrid Semmingsen provide a more general overview of Norwegian immigration. By

contrast, Gjerde has limited his study to emigration from Balestrand to the upper Midwest (primarily Wisconsin). The differing viewpoints supply two distinct avenues to which the Lillesand family can be compared. Furthermore, Gjerde's work will be a significant source because Balestrand is a neighboring district to Vik in the Sogn region of Norway.

PRE-EMIGRATION CONDITIONS IN NORWAY

A primary consideration of this study is to develop an account of the existing pre-emigration conditions in Norway. An analysis of the demographic and economic conditions in the Sogn region as well as the favorable elements which America offered suggest that emigrants from the Sogn region were vulnerable to both the "push" and "pull" factors inherent to emigration.

Sogn is a mountainous region located along the 100-mile-long Sognfjord in western Norway (see Appendix A). It contains 11 districts which are divided into three main areas. Inner Sogn consists of the eight eastern most districts, which include Laerdal, Ardal, Luster, Jostedal, Hafslo, Sogndal, and Aurland. Central Sogn comprises the three middle districts of

Leikanger, Balestrand, and Vik. Outer Sogn makes up the final three districts of Lavik, Eivindvik, and Hyllestad which are nearest the North Sea. For the purpose of this paper, central Sogn will be the area of main focus because the district of Vik is the homeland of the Lillesands.

Investigation into the demography of Sogn shows that overpopulation was a factor, but not the only one, which forced emigration from the area. At the turn of the nineteenth century the 14 districts in Sogn had a total population of 24,150. By 1855 the number had grown to 38,183, an increase of 58.1 percent. The central Sogn districts were the least populated and Vik's population increased only 42.7 percent over the same years. In comparison, Norway's aggregate population rose from 883,487 in 1801 to 1,701,756 in 1865, an increase of 92.6 percent.[3] These figures clearly show that the Sogn region's population, although increasing, was well below the national level.

Norway was predominantly a rural society, and the social make-up of Sogn shows that two distinct classes inhabited the area. The farmers (*bønder*), those who owned land and controlled resources, claimed high social status. In contrast cotters (*husmænn*), who had no property and sustained life by working rented land or hiring out as laborers, formed the lower

class. The relative growth of the two classes indicate that the number of cotters was increasing faster than the aggregate population; whereas the number of farmers did not rise in relation to the aggregate.[4] However, did an overall rise in population and subsequent rise in the lower class force emigration?

Aage Engesæter argues that definite conclusions cannot be drawn on the basis of the above facts alone. The relationship between population and resources within Sogn must be considered as well. Approximately 91 percent of the Norwegian society lived in the rural areas, and 83.2 percent of this rural population were in some way associated with agriculture either through farming, land ownership, labor, or production of raw materials. The economy of Sogn was no different. Because the region is centered around a fjord, the land available for farming is small and precious. As early as 1666, no new land was being cleared for farming.[5] This meant with the rise in population and the practices of traditional land inheritance, farms were continually subdivided. Impractical agricultural processes, such as strip farming, and the inheritance law further hampered the system.

These subdivided farms, therefore, became very small and as would be expected could not provide adequate food for the

population. However, with the adoption of the potato in the late eighteenth century and the effects of the industrialization slowly reaching Norway, a crisis was averted. Figures for central Sogn during the first half of the 1800s reveal that, although food production was lowest of the three areas, food levels were sufficient to maintain a population increase.[6]

Another area of resources to investigate includes the labor market, wages, and land prices. When linked with rising population, these factors often indicate an economic strain placed on a society. As a result of this economic strain, people may be forced to emigrate. In a region with a strong population pressure, it is reasonable to assume that there would be a lack of jobs, low wages, and high land prices. Quite the contrary; in Sogn it was fairly easy to procure steady employment within and outside of the agriculture industry. In fact, Vik experienced a shortage of hired labor in the early 1800s as a result of slower population growth. The virtual lack of unemployment in the Sogn area up to the beginning of emigration in 1839 pushed wages higher than in other areas of western Norway which did not have any early emigration movement. Similarly, land prices seemed to be an insignificant factor in Sogn. Central Sogn communities enjoyed

significantly lower land prices than those communities further inland where demand was greater.[7]

Although Engesæter clearly proves that neither demography nor the economy played significant roles in forcing emigration, emigration from Sogn still occurred. In fact, central Sogn, the area with the least population pressure, had the highest intensity of emigration. If neither demography nor the economy were significant factors, why then was the rate of emigration so high in central Sogn?

Even though demographic and economic reasons provide little direct evidence as to why Sogn residents emigrated, these conditions nonetheless affected the quality of their lives. Gjerde argues that many people looked to the future with great anxiety. In addition, thoughts about the prospects for their children became of decisive importance to many parents.[8] Because the farms were too small for further divisions and laws allowed only the oldest son to inherit the farm, concern for the other children grew as families became larger in the first half of the nineteenth century.

This anxiety toward the future was soon aided by sensational accounts of America. With the first Norwegian emigrants reaching America in 1825, information about opportunity and abundance reached and infiltrated southwestern

Norway. Letters, booklets, travel logs, and word of mouth descriptions of high wages, availability of land, and low prices caused a stir in Norwegian Society beginning in the late 1820s. This phenomenon became known as "America Fever."[9] It created an enormous interest in what America had to offer both the landed and landless classes.

Engesæter reveals that emigration was a result of a combination of both push and pull factors.[10] Changing conditions in pre-emigration Norway as well as favorable possibilities in America affected Norwegian thinking. But how exactly did the Lillesand family fit within those conditions and how would they react to them?

The farm, Lillesand, lies in Arnafjord Parish of the Vik district in central Sogn (see Appendix B). It is in the western most reaches of the Vik district located on the coast of the Sognfjord. Reachable only by boat or ferry, Lillesand is 11.5 miles northwest of Arnafjord Parish Church and 14 miles west of the city of Vik, district seat of Vik. The extent of the farm's workable land is a meager 12 acres yet sustained two farm families and two cotter families in 1840.[11]

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Tor Sjurson Lillesand and his wife Synneva Paulsdatter owned the farm. Their first son, Sjur Torson, took over production on the farm

at the time of his marriage to Brita Lassesdatter in 1807. Ownership was turned over to Sjur Torson Lillesand upon his father's death in 1813. Seven children were born to Sjur and Brita, four of whom survived: Tor Sjurson 1/4/1808, Brita Sjursdatter 11/3/1809, Synneva (about whom little in known), and Lasse Sjurson 5/22/1820.[12] Details of the lives of Tor, Brita, and Lasse will be followed throughout the remainder of this study. (Family tree located in Appendix C).

The two eldest children married and moved from Lillesand as a result of limited resources (land) on the Lillesand farm. Upon marriage, Brita Sjursdatter and her husband Anders Hallvardsson Hanekamb moved to the farm Alrek and became cotters under Ole Frikson Alrek. Anders and Brita had seven children prior to 1856 (year of emigration) while renting on the Alrek farm. Similarly, Tor Sjurson Lillesand and his wife Åse Olsdatter (Alrek) moved from Lillesand after their marriage. However, they were able to purchase a larger farm unit (one of four on Alrek) from Åse's father with Tor's inheritance money. Åse had three children prior to their emigration in 1846. Contrary to his elder siblings, Lasse Sjurson remained on Lillesand to help his father.[13]

Although little information is known about the Lillesand family during the pre-emigration years, the family seemed to

emulate the conditions of the times. The Lillesands owned the farm on which they lived, giving them high social status. In addition the meager size of the Lillesand farm hampered subdivision and limited resources. As a result both Tor and Brita were forced to migrate to another farm. While Tor kept his landholding status, Brita and her family regressed into the growing cotter class. Furthermore, the size of the families was increasing--except for Tor's, distorted as a result of early emigration. Nonetheless, Brita's family status was indicative of the fact that the cotter population was on a faster increase than the farmer population.

EMIGRATION FROM NORWAY

The exodus from Norway occurred in three primary waves. Beginning in 1825, a group of 52 religious dissidents left Norway aboard the sailship Restauration. Known as the pioneer phase, this first wave accounted for less than 1,000 people emigrating to America. As a result of changing economic conditions and "America Fever," emigration increased significantly in 1836. This second wave saw an increased number of emigrants leaving Norway, especially from the mid-

forties onward. As the American civil war began in 1861, emigration continued to decrease. By 1865, emigration had nearly ceased. However, emigration once again increased in 1866 following the end of the war. This third and final wave, known as the mass immigration continued until the beginning of World War I. Where as in the first forty years of emigration, only 80,000 Norwegians crossed the Atlantic to make a home for themselves in America, the mass immigration phase saw almost 677,000 Norwegians leave their homeland for America.[14]

Emigration from Sogn began with a Vik farmer, Per Iverson Undi, and his family in 1839 as accounts of America drifted in from the neighboring district of Voss. Like the emigrants from Voss who preceded him, Undi wrote a letter in 1841 that recounted the bounty of the American Middle West. The news soon spread America Fever throughout Vik and into the entire Sogn region. Sogn soon became a major region of emigration in the middle forties and continuing into the early sixties with Vik exhibiting the highest intensity.[15]

As a result of Undi's letters, emigration began to increase in the middle forties with 314 people leaving for America between 1843 and 1846. That number more than doubled over the next nine years to a total of 678 emigrating to America during the time period 1846-1855. Vik composed 20.2

percent of the total emigration from Sogn over that 17 year period.[16] Total emigration nearly doubled over the next 10-year-period, reaching a total of 1212 by 1865. This shows the cumulative effect of the influence the immigrants in America may have had on the Vik population.

Landowning households dominated the early stages of emigration. It is noted by Semmingsen that at this time a majority of the emigrants were large nuclear families. It may be ironic then that Lasse Sjurson, single and landless, was the first of the Lillesand siblings to leave. Lasse neither owned land nor was he married, yet children of landowners moving alone were also a significant group in the early emigration. Children who did not receive a land inheritance received capital from their fathers. With loose ties to his homeland in conjunction with the America Fever that had cast an adventurous curiosity among many single emigrants, Lasse used his inheritance money to purchase a ticket to America. He left Vik for Bergen to board the sailship Peder Schreuder in the spring of 1845. At the age of 25, Lasse Sjurson Lillesand arrived in New York on July 1, 1845.[17]

Likely coaxed by his younger brother, Tor Sjurson soon embarked on the same adventure. Contrary to his brother, Tor closely emulated the norm. He emigrated with his family, Wife

Åse and their three small children: Sjur age 6, Ingeborg age 4, and Ola age 1. Since he had a family and owned land, preparations for departure became more intricate. As a farm owner he had to sell the land, buildings, animals, equipment, and many personal items that could not be taken along, most of them at an auction.[18] The auction money helped pay for tickets and food provisions for the journey.

Tor and his family left the following spring from Bergen aboard the Juno on May 4, 1846. Facing a five to twelve week voyage, emigrants had to organize their existence in a floating, temporary, miniature society; they had to adjust to each other and find modes of cooperation and coexistence within the constricted space allotted them, physically as well as socially. The voyage was hardest on the young and old, and it was not uncommon for some to die and be laid to rest at sea. Seasickness and dysentery ran rampant, especially when passengers were unable to go above deck in bad weather. Nevertheless, Tor Sjurson Lillesand and family arrived unscathed in New York June 18, 1846.[19]

Brita Sjursdatter and her husband Anders remained behind in Norway as cotters on the farm Alrek. However, by the middle fifties emigration rapidly diffused to all segments of society. In 1856, cotters and single people began to form the majority

of emigrants. Gjerde argues that though emigration bettered the landless class, it was these poorer elements who became the major emigrant group of the 1860s, as information about the United States diffused and as strategies for paying for transportation costs evolved. With the help of their kin already in America, Brita and her family were able to emigrate as early as 1856.[20]

IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA

Safely arriving at a port in North America was a blessing in disguise for Norwegian immigrants. Thinking the worst was already behind, the immigrants found a host of new hardships awaiting them upon leaving the ship. Language barriers, swindlers, and further travel posed the most immediate threats. Because of the Norwegian immigrants' high value of land and starting farms, they looked to settle in areas where land was available, cheap, and fertile. Therefore, the primary area of settlement became the Middle West. With another 1,000 mile journey ahead of them and lacking knowledge of English, the Norwegian immigrants relied on agents who helped the immigrants arrange travel to the interior. Some of these agents swindled

money from the new immigrants. Ironically it was their own countrymen already residing in America, known as "Norwegian rascals," who preyed heavily on the immigrants.[21] Nonetheless they needed the guidance of others to help them in this new land.

In 1838 the first Norwegian settlement in the Wisconsin Territory was created on Rock Prairie. Over the next two years a host of settlements sprang up in the southern parts of the territory, with the Koshkonong Prairie being settled in the spring of 1840 (see Appendix D). By 1842 these settlements of the Wisconsin Territory became the primary destination of Norwegian immigrants.[22]

The Koshkonong Prairie covers parts of ten townships in southeastern Dane and western Jefferson Counties with approximately 90,000 acres. The prairie offered immigrants a gently rolling landscape with fertile soils, easy access to water, and forest groves--all the necessities to found a settlement. Christiana, the only township which lies completely within the confines of the prairie, soon became the heart of this primarily Norwegian settlement.

Gjerde's claim that Norwegian immigrants often moved to the Upper Middle Western settlements that already were primarily Norwegian is supported by a quantitative analysis of

TABLE ONE
POPULATION STATISTICS FOR CHRISTIANA TOWNSHIP, 1845-1870

	1846	1850	1860	1870
Total Population in Township	548	1054	1424	1342
Norwegian Born Population	298	648	651	597
Norwegian-American born Population (children)	14	126	370	476
Norwegian heritage Population	312	774	1021	1073
Percent Norwegian in total population	57%	73%	72%	80%

Source: Wisconsin Territorial Census, 1846; Manuscript Census, Dane County, 1850, pp. 1-35 Christiana Township; Manuscript Census, Dane County, 1860, pp. 1-26 Christiana Township; and Manuscript Census, Dane County, 1870, pp. 1-34 Christiana Township.

Christiana Township's population (see Table 1). Although Dane County did not exist yet, in 1840 only one Norwegian family lived in the area that would become Christiana Township. In only six years however, the township was home to 548 people: 298 of whom were Norwegian born (54%) and 14 of whom were Norwegian-American born (3%) for a total of 312 people of Norwegian heritage, 57% of the total population. After five more years of intense immigration, the numbers had risen significantly. By 1850 the township population was 1054 with

648 Norwegian born (61%) and 126 Norwegian-American born (12%). In four years the total number of people with Norwegian heritage more than doubled to 774, comprising 73% Christiana's population.

Further analysis shows that even after west-central Wisconsin and Minnesota opened up to Norwegian immigrants, the Norwegian population in Christiana Township still increased. Although by 1860 the Norwegian born population leveled off at 651 making up only 46% of the total population, the Norwegian-American born component tripled to 370 accounting for 26% of the total. These figures indicate that by 1860 the Koshkonong was no longer a primary settlement area. Increase in the Norwegian component was a result of Norwegian families having more children upon settling in America.

Semmingsen asserts that during the 1860s as primary settlements began further west, not only were new immigrants migrating there, but others from older settlements were taking part in secondary migrations as well. Investigation of the 1870 federal census supports this claim. The number of Norwegian born in Christiana Township decreased to 597, occupying only 44% of the township's population. However, an increase in the number of Norwegian-American born consequently raised the Norwegian heritage component to 80% of the

township's total. The Koshkonong still remained primarily Norwegian even if it was no longer a primary settlement area.[23]

Just as Norwegian immigrants were drawn to areas previously settled by their kin, the environment also played a role. Southeastern and south-central areas of the Wisconsin Territory offered cheap, fertile, and abundant land to new immigrants. Sognings, the majority of Norwegians settling Koshkonong in the early years, found that 40 acres of government land was available for as little as $1.25 an acre. Even those with little money could easily save that amount within a few months time. In addition these 40 acre plots were often four to five times larger than the immigrants' farms in Norway--as was the case for the Lillesands. Land became the destiny of nearly all the early Norwegian Immigrants. One immigrant concurred:

> "It was the hunger for land which drove the first and most to America. They threw themselves at the earth and slaved on it and never could get enough. The history of the first settlements shows how they rushed from place to place always looking for land, and when they found some, they left it to look for something better."[24]

Perhaps it was a combination of environment and kinship that brought the Lillesands to the Koshkonong. Upon his arrival, Lasse Sjurson traveled with a group of fellow Vik emigrants to the Koshkonong Prairie where he purchased a 40

acre parcel of land at the Milwaukee District General Land Office on August 15, 1845. It is striking because typically immigrants chose to live with an established family for a year or two before buying land.[25] Perhaps the long journey added to his desire for owning a farm. From his farm, Lasse wrote letters of the low prices, high wages, and profitable land to coax his siblings to emigrate.

Because most letters were sent to kin remaining in Norway, those who emigrated as a result often moved to join the family whence the letters came. Consequently Tor Sjurson Lillesand and his family soon purchased land next to his brother. An account of this Lillesand family's migration from New York to Koshkonong appears in the Norwegian Pioneer Association Record Book:

> . . . from New York they came on a steamboat to Albany, from there on a canalboat on the Erie Canal to Buffalo, from there they took passage on a steamboat to Milwaukee. Then the father footed it all the way to Koshkonong . . . with a day or two rest he borrowed an ox-team and wagon to go to Milwaukee after his family and goods . . . then they returned to Koshkonong.

The Great Lakes route via the Erie Canal was the most common route for immigrants entering at New York to reach the Midwest. Tor also purchased land the same year he immigrated, an 80 acre parcel neighboring Lasse's land.[26]

Some ten years later Brita, Anders, and family followed

their siblings to America, but by a different route. Norwegian emigrant ships began docking in the Canadian city of Quebec as the British Navigation Acts were repealed in 1849. Between 1854 and 1865, 90 percent of the Norwegian emigrants traveled to the Midwest via Quebec.[27] By this time the Canadian rail system carried the new immigrants to Detroit where they boarded steamships to Milwaukee. Since the Alreks had been cotters in the old country, most of the money they had saved went into travel. Thus they moved in with Lasse Sjurson.

The Norwegian immigrant's value of land not only compelled them to move to the Middle West and buy land but to work it as well. Resembling their native country, the immigrants settled in the rural areas and engaged in agriculture. Gjerde states:

> The immigrant was less mobile than the average American in the 1800s owing to his love of the land, which he would not exploit sacrilegiously. He stayed put, increased his holdings, and measured his success by the degree to which his dream of creating farms around him for his offspring was realized.[28]

The Lillesand brothers worked to accomplish just that on their respective farms in Christiana Township. New farmers like the Lillesands went through a time period of adjusting to new conditions, learning about new crops, and adapting new agriculture techniques. Gjerde claims they rapidly acquired knowledge of new methods and quickly adapted to the cash-grain

farming of the Upper Middle West, which soon helped them become quite adept at prairie farming.[29]

How do the Lillesand farms compare with the norm? A quantitative review of the 1860 agriculture schedule of the manuscript census for Dane County provides an excellent avenue for comparison. The schedule furnishes information on both Lillesand farms and with further analysis information on the average Christiana Township farm as well. In addition Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman have used the 1860 census to study a sample of Northern farms for their book To Their own Soil. This book provides information on the average Northern farm, Eastern farm, and Midwestern farm as well as the average Wisconsin farm.

The figures indicate that Christiana Township was comparable to Northern farms and better than average on the whole when compared to the Midwest region and Wisconsin (See Table 2). Statistics further point out that the township was a significant grain producer when compared with the other areas. These figures are quite impressive when one considers that over three-quarters of the farms in Christiana were owned and operated by Norwegian immigrants. Just as Gjerde claims, the Norwegians did indeed quickly adapt to the American agriculture system.

TABLE TWO
AGRICULTURE STATISTICS, 1860

FARM STATISTIC	ENTIRE NORTH	NORTHEAST REGION	MIDWEST REGION	WIS-CONSIN	CHRISTIANA TOWNSHIP	LASSE SJURSON	TOR SJURSON
NO. FARMS SAMPLED	11,648	4,342	7,306	362	132	1	1
FARM VALUE	$2,819	$3,581	$2,367	$1,756	$2,589	$1,700	$3,800
IMPL VALUE	$103	$125	$90	$84	$122	$40	$200
IMPR ACRES	70	79	65	52	68	70	100
UNIMPR ACRES	59	39	72	88	83	76	140
TOTAL ACRES	129	118	137	132	151	146	240
HORSES	2.9	2.4	3.1	2.1	2.0	0	4
OXEN	.8	.8	.8	1.5	1.0	4	3
MILK COWS	3.7	4.9	3.0	3.4	3.9	4	7
OTHER CATTLE	4.6	4.2	4.9	4.9	3.2	4	5
SHEEP	11.6	15.8	9.2	4.2	8.6	3	7
HOGS	11.6	4.7	15.7	4.9	4.0	4	4
TOTAL LVSTCK	35.2	32.8	36.7	21.0	22.7	19	30
LVSTCK VALUE	$447	$493	$420	$252	$367	$126	$660
SLGHTRD VALUE	$80	$86	$77	$46	$57	$50	$60
WHEAT (BUS)	80	38	105	240	549	500	1540
RYE (BUS)	12	26	3	2	.6	0	0
CORN (BUS)	378	139	520	96	149	30	30
OATS (BUS)	99	169	58	158	225	200	600
POTATOES (BUS)	54	82	37	55	38	20	20
BARLEY (BUS)	6	13	2	3	31	100	300
BUCKWHEAT (BUS)	13	26	5	1	0	0	0
HAY (TON)	11	16	8	14	19	20	40
TOBACCO (LBS)	96	122	151	0	0	0	0
BUTTER (LBS)	261	421	166	160	272	150	300
CHEESE (LBS)	96	221	22	7	19	0	0
MAPLE SGR (LBS)	29	48	17	37	0	0	0
WOOL (LBS)	37	57	26	15	25	6	20
HOME MANUF	$7	$4	$9	$2	$0	$0	$0

Source: Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman, To Their Own Soil, (Ames, IA: Iowa University Press, 1987) 112-113; and Manuscript Census, Dane County, 1860, pp. 170-173, Agriculture Schedules--Christiana Township.

Individually the Lillesand brothers fared well also. Lasse who had the smaller of the two farms, although below the township average, compared fairly well with other farms in Wisconsin and the Midwest on each of the items. On the other hand, Tor's was significantly above average in every item. His farm was worth even more than those well established in the Northeast. The two figures that stand out on Tor's farm are the acreage and grain production. In 1860 Tor owned 240 acres, which was about 110 more than the Northern average. Consequently the farm produced staggering amounts of wheat (1540 bushels), oats (600 bushels), and barley (300 bushels) when compared to the average. Tor owned a fairly large number of cattle, which also added to the value and production of the farm.

PIONEER CULTURE ON THE PRAIRIE

Census figures and plat maps showing land ownership prove that the Koshkonong Prairie was primarily a Norwegian community. Subsequently the immigrants controlled their beliefs, customs, and institutions which would characterize the prairie. Sheer numbers strengthened the culture's intensity.

Although their Norwegian traditions were strong and did provide the foundation of a distinct Norwegian culture on the Koshkonong, the new immigrants would eventually come in contact with Americans, beginning the gradual adaptation to the larger American society which changed the immigrants into Norwegian-Americans. Semmingsen calls this slow process Americanization.[30] Nonetheless, Koshkonong culture shaped and was shaped by the lives of those who made their home on the prairie, the Lillesands included.

Though the Norwegians brought few material things along for the journey, they brought what they needed most to survive: their inherent beliefs and values. Since the intention of owning land was a priority among the Norwegian immigrants, high value was placed on their family as well. Their traditional system of labor among household members, increased work responsibilities, and the new farming conditions induced alterations on the family both directly and indirectly.[31] The sheer increase in size of the family farm, as compared to those they had in Norway, and fertility of the soil in the Koshkonong increased production significantly.

As the farm size and related economic wealth of the family increased, parents were able to support larger families. Evidence of this can be found in Tor Sjurson's family. In

1850, after four years on the Koshkonong Prairie, Tor and Åse had two more children. By 1860 they had ten ranging from 20 years of age to 1 year old. Sever and Isabella (Americanized names of Sjur and Ingeborg), the oldest still lived and worked on the farm with their parents. However, by 1870 the family dwindled to six children as the two older daughters were married and two middle sons died. Still four children over 18 remained on the farm: Sever 30, Ole 25, Betsy 22, and Jane 18. In addition the family provided room and board for a 23-year-old farm laborer. In contrast, Lasse Sjurson who had married in 1846, only had one child in 1850. By 1860 Lasse and his wife Helene had only four children and would not have any more after that.[32]

In the case of Tor's family it was not at all uncommon to see the older sons remain on the farm for extended periods of time. Because the second generation immigrants tended to marry within their ethnic group, a lack of marriageable Norwegian women kept the marriage age quite high for the men.[33] As a result they stayed on to help their fathers. In the case of Lasse's family, perhaps the reason for the small number of children was a result of Brita's family moving in with them in 1856. Brita had eight children of her own who were able to help on the farm.

Farm size, increased work responsibility, and the growing size of the family changed the traditional division of labor within the nuclear family. Whereas in Norway women tended both family and farm chores, their labor in America would be focused on the domestic work.[34] Upon settling in America, the Lillesand womens' duties became solely domestic in nature, which included tending children, laundry, cooking, and cleaning. The men, on the other hand, feverishly tended to the increasing size of the farm. Their duties included sowing crops, clearing land, harvesting, and tending animals. The distinct division was a mirror of the American system and children learned it early and well.

A third component of the Norwegian immigrants' inherent value system was the importance of the neighborhood. To the Norwegians it was an extension of the nuclear family. Whereas in Norway it was already developed, in America the neighborhood had to be created, but through common effort and daily practice it grew into a fellowship that gave protection and security in a strange world.[35] The neighborhood was geographically designated as a result of the close ties between the Norwegian immigrants. In rural Dane County, the neighborhood was comprised of the neighboring farm families where as in Norway it was the families which lived together on a specific farm.

Nonetheless, the neighborhood supplied the social needs of the community in America just as it had in Norway.

Socially, the neighborhood provided a place where the new immigrants still depended on their kind for help. Farmers might band together to buy equipment, harvest crops, or help control fires. It was also an opportunity for settlers to preserve the old rural customs, especially those associated with celebrations.[36] However, the most important entity this new neighborhood in America helped develop was perhaps a place of worship.

In the nineteenth century, Norway had a highly organized and specifically structured Lutheran state-church. Yet as emigration increased, the state-church failed to send ministers or other people to help structure a Norwegian church in America. Therefore, immigrants had no official organization to help them worship God upon settling in the Midwest. Until the first Norwegian churches were established, lay preachers traveled about the settlements guiding the new settlers' worship. The first Norwegian Lutheran church was built on the Koshkonong Prairie in 1844. It seated over 800 people, testifying to the importance of religion to the immigrants.[37]

As the new immigrant churches took on a similar character as its sister state-church in Norway, some people became

discontented with the puritanically strict stronghold over the lives of the congregation.[38] Since America, unlike Norway at the time, was a country of religious pluralism, those who were dissatisfied with the Norwegian church often adopted a new faith. Hitherto members of the East Koshkonong Lutheran Church, both Lillesand families helped build and became part of the founding congregation of the Willerup Methodist Church in Cambridge (located in the northeastern Christiana Township).[39]

Built in 1851, Willerup was the first Scandinavian Methodist Church in the world. Emphasis was switched from traditional doctrine of the state church to one on conduct and free form of worship. This more markedly American character encouraged pietistic behavior and provided an emotional religious experience. Nevertheless, the Lillesands were devout worshipers, setting Sundays aside for nothing more than a day of God.[40] Religion played an important role in the family even if immigrants converted to other faiths; they held more a communal belief in God than in one certain faith.

For many Norwegian immigrants, values of land, family, neighborhood, and religion were ways to keep ties with and traditions of their mother country strong. However, no matter how religious or how much they valued their traditional ways, Americanization took place. It was a long, slow process

beginning as soon as they arrived at port and continuing throughout the lives of the immigrants wherever they settled. No one was exempt from its sometimes harsh effects. But as Semmingsen argues, Norwegians did not desire isolation for they had come to America hoping for better circumstances.[41]

Since language was the first formidable barrier that the immigrants ran into, one would think it was the first area of Americanization. Quite the opposite. As a result of the Norwegians settling in colonies where their ethnic group make up the majority, they spoke nothing but Norwegian. Only when they went to town to buy or sell commodities did these immigrants need to speak the English language. The 1860 manuscript census indicates that the Lillesand and Alrek parents could neither read nor write in English. However, it is interesting to note that their children could. The reason for this second generation to adopt English was education. By 1870 all the Lillesand and Alrek children, at least those between 5 and 18, had attended an American public school.[42]

The agricultural adaptations made by the immigrants provide yet another example of reconciling traditional practices with the new environment. Analysis of agriculture statistics indicated just how well the Lillesand brothers adapted to the American practices. They were at least average

or better than their counterparts in Christiana Township. Within another ten years Lasse and Tor had more than doubled their wealth to $7,000 and $9,000 respectively. This accumulation of wealth was a distinct American trait which they were not accustomed to in the old country.[43]

Perhaps the biggest test for the Norwegian-Americanization process was the Civil War. Coming to a section of America where a majority of the native population, whether for moral, economic, or political reasons united during the 1850s in condemning slavery, Norwegian immigrants supported this view for they had sought opportunity as well. Although it was one thing for Norwegian immigrants to denounce slavery, it was quite another to take a stand against slavery and fight. Nonetheless, Norwegians enlisted in the Union Army to show love and support of their new fatherland by defending the government, freedom, and unity of the country. Semmingsen further asserts that while approximately 10% of the Norwegian men aged 18-45 served, many more on the home front supported the war effort through food production and humanitarian aid.[44]

Once again the Lillesands provide evidence of this fact. Tor's oldest son, Sever, enlisted almost immediately. He was mustered into service June 5, 1861, in Madison with the Third Regiment of Wisconsin. In addition, Brita's two eldest sons,

Sievert and Halvard Anderson, enlisted in the Fifteenth Wisconsin. The three fought in many battles including such decisive ones as Antietem, Gettysburg, the siege of Vicksburg, and Sherman's March to the Sea. Halvard Anderson died near Memphis, Tennessee, recovering from wounds sustained in a battle on Island #10. The other two cousins were mustered out of service at the end of the war physically unscathed.[45]

The citizenship process provides yet further evidence that Norwegians became American. More official and significantly less brutal than enlisting in war, the process involved proving allegiance to their new fatherland. By rescinding allegiance to the King of Norway then taking an oath to uphold the US Constitution, an immigrant was awarded citizenship. It became known as Naturalization. Though not as popular among the early immigrants, many of those who came during the mass exodus quickly gained citizenship in order to take advantage of all that America offered. In contrast to this norm, seven of the Lillesand relatives had received their naturalization certificates prior to 1870. It was yet another way the Lillesands maintained their uniqueness.[46]

CONCLUSION

This research was undertaken to place the Lillesand family within the larger context of their ethnic group. By following the life cycles of the Lillesand family members, this study seized the unique quality that sets them apart from their fellow countrymen. The investigation surveyed 70 years of family history beginning in Norway at the turn of the nineteenth century continuing through settlement in America up to 1870.

Since the Lillesands could have been compared to two separate and distinct waves of the Norwegian immigration, two completely different conclusions might have been reached. On the one hand, a general survey of the entire immigration would depict the Lillesands as a stark contrast to the norm. This norm indicates that the immigrant was a single, male cotter around 25 years of age immigrating sometime in the early 1880s.[47] On the other hand, a more specified survey of a particular wave of Norwegian immigration (as was undertaken in this study) provides a more specific comparison to a smaller sub-group. Interpretation of the data when compared to the broader generalizations of the ethnic sub-group yields several conclusions.

Evidence presented here proves that the Lillesands reacted to the pre-emigration conditions in the Sogn region similarly to other Sognings. Their demographic and economic make-up typified the generalizations reached by Gjerde and Engesæter. In addition their reasons for internal migration and subsequent emigration from Norway emulated those of the early emigration period. One could argue that Lasse's emigration and Brita's family's emigration contrasted with others of the same time; however, as suggested by experts, their situations may have been different but not uncommon.

Upon arriving in America, the Lillesands once again typified the norm for the founding phase of Norwegian immigration. The families all settled near one another and collectively in a preestablished Norwegian settlement. Furthermore, both Tor's and Brita's families took the respective usual route to the Koshkonong Prairie. Lasse and Tor also purchased land and began farming which was common of Norwegian immigrants.

Possibly the most decisive factor was where they chose to live. This single choice determined the occupation of the family, the relationships within the nuclear family, and the family role in the neighborhood. Since an overwhelming majority of immigrants had come from rural Norway, the norm was

to settle in areas with available resources. Here again the Lillesands represented their ethnic group by becoming farmers on a Midwest prairie.

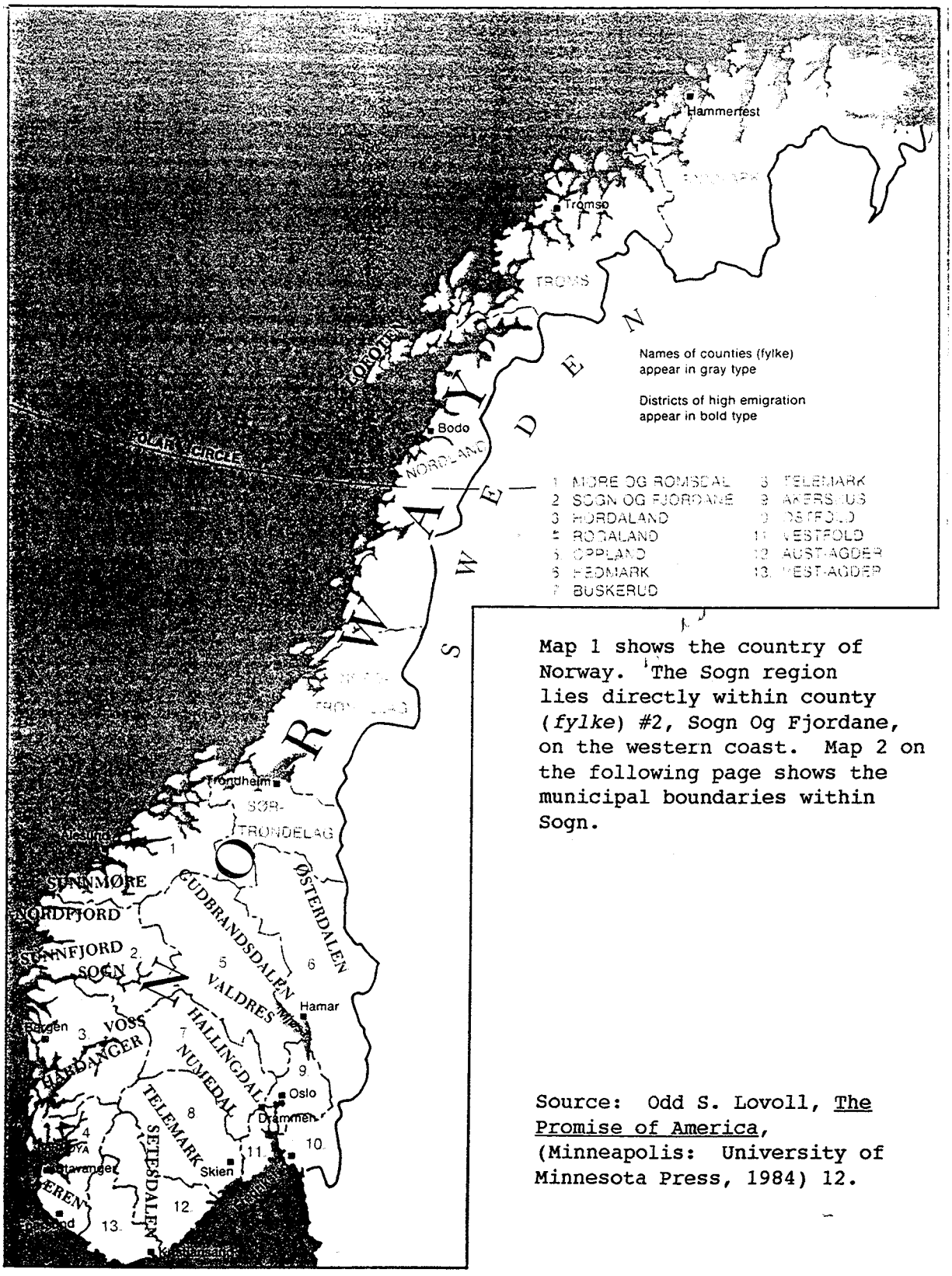
The Lillesands' inherent value systems structured their orientation within American society just as it did for their fellow Norwegian immigrants. However, the Lillesands' readiness to accept American ideas conceivably set them apart from their sub-group. Agriculture statistics indicated the Lillesands quickly adapted to the new agriculture system. Lasse and, to a greater extent, Tor had already acquired impressive farms by 1860. Consequently the size and importance of their families grew in order to support their farms. Another American characteristic they embraced was the change to a more moderate faith: Methodism. Although others left the Lutheran faith too, the majority remained with their traditional foundation. Furthermore, the Lillesands' promptness in enlisting in the Civil War and securing citizenship showed their willingness to become American.

Overall, evidence proves that the Lillesands were indeed quite typical of the emigrant group which left Norway between 1836 and 1865. However, upon arriving in America they characteristically differed from their immigrant group. Perhaps the speed at which the Lillesand family Americanized

was their greatest deviation from the norm. Nonetheless, all these characteristics created a unique Norwegian-American family.

APPENDIX A

MAP 1: NORWAY

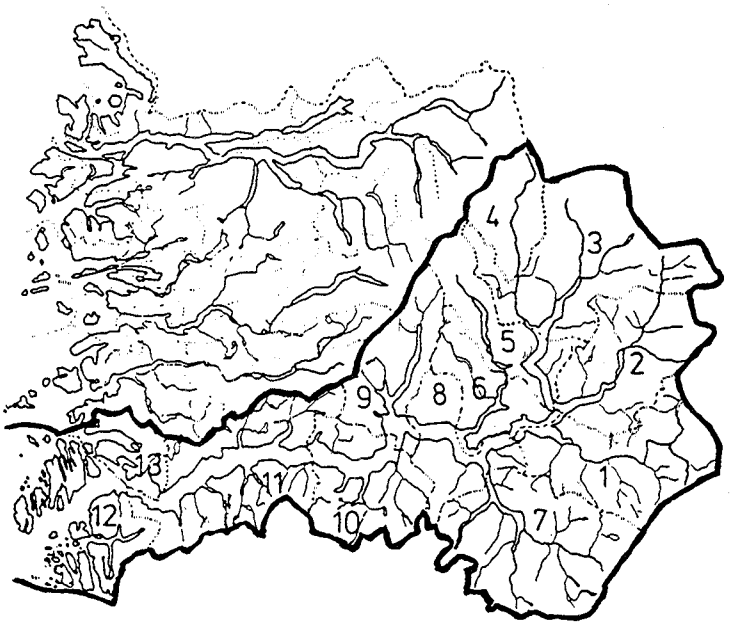


Map 1 shows the country of Norway. The Sogn region lies directly within county (*fylke*) #2, Sogn Og Fjordane, on the western coast. Map 2 on the following page shows the municipal boundaries within Sogn.

Source: Odd S. Lovoll, The Promise of America, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 12.

MAP 2: SOGN REGION WITH MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

The lined in area is the Sogn region. The numbers indicate the corresponding districts within Sogn. Notice Vik district (where the Lillesands are from) is located in south-central Sogn.



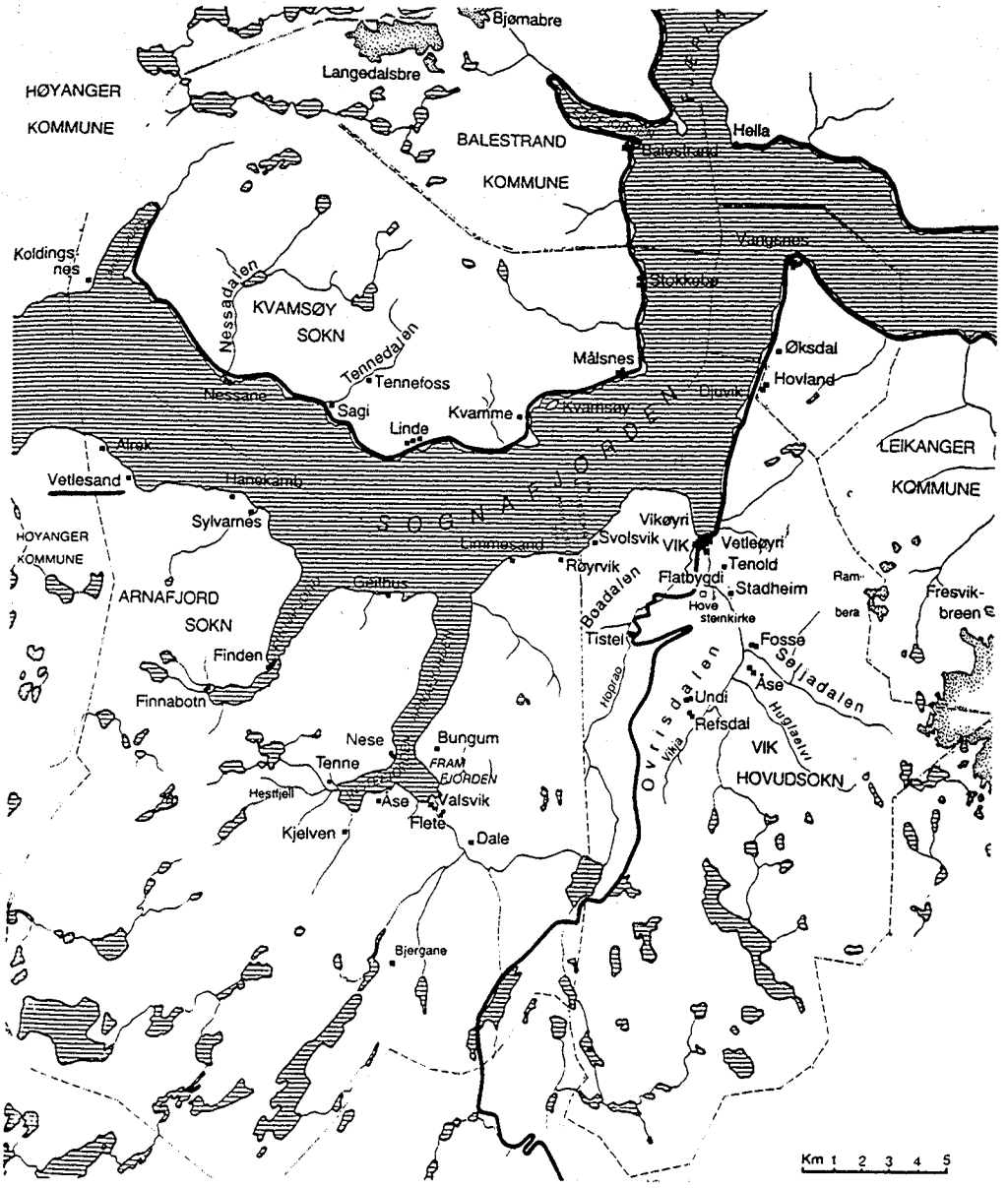
Inner	Central	Outer
1. Lærdal	8. Leikanger	11. Lavik
2. Årdal	9. Balestrand	12. Eivindvik
3. Luster	10. Vik	13. Hyllestad
4. Jostedal		
5. Hafslo		
6. Sogndal		
7. Aurland		

Source: Aage Engesæter, "Poverty, Overpopulation, and the Early Emigration from Sogn," (Norwegian American Studies 32 - 1989) 32.

APPENDIX B

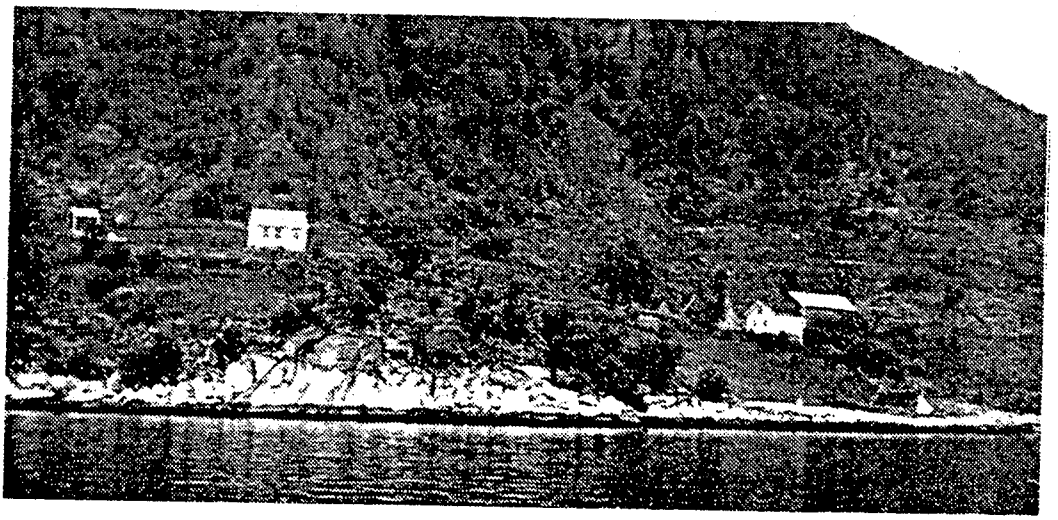
MAP 3: ARNAFJORD PARISH, VIK

Three parishes (*Sokn*) lie within the Vik district of Sogn: Kvamsøy to the north, Vik Hovudsokn to the southeast, and Arnafjord to the southwest. Map 3 shows the location of the farms throughout the three parishes. Lillesand (written as Vetlesand on the map) is the second-most western farm in the Arnafjord Parish. Illustration 1 on the following page is a photo of the farm Lillesand.



Source: Rasmus Sunde, Ein Stad Skal Ein Vera, (Otta, Norway: Engers Bøktrykkeri, 1989) 17.

ILLUSTRATION 1: LILLESAND FARM



Source: Olav Hoprekstad, Bygdabøk for Vik i Sogn, (Bergen, Norway: Bøktrykk, 1957) 315.

CHART # 1

B=birthdate and place
M=marriage date and place
D=death date and place

1 TRAVIS GENE SEVERSON
B: 6/10/1972 Mondovi, WI
M:
D:

#1 on this chart is the same as #1 on chart #1

2 DARRELL GENE SEVERSON*
B: 10/16/1950 Mondovi, WI
M: 11/14/1970 Independence, WI
D:
*Divorced 1986

3 RITA RENEE MARSOLEK
B: 4/23/1952 Whitehall, WI
D:

4 STANLEY LEE SEVERSON*
B: 9/17/1927 Whithall, WI
M: 10/3/1949 Mondovi, WI
D:
*Divorced 1981

5 JEANEAN LEMAY LANGERT
B: 5/14/1933 Mondovi, WI
D:

6 JESSE RALPH RYAN
B: 12/22/1921 Whitehall, WI
M: 7/18/1959 Mondovi, WI
D: 10/1/1991 Town of Burnside, Trempealeau, Cty., WI

7 DOROTHY MARY MARSOLEK
B: 4/1/1930 Whitehall, WI
D:

CHART # 2

B=birthdate and place
M=marriage date and place
D=death date and place

1 STANLEY LEE SEVERSON*
B: 9/17/1927 Whitehall, WI
M: 10/3/1949 Mondovi, WI
D:
*Divorced 1981

2 OLE LEE SEVERSON
B: 6/8/1892 Town of Dover, Buffalo Cty., WI
M: 6/23/1916 Mondovi, WI
D: 9/6/1964 Town of Chimney Rock, Trempealeau Cty., WI

3 GOLDIE BERTINA BIDNEY
B: 6/16/1898 Town of Dover, Buffalo Cty., WI
D: 3/23/1986 Mondovi, WI

#1 on this chart is the same as #4 on chart #1

4 SJUR TORSON LILLESAND (SEVERSON)
B: 2/5/1840 Lillesand, Vik, Norway
M: 5/21/1871 Cambridge, WI
D: 3/23/1922 Town of Dover, Buffalo Cty., WI
(SEVER T. SEVERSON)

5 CHRISTINA LARSDATTER EEN (BORSON)
B: 10/5/1850 Een, Voss, Norway
D: 7/13/1938 Town of Chimney Rock, Trempealeau Cty., WI

6 OLAF "OLE" NILSON BIDNE (BIDNEY)
B: 1/29/1861 Voss, Norway
M: ?/?/1894 Lookout Parish, Buffalo Cty., WI
D: 11/16/1927 Town of Dover, Buffalo Cty., WI

7 SARAH KLOVE
B: ?/?/1877 Norway
D: ?/?/1960 Town of Dover, Buffalo Cty., WI

CHART # 3

B=birthdate and place
M=marriage date and place
D=death date and place

1 SJUR TORSON LILLESAND (SEVER T. SEVERSON)
- **B:** 2/5/1840 Lillesand, Vik, Norway
- **M:** 5/21/1871 Cambridge, WI
- **D:** 3/23/1922 Town of Dover, Buffalo Cty., WI

2 TOR SJURSON LILLESAND*
- **B:** 1/4/1808 Lillesand, Vik, Norway
- **M:** 10/27/1839 Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
- **D:** 1873 Town of Christiana, Dane Cty., WI

*Tor had three siblings--
Brita Sjursdatter (11/3/1809)
Synneva Sjursdatter (?/?/?)
Lasse Sjurson (5/22/1820)

3 ÅSE OLSDATTER ALREK
- **B:** 3/3/1816 Nese, Vik, Norway
- **D:** 1871 Town of Christiana, Dane Cty., WI

4 SJUR TORSON LILLESAND
- **B:** 1772 Lillesand, Vik, Norway
- **M:** 1807 Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
- **D:** ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway

5 BRITA LASSESDATTER ALREK
- **B:** ? Alrek, Vik, Norway
- **D:** ? Alrek, Vik, Norway

6 OLA FRIKSON ALREK
- **B:** ?
- **M:** 1815 Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
- **D:** ?

7 INGEBORG OLSDATTER FINDEN
- **B:** ?
- **D:** ?

#1 on this chart is the same as #4 on chart #2

CHART # 4

B=birthdate and place
M=marriage date and place
D=death date and place

1 SJUR TORSON LILLESAND
- **B:** 1772 Lillesand, Vik, Norway
- **M:** 1807 Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
- **D:** ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway

2 TOR SJURSON LILLESAND
- **B:** 1740 Lillesand, Vik, Norway
- **M:** 1770 Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
- **D:** 1813 Lillesand, Vik, Norway

3 SYNNEVA PAULSDATTER LILLESAND
- **B:** ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway
- **D:** ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway

#1 on this chart is the same as #4 on chart #3

4 SJUR JOHANNESON LILLESAND
- **B:** ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway
- **M:** ? Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
- **D:** ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway

5 BRITA HERMUNDSDATTER NEDRE-TUNE
- **B:** ? Nedre-Tune, Ortnevik, Norway
- **D:** ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway

6 PAUL JONSON LILLESAND
- **B:** ?
- **M:** 1744 Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
- **D:** ? at Sea

7 ANNA JOHANNESDATTER LILLESAND
- **B:** ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway
- **D:** 1780 Lillesand, Vik, Norway

CHART # 5

B=birthdate and place
M=marriage date and place
D=death date and place

4 -
B:
M:
D:

2 JOHANNES TORSON LILLESAND*
B: ?
M: ?
D: ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway
*same person as #2 on chart #6

5 -
B:
D:

1 SJUR JOHANNESON LILLESAND
B: ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway
M: ? Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
D: ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway

6 -
B:
M:
D:

3 -
B:
D:

#1 on this chart
is the same as #4
on chart #4

7 -
B:
D:

CHART # 6

B=birthdate and place
M=marriage date and place
D=death date and place

4 -
B:
M:
D:

2 JOHANNES TORSON LILLESAND*
B: ?
M: ?
D: ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway
*same person as #2 on chart #5

5 -
B:
D:

1 ANNA JOHANNESDATTER LILLESAND
B: ? Lillesand, Vik, Norway
M: 1744 Arnafjord Parish, Vik, Norway
D: 1780 Lillesand, Vik, Norway

6 -
B:
M:
D:

3 -
B:
D:

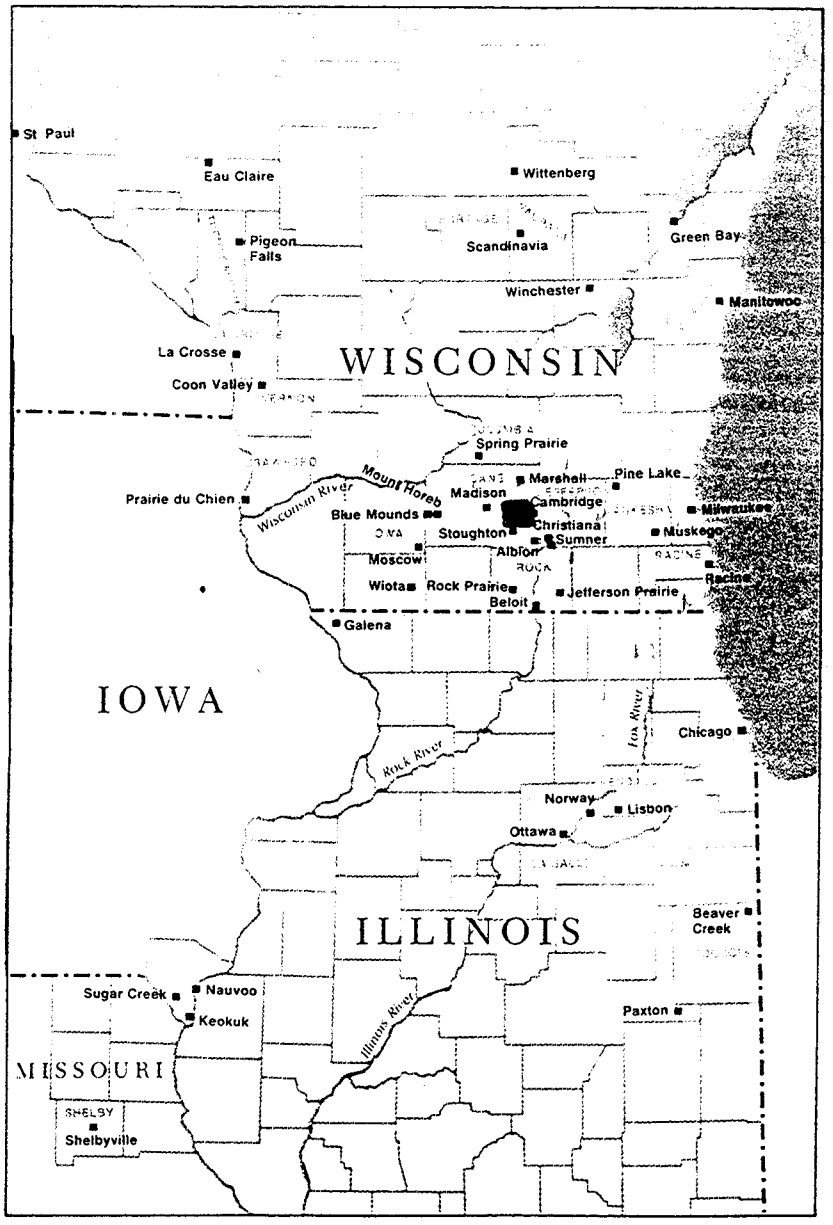
#1 on this chart
is the same as #7
on chart #4

7 -
B:
D:

APPENDIX D

MAP 4: NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENTS

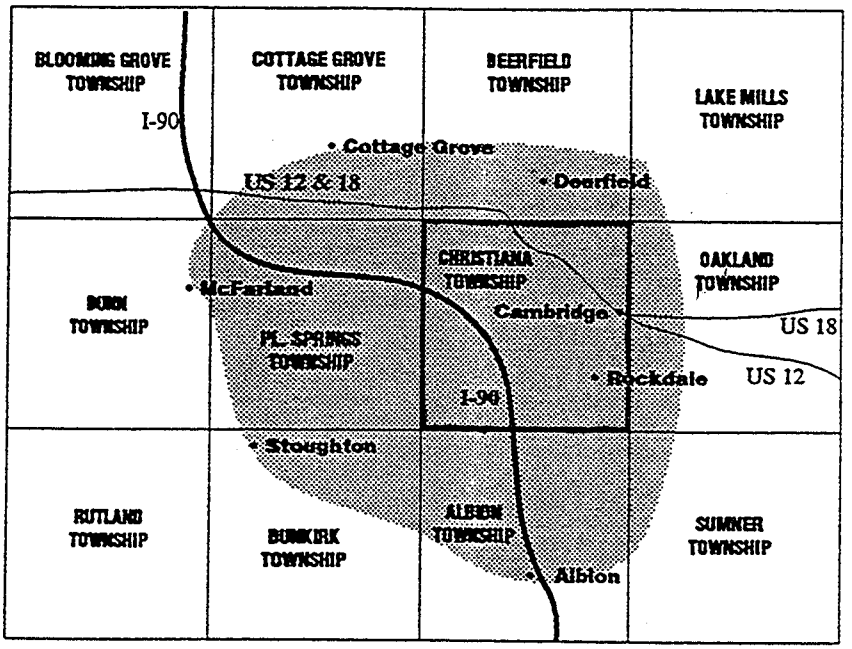
Map 4 shows Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri as of 1870. The Koshkonong Prairie settlement is located in southeastern Dane County, Wisconsin (boxed area including towns of Cambridge and Christiana). Map 5 on page 42 is an exploded view of this area.



Source: Odd S. Lovoll, The Promise of America, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 34.

MAP 5: KOSHKONONG PRAIRIE

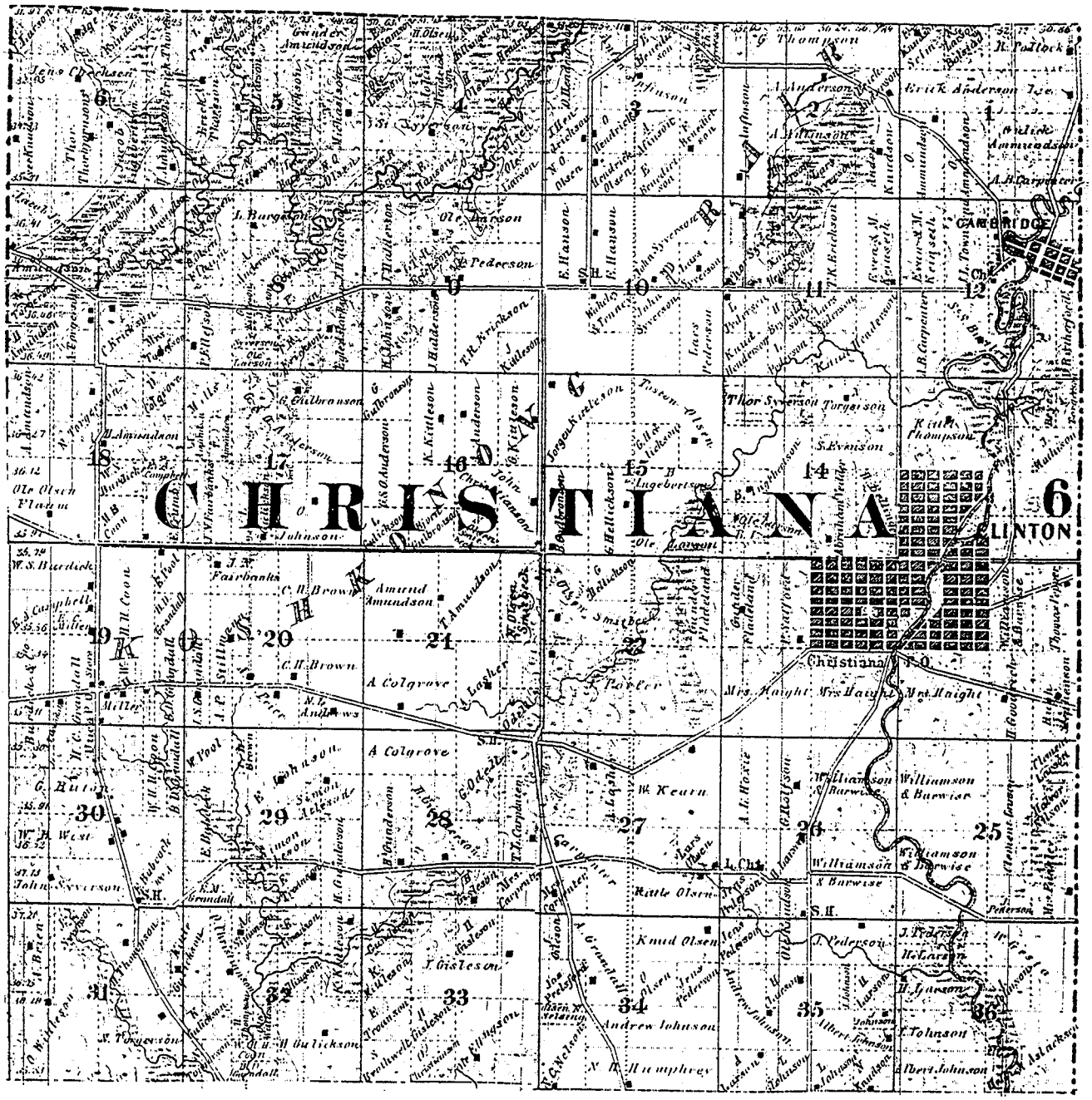
This map defines the area known as the Koshkonong Prairie. The prairie is depicted by the darker gray area. The nine left-most townships lie in Dane County while the 3 right-most townships lie in Jefferson County. Christian Township, Dane County, is the only township to lie completely within the confines of the Koshkonong Prairie. Map 6 on the following page is an exploded view of the township.



Source: Prairie News, ed. Michael Borge, (Cambridge, Wisconsin: Koshkonong Prairie Historical Society, Autumn 1995) 6.

MAP 6: CHRISTIANA TOWNSHIP (1861)

Map 6 is a copy of a plat map of Christiana Township, Dane County, Wisconsin, from 1861. The highlighted areas show where Tor and Lasse Sjurson's farms were located. Tor's land is located in sections 11 and 14 (highlighted in green); Lasse's land is located in sections 2, 3, and 10 (highlighted in blue).



Source: A. Ligowski, Map of Dane County, (Madison, Wisconsin: 1861) 9-10.

ENDNOTES

[1] Manuscript Census, Dane County, 1850, National Statistics: Archives, Washington (microfilm at Wisconsin State Historical Society of Madison, Wisconsin) pp. 1-35 Christiana Township.

[2] Theodore C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America. (Northfield, MN: Norwegian American Historical Association, 1940), 22; and Jon Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West. (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1-2.

[3] Aage Engesæter, "Poverty, Overpopulation, and the Early Emigration from Sogn," Norwegian American Studies. 32 (1989): 33; and Odd S. Lovoll, The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian American People. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 15. Perhaps another pre-emigration, demographic factor for the was age distribution; however, no information on the subject for the Sogn region could be found in the secondary literature.

[4] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 18-23.

[5] Ibid., 25.

[6] Aage Engesæter, "Poverty," 38-39.

[7] Ibid., 41-42.

[8] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 123-126.

[9] Ingrid Semmingsen, Norway to America: A History of the Migration. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978), 33.

[10] Engesæter, "Poverty," 47-49.

[11] Olav Hoprekstad, Bygdabøk for Vik I Sogn. (Bergen, Norway: Bøktrykk L/L, 1957), 315. Information on the Lillesand family was found in the above book which is an account of the Vik district records and Arnafjord parish records.

[12] Olav Hoprekstad, Bygdabøk for Vik I Sogn, 314.

[13] Ibid., 315 and 322. Norwegian customs prescribe a complex naming system because they believed in being specific about family relationships. First names were bestowed after a child's grandparents, deceased or terminally ill siblings, or another close relative. Second names were the father's name followed by "son" for a son or "datter" if a daughter. The third part of the name came from the farm in which the family lived on. Migrations to other farms thus technically changed a family's third name. Therefore Anders Hallvardson's and Brita Sjursdatter's third name became Alrek. Although this means Tor Sjurson's also changed to Alrek, for the purposes of this paper in order to avoid confusion later it will remain Lillesand.

[14] Blegen, Norwegian Migration, 350; and Lovoll, Promise of America, 14, 23. Most of the information on Norwegian immigration is on the third wave (the mass exodus). This poses some problem because this study is focused on the earlier phases of the immigration.

[15] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 117; and Lovoll, Promise of America, 16.

[16] Lovoll, Promise of America, 16.

[17] Semmingsen, Norway to America, 37; Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 120-123; and Passenger List Records, list of the sailship Peder Schreuder's passengers, arrival date July, 1, 1845, (located at Vesterheim Genealogical Society in Madison, Wisconsin) 8.

[18] Sunde, Ein Stad Skal Ein Vera. (Otta, Norway: Enders Bøktrykk A/S, 1989), 119; and Semmingsen, Norway to America, 57-59.

[19] Passenger List Records, list of the sailship Juno's passengers, arrival date June, 18, 1846, (located at Vesterheim Genealogical Society in Madison, Wisconsin) 5; and Semmingsen, Norway to America, 59. Further information on mortality rates is unavailable in the literature.

[20] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 129; and Sunde, Ein Stad, 119.

[21] Semmingsen, Norway to America, 63.

[22] Lovoll, Promise of America, 36-39; and Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 142.

[23] Semmingsen, Norway to America, 70.

[24] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 137.

[25] Land Sales Records, Milwaukee District Land Sales Office, 1845, for Dane County, Wisconsin, (located at Wisconsin State Historical Society in Madison, Wisconsin) folder 1; and Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 142.

[26] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 130; Pioneer Association Record Book (1896), 80; Lovoll, Promise of America, 33; and Land Sales Records, 1846, for Dane County, Wisconsin, folder 1.

[27] Lovoll, Promise of America, 18. The repeal of the Navigation Acts allowed Norwegian vessels to carry cargo back to Europe which meant Norwegian ship owners could be assured of cargo both ways. Emigrant shipping companies soon sprang up as a result.

[28] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 139.

[29] Ibid., 169.

[30] Semmingsen, Norway to America, 79.

[31] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 192.

[32] Manuscript Census, Dane County, 1850, 1860, and 1870, pp. 20, 22, and 25 respectively Christiana Township.

[33] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 204. The marriage age of Norwegian men in America was on average three to five years higher than in Norway. For women it was actually lower by as much as seven years in many cases.

[34] Ibid., 227.

[35] Semmingsen, Norway to America, 78.

[36] Ibid., 78.

[37] Lovoll, Promise of America, 55-59.

[38] Ibid, 64.

[39] Koshkonong Prairie Church Records (located at the Vesterheim Genealogical Society in Madison, WI), East Koshkonong Lutheran and Willerup Methodist Churches.

[40] Lovoll, Promise of America, 65; and Lillian Anderson and Ron Pearson, personal interviews, January 3, 1996 and February 12, 1996 respectively.

[41] Semmingsen, Norway to America, 86.

[42] Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, 140; and Manuscript Census, 1860 and 1870, Dane County, pp. 22 and 25 Christiana Township respectively.

[43] Manuscript Census, 1870, Dane County, p. 25 Christiana Township. In 1996 dollars, Lasse's and Tor's farms would be worth $105,000 and $135,000 respectively.

[44] Semmingsen, Norway to America, 95-96.

[45] Ibid., 96; Ron Pearson, personal interview, February 12, 1996; Edwin B. Quinn, History of the Third Regiment of Wisconsin, (Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing, 1891) 214; and Halvard Anderson, letter written from his death bed to his father, April 6, 1862.

[46] Naturalization Records, Dane County Circuit Court Records, Wisconsin, 1862, (located at Wisconsin State Historical Society) folder 2; and Manuscript Census, Dane County, 1870, p. 25 Christiana Township.

[47] Lovoll, Promise of America, 22.

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