

Two Churches, One Community: The Augustana Synod and the Covenant Church, 1860-1920

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In 1960 Conrad Bergendoff, president of Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois (and one of the founders of the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, since 1983 the Swedish-American Historical Society), commented on Vilhelm Moberg's widely successful and critically acclaimed series of novels of a group of Swedish immigrant in the United States—the so-called Emigrant Tetralogy—published between 1949 and 1959 and quickly translated into English.¹ Bergendoff, however, was somewhat careful and even critical in his assessment. He admitted that the author was “a master craftsman in literature” and approved of his choice of topic. Bergendoff's objections focused on the image of Swedish America that the books presented, which he did not recognize—commenting that what percentage of the actual immigrants matched the characters created by Moberg “is anybody's guess.” In fact, he continued, “these were not the emigrants from Sweden who created the churches and institutions with which I have been associated throughout all the years of this century. Fortunately, there were other types who came to this country who laid cultural and religious foundations that now can look back on a long history.”²

Bergendoff's comments about the Emigrant series raise the interesting question of who the Swedish immigrants were. To Bergendoff, but not necessarily to Moberg, the central part of the Swedish-American community was associated with “the churches” and those institutions that these denominations had created. This essay will focus on some comparisons between the two largest Swedish-American denominations, the Augustana Synod and the Mission Covenant Church, during the period 1860-1920. The analysis goes to the larger question of where the fault lines in the Swedish-American community went.

That community itself was quite diverse and consisted of a great number of organizations, representing a variety of religious, political, and cultural view points. In 1898 and 1917, for example, the journalists and writers C. F. Peterson and Ernst Skarstedt believed that about 1,000 secular organizations existed, and in 1938 it was estimated that about 2,000 religious Swedish-American organizations had existed up until that time.³

Arnold Barton has isolated four major components in organized Swedish America—groups that represented different social categories of Swedish Americans, as well as differences in their attitudes about the nature and identity of the Swedish-American group. According to Barton, the Augustana Synod was the first and most prominent of these, and from it emerged Swedish America's "dominant ethnic ideology."⁴ The second group consisted of other Swedish-American religious groups, notably the Mission Covenant Church, but also Swedish Methodists, Baptists, Adventists, and Mormons. Secular groups, or "freethinkers," as Barton also calls them, made up the third segment. Included here were, for example, several newspapers and other, often urban-based organizations, such as the Swedish-American fraternal orders and lodges. Although very small numerically, the politically radical Swedish-American groups, often Socialist in nature, made up the fourth part of Swedish-American organizational orientation. These groups competed for influence within the Swedish-American community and were frequently in conflict with each other. The strong dichotomy that existed, especially between the religious and secular organizations, has often been underscored.

The Augustana Synod was by far the single largest Swedish-American organization. In the 1910s it was almost nine times as large as the Mission Covenant Church, which came in second place. In 1915 the Augustana Synod had 274,000 members and the Mission Covenant Church about 30,000. The Methodists counted 20,000, and the other denominations all fell below that figure.⁵ The total membership in Swedish-American denominations has been estimated to be approximately 365,000 at the end of the immigration era,⁶ which means that roughly a quarter of the Swedish Americans of the first and second generations were members of a Swedish-American church at that time. Augustana and the Covenant not only served

the religious needs of their members, but also founded educational and benevolent institutions, such as colleges, academies, hospitals, orphanages, old people's homes, and mission agencies at home and abroad. In that way they contributed to the creation of ethnic identities among a broad range of Swedish Americans.

The secular organizations attracted fewer members. The statistics are not as easily available as for the churches, but the largest organizations included the mutual-aid societies, which began to be established toward the end of the nineteenth century. The largest of them in the 1920s were the Vasa Order (approximately 50,000 members), the Svithiod Order (approximately 15,000 members), and the Viking Order (approximately 15,000 members), all of which became national organizations with substantial financial resources. In addition, there were numerous smaller organizations and clubs scattered throughout Swedish America, with a wide array of undertakings. Some examples include organizations for individuals from a particular province in Sweden and groups that focused on musical, theatrical, educational, or political activities. Ulf Beijbom has estimated that at the close of Swedish mass-immigration in the mid-1920s, the total membership in the secular organizations—both mutual-aid societies and social clubs—stood at 115,000, which represented not quite 10 percent of the first- and second-generation Swedish Americans.⁷

The cultural differences between the various factions in the Swedish-American community have not yet been systematically studied. It can be argued, however, that Augustana and the Covenant played particularly important roles, especially through their education institutions and publishing activities.⁸ The analyses of the often acrimonious newspaper debates by Ulf Beijbom and Anna Williams over such crucial issues as assimilation, language retention, and political preferences also suggest a strong diversity of opinion within the community, especially between religious and secular groups, as does Lars Wendelius's study of cultural life among Swedish Americans in Rockford, Illinois.⁹

A comparison of the relative sizes of different Swedish-American groups around 1920 shows the different sizes of the community.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>% of total population</u>
Augustana	275,000	19
Covenant	30,000	2
All denominations	365,000	25
All secular groups	<u>115,000</u>	8
Total members all groups	480,000	33
Total number Swedish Americans	1,449,000	

Swedish-American organizations counted close to half a million Swedish Americans among their membership ranks in the 1920s, or about a third of all Swedish Americans recorded in the census. Allowing for individuals with membership in several organizations, the actual figure might be somewhat lower. The Augustana Synod reached close to a fifth of all Swedish Americans in 1920. Its relative position in Swedish America was strongest during the decades prior to the turn of the century, particularly during the 1870s and 1880s, when the Synod's membership corresponded to a more than a third of the Swedish-born population. It should, however, be noted that Augustana's influence in Swedish America went even further, as a fairly large number of Swedish Americans who did not belong to the denomination still used its services at different times, and can thus be said to have been a part of the synod's field of influence. It was quite common for nonmembers to be married, buried, or have their children baptized in an Augustana congregation. The sources are, at the best, uneven in their information about these activities, but in 1920 there were roughly as many non-members as members who sought out Augustana congregations for these ceremonies.¹⁰ Conrad Bergendoff has suggested that as many as half of the Swedish immigrants were included within the synod's "sphere of influence."¹¹

The Mission Covenant was much smaller. Its membership was estimated at 12,000 in 1900 and 18,000 in 1910. In 1920 it stood at 29,000,¹² when it made up some 2 percent of the Swedish-American population, in comparison to Augustana's 19 percent. Even though it also most likely had a larger sphere of influence in Swedish America than the membership numbers suggest, it was, as the data show, a great deal smaller than Augustana's. The difference in size between

the two denominations can partly be attributed to their Swedish origins. Augustana had its roots in the Church of Sweden, which, as a state church, benefited from a requirement of compulsory membership of all Swedes. No doubt this tradition of a long practice of belonging to the Church of Sweden played an important role, since a fifth of all Swedish Americans in 1920 affiliated with the Augustana Synod in North America. Still, the majority of the Swedish immigrants deviated from the tradition, and when given the opportunity chose not to affiliate with a denomination whose roots in Sweden were plain.

The way the different denominations viewed the question of membership provides another explanation for the differences in size between the two groups. The Covenant had a more restrictive view of membership, emphasizing the element of personal conversion more strongly than Augustana. The latter embraced a more open definition with less stringent membership requirements, at times resembling the “folk church” tradition from Sweden. This was not the case with the Covenant.

A final observation may be made with regard to the differences in size. Although Augustana was by far the largest group, it is also clear that Augustana struggled to keep the immigrants and their children as members. The majority of Swedish Americans did remain outside of Augustana, an option that was not available to their relatives and friends in Sweden with regard to the Church of Sweden. As Jon Gjerde has shown, the transition from being a state church and a part of a governmental power hierarchy to an American free denomination dominated and governed by laypersons was a challenge to many of the immigrants from Scandinavia, including the early leaders of Augustana.¹³ This was far less the case for the early members and leaders of the Covenant, who already in Sweden had become accustomed to the dynamics of religious pluralism and free church movements throughout Europe and Great Britain and were thus better prepared for conditions in America. It most likely meant that the denomination developed a more committed and loyal membership than did Augustana.

The two denominations resembled each other geographically, with a focus on the American Midwest and the Swedish-American

“heartlands.” Although both Augustana and the Covenant were represented in the Swedish-American communities on the east and west coasts, their relative strength in the Midwest is noticeable. In 1910, each had roughly half of their members in Illinois and Minnesota (Augustana 48 percent and the Covenant 53 percent), whereas only 37 percent of all Swedish Americans in that year lived in the two states. Other leading states for both denominations included Iowa, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Nebraska, and New York.

The geographic profile of the Augustana Synod can at least partly be explained in generational terms. Those states with the largest share of Augustana Synod members were also those states that experienced early Swedish immigration. Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska belonged to a core group of early Swedish settlements from the 1850s and on. In 1880, for example, the Illinois, Minnesota, and Iowa conferences of the synod made up 80 percent of its membership.¹⁴ Although Swedish emigration to these Midwestern core areas continued throughout the immigration era—especially to urban areas such as Chicago and Minneapolis-St. Paul—a gradually larger part of the emigration after the turn of the century went to urban destinations on the east and west coasts, where the Augustana Synod was weaker.

The position of the denominations seems to have varied in urban and rural areas. As the nature of Swedish emigration to the United States shifted from rural to urban around 1900, both in the sending and receiving areas, this was true in the two denominations, as well. Two examples of compact rural Swedish settlements from Iowa and Minnesota show the strong position of organized religion—Augustana and Covenant—in the traditional Swedish-American rural heartlands. In her analysis of a rural Swedish settlement in Frankfort Township, Montgomery County, in southwestern Iowa, Ann Legried has shown that in 1895, 83 percent of the Swedish-born heads of household were members of the local Augustana congregation, whereas 14 percent belonged to the local Covenant congregation. The Swedish affiliation either to a Lutheran or a Covenant church stood in “sharp contrast” to the non-Swedes in the area, where a third had no religious affiliation at all, followed by Presbyterians or Methodists.¹⁵ Almost the entire Swedish population in this area in rural southwestern

Iowa thus professed membership in a Swedish-American denomination, with a clear dominance for the Augustana congregation. Similarly, Robert Ostergren has shown that in the heavily Swedish-settled Cambridge West township in rural Isanti County, Minnesota, some 70 percent of the households claimed membership in the (Augustana) Cambridge Lutheran Church.¹⁶

The situation was different in the urban areas, where a smaller representation of Swedish Americans tended to belong to a congregation of any denomination. Anita Olson's analysis of religious patterns among Swedish Americans in the largest Swedish-American urban settlement, Chicago, shows that in 1900 roughly a quarter of the Chicago Swedes belonged to any Swedish-American denomination, thus leaving three-fourths of the group outside of organized Swedish-American religious life.¹⁷ Chicago also shows some clear differences between the denominations. Both Augustana and the Covenant were well represented in the city, with twenty-four Augustana and twenty Covenant congregations in 1910. In terms of membership, the Augustana Synod organized 15 percent of all Swedish immigrants in the city, while the Covenant reached almost 4 percent.¹⁸

Seen in relationship to the total membership of the two denominations, however, the Covenant shows a much more urban profile than Augustana. In 1910, in fact, 14 percent of the estimated Covenant membership of the denomination lived in Chicago, while the corresponding number for Augustana was only 4 percent.¹⁹ Moreover, statistics from the mid-1920s suggest that urban areas dominated strongly among the Covenant membership nationally at that time.²⁰

Augustana's relative weakness in urban areas was linked to the synod's inability to attract immigrants arriving after the turn of the century as members. The post-1900 Swedish immigrants were different from their compatriots of the early decades of Swedish immigration, as the Sweden they left in the first decades of the twentieth century was different socially and economically from the Sweden of a half-century earlier. The newer immigrants were often younger and single and more urban and industrial in their Swedish background. They were also more urban-oriented in their choice of American destination than those arriving before 1900.²¹ These immigrants were

less likely to be attracted to the Augustana Synod, something which the synod leadership was aware of. In March 1902, the dilemma was addressed in the official synod organ *Augustana* in an article with the appropriate title, "The Mission of Our Church with Regard to the Scores of Countrymen, Especially in the Larger Cities, Who Remain Outside Her." Here the author pointed out that the immigrants of recent times came from a Sweden in which many people showed indifference to religion, and who, therefore, chose to remain outside the church.²² A year later pastor C. W. Andeer suggested that the 45,000 new Swedish immigrants in that year "have another mindset than those who founded Swedish America," affected as they were by political, social, and religious struggles in Sweden and "contaminated" by socialism.²³

As a consequence of this shift, by the early twentieth century the Augustana Synod was becoming an institution dominated by the children of the immigrants. It is difficult to make a generational analysis of the synod membership since its statistics provide no such information. Those states with the highest membership shares in the synod, however, were also those states where the second (American-born) generation of Swedish Americans dominated. In 1910 the second generation made up 55 percent of all Swedish Americans in the Midwest, the source of strength for the synod. On both the east and west coasts the first generation dominated (55 percent and 57 percent respectively). The picture is even clearer when one examines the data for individual states. In such strong Augustana states as Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, the second generation dominated, making up over 60 percent of the Swedish-American population. Augustana's position on the east and west coasts was weaker: 12 percent of all Swedish Americans lived in the two major east coast states of New York and Massachusetts in 1910, but only 7 percent of the Augustana Synod members lived there; and while 8 percent of the Swedish Americans lived in California and Washington, only 3 percent of the Augustana membership was found in these western states.²⁴

What was the social background of Augustana and Covenant people? Little systematic work has been done on the issue, and more data is available about the Augustana Synod than for the Covenant. Still, it seems possible to make some general observations. Let us first

look at two central institutions in the Augustana sphere, namely Augustana College and the ministerium of the Augustana Synod. An examination of the social background of matriculating students at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois, shows the rural and agricultural orientation at this significant institution for the synod. Close to 40 percent of the students during the years 1871 and 1914 came from a farming background. This orientation is even stronger among the Swedish-born students, where more than half of the group had fathers who were farmers. Among the same group, a third of them had fathers who were skilled or unskilled laborers.²⁵

Among the ministers of the Augustana Synod, Conrad Bergendoff's *Augustana Ministerium* (1980) records biographical information on 2,054 ordained ministers in the synod and thus makes it possible to trace the background of this group. In the words of the Swedish historian Sten Carlsson, they constituted a "remarkable professional group," as such a large share of them came from rural and farming backgrounds. Carlsson notes it is often said that Sweden was the promised land of social mobility, especially for the social background of the nineteenth-century clergy in the Church of Sweden. He estimates that 30 percent of them had their background in the Swedish peasantry. In the Augustana Synod, however, as many as 80 percent of the Swedish-born ministers during the first half-century of Augustana's history came from a farming background. "Many poor and ambitious Swedish sons of farmers and crofters who had neither opportunity or means to receive a secondary school education or to study in a university, were attracted by the more accessible roads to higher education that were available on the other side of the Atlantic," Carlsson concludes.²⁶

Although less data about the social background of the Covenant ministerium is available, we can still get some indications by looking at the situation in Sweden. The various religious groups associated with the religious revivals of nineteenth-century Sweden had their own social profiles. Sven Lundkvist notes that they recruited their membership among the lowest social strata in Sweden. For example, the Baptist movement in the 1850s primarily found members among the young and landless, "the lowest social strata," while Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen (EFS / The Evangelical National Foundation), a

group established in 1856 within the Church of Sweden, had fewer poor members, and more from a higher social and educational background.²⁷

The 1870s were a turbulent time in the Church of Sweden, and in 1878 Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF / the Swedish Mission Covenant) was established; many of its leaders were active in the EFS as pastors and colporteurs. The denomination, therefore, seems to have attracted members of somewhat higher social strata and with some means. In Uppsala in 1880, for example, a significantly higher share of the members was comprised of craftsmen than in the city as a whole (45 percent in the congregation and 14 percent in the city). Similarly, property owners in Uppsala—that is, people who owned houses and farms—made up 4 percent of the city’s population, whereas 14 percent of the SMF congregation was found in this group. Conversely, 52 percent of the city’s population was classified as workers, whereas the SMF congregation only included 17 percent workers.²⁸

In his insightful analysis of the social and intellectual milieus out of which the Swedish Covenant grew, Karl Olsson locates one important source of the movement in the *stationssambällen*, the newly built, smaller urban communities that grew up around the new stations that were being built as the railroads expanded in Sweden. Here a lower middle class emerged, a social stratum that Olsson says “eventually became the backbone of the Covenant in Sweden.”²⁹

Some of these social patterns were reproduced on the other side of the Atlantic. An examination of the membership of two Swedish-American churches in Chicago around the turn of the century 1900—the Augustana congregation Salem Lutheran Church on the south side of Chicago (established in 1868) and Austin Covenant Church (established in 1894) on the city’s west side—allows for some observations about the social backgrounds of members.

A comparison between the two churches suggests that the members of the Austin Covenant congregation in Chicago had a higher social profile than that of Salem Lutheran. Close to two-thirds of the Austin members hailed from a farming background where the family had owned the land. The corresponding number for the members of the Augustana congregation was only 20 percent. Conversely, persons hailing from the lower strata of Swedish agricultural society,

such as agricultural labor and domestic servants, comprised two-thirds of the members of the Augustana church, while making up only some 20 percent of the Covenant congregation.³⁰

These statistics are confirmed by Karl Olsson, who captures a sense of the social and cultural profile of the Covenant Church in the 1920 in an almost lyrical vignette in *By One Spirit*. By that time the tendencies from the turn of the century were even more visible, and the denomination and its members had come of age, beginning an entry into the American middle class. Olsson notes that Covenant Swedes from Chicago would leave the big city to retreats at Spread Eagle, a complex of lakes in northern Wisconsin, and adds: "Here the Chicago Swedes came to relax from the soaring construction deals and real estate ventures. They parked their pre-Depression Pierce Arrows and Packards in the graveled lot, and when they had washed and combed they sat in blue coats and white flannels on the spacious veranda drinking coffee and eating Swedish cardamom bread. They talked big deals and they made agreements and contracts."³¹

How did the two denominations relate to Sweden? Augustana had a mixed relationship to its ancestral land. In the 1840s, Archbishop of Wingård expressed negative attitudes towards Lars Paul Esbjörn and his plans to emigrate,³² and under his successors Henrik Reuterdaahl and Anton Niklas Sundberg (all three of whom George Stephenson characterizes as "ultraconservative,") the Church of Sweden looked at the synod with a degree of suspicion.³³ The existing connections between the Church of Sweden and the Episcopal Church in the United States had also led the Swedish church to recommend immigrants in America to seek out that denomination, which of course caused displeasure in the Augustana Synod.

By the turn of the century, however, this relationship was improving. For example, in the early 1890s, when the faculty of Augustana Theological Seminary wrote to the Swedish bishops to ascertain how they viewed the Augustana Synod, six wrote back saying that they saw the synod as the "daughter church" in America of the Church of Sweden.³⁴ Moreover, in 1893 Knut Henning Gezelius von Schéele, professor of theology at Uppsala University from 1879 and the Bishop of Visby after 1885, became the first Swedish bishop to come to Swedish America in general and the Augustana Synod in

particular, a visit that can be seen as a turning point in the relationship between, at least, the Augustana Synod and official Sweden. Von Schéele returned to America twice, in 1901 and 1910, and clearly played an important role in *rapprochement* between Augustana and the Church of Sweden.³⁵

During the early decades of the twentieth century, Sweden—or perhaps an imaginary Sweden—played an important role for the prominent Augustana leader Conrad Bergendoff, who projected the concept of the Swedish “folk church” onto Swedish America, hoping that Augustana would assume the role that the Church of Sweden played in Sweden. As Thomas Tredway has noted, Bergendoff understood and accepted Bishop Einar Billing’s idea that the Swedish church was “God’s gift to the people of Sweden, a sign that, unlike the free churches, the national church was for all people,” and hoped that Augustana too would attract the vast majority of Swedish Americans. Still, he also knew that Augustana never came close to reaching a majority of all Swedish Americans, and that the idea of a Swedish-American folk church would never be fulfilled.³⁶

The Covenant Church had a much closer relationship to Sweden from the very beginning. There was, as Philip Anderson has put it, “a lively exchange of ideas” and persons across the Atlantic, and strong ties between the respective churches were established as they developed on both sides of the Atlantic.³⁷ P. P. Waldenström, for example, visited the United States four times (in 1889, 1901, 1904, and 1910), and on each visit he spent several months crisscrossing the continent and published three travel accounts. He followed the developments in the American Covenant closely. The Nyvall family also obviously played a crucial role in this context, with father Carl Johan (who also visited the United States four times, with two of those visits—in 1875-76 and 1884-85—being at critical moments for the Mission Friends in formulating the vision of the Covenant Church) and son David playing significant roles in the Swedish and American Covenant, respectively.

Augustana and the Covenant shared many traits. They both ministered to an immigrant community that grew rapidly in the late nineteenth century, eventually encompassing the North American continent. Both denominations also transcended their purely reli-

gious functions and served the general cultural and educational needs of the immigrants and their children.

Both of them also had their roots in the Swedish-American heartlands in the Midwestern sections of the country. Although both denominations were well represented in both rural and urban Swedish America, the Covenant had a stronger urban profile than Augustana, in particular in Chicago. Augustana was clearly rooted in the earlier, pre-turn-of-the-century phase of Swedish emigration, whereas the Covenant seems to have been more successful in attracting a greater share of the later arrivals. In terms of social composition, both denominations were rooted in rural and agricultural milieus in Sweden and the United States. Still, Covenant members, in the *stations samhällen* in Sweden and in urban America, experienced a noticeable upward social mobility. By the second generation, many were clearly on their way to Spread Eagle, Wisconsin (and regions like it), and the American middle class. Their relationship to Sweden also differed. Augustana simultaneously maintained ties and was kept at a distance by the Church of Sweden during its first quarter-century, to many a “mother-daughter” relationship. By 1900, however, relations had improved and officials from both sides had begun visiting each other. The Covenant, on the other hand, existed as a “sister church” to the Swedish church during its first twenty-five years, and numerous ties bound the two denominations together.

This comparison has shown both similarities and differences. The most noticeable difference pertains to the social background of the members in the two denominations, and it can be argued that an understanding of this differentiation is of great importance for understanding the general cultural and social dynamics of the two groups in Swedish America. Additional analyses of individual Augustana and Covenant congregations throughout the United States will no doubt yield significant results, as will further studies of the social differences between the Swedish Covenant and the Church of Sweden. These are topics to which the present author hopes to return.

ENDNOTES

1. The novels became bestsellers in Sweden and are today a part of the

Swedish canon of twentieth-century literature. In the 1970s Swedish film director Jan Troell turned the novels into two successful films, starring Max von Sydow and Liv Ullmann. In 1997 and 1998 the series was voted the most significant Swedish novel(s) in the twentieth century by Swedish library patrons and viewers of a popular Swedish literary television show.

2. Conrad Bergendoff, "On the Occasion of the Centennial of Augustana College," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 11 (April, 1960): 35f.

3. C. F. Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika. Kulturhistoriska och biografiska teckningar* (Chicago, 1898), 411ff.; Ernst Skarstedt, *Svensk-amerikanska folket i helg och söcken* (Stockholm, 1917), 133; and Adolph Benson and Naboth Hedin, eds., *Swedes in America 1638-1938* (New Haven, CT, 1938), 142.

4. H. Arnold Barton, *A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840-1940* (Carbondale, IL, 1994), 332ff.

5. Sture Lindmark, *Swedish America 1914-1932: Studies in Ethnicity with Emphasis on Illinois and Minnesota* (Stockholm, 1971), 243.

6. Ulf Beijbom, "Swedish-American Organizational Life," in *Scandinavia Overseas: Patterns of Cultural Transformation in North America and Australia*, ed. Harald Runblom and Dag Blanck (Uppsala, 1990), 63.

7. Beijbom, "Swedish-American Organizational Life," 63.

8. Dag Blanck, *Becoming Swedish-American: The Construction of an Ethnic Identity in the Augustana Synod, 1860-1917* (Uppsala, 1997); and Scott E. Erickson, *David Nyvall and the Shape of an Immigrant Church: Ethnic, Denominational, and Educational Priorities among Swedes in America* (Uppsala, 1996).

9. Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1846-1888 Immigration* (Uppsala, 1971), 288-332; Anna Williams, *Skribent i Svensk-Amerika. Jakob Bonggren. Journalist och poet* (Uppsala, 1991), 96, 107; and Lars Wendelius, *Kulturliv i ett svenskamerikanskt lokalsamhälle: Rockford, Illinois* (Uppsala, 1990), 32-55.

10. *Augustana-synodens referat*, section on Augustana Synod Statistics (Rock Island, IL, 1921).

11. Conrad Bergendoff, "Augustana in America and in Sweden," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 24 (October 1973): 238.

12. Dale Weaver, *Evangelical Covenant Church of America: Some Sociological Aspects of a Swedish Emigrant Denomination 1885-1984* (Lund, 1985), 49. The membership figures are difficult to estimate and may have been higher. Thus, Lindmark argues for 29,000 members in 1915 (Lindmark, 243). The percentage of the Swedish-American population was still very small.

13. Jon Gjerde, "Freedom and the Immigrant Myth: European Immigrants in the United States," in *Norwegian-American Essays 2004*, ed. Orm Øverland (Oslo, 2005).

14. *Officiellt referat öfver förhandlingarna wid Skandinaviska Ev. Lutherska*

Augustana Synodens årsmöte 1881, section on statistics (Rock Island, IL, 1881).

15. Ann Legried, "By the Oaks of Marme': Swedish Lutheran Colonization on the Frontiers of Southwestern Iowa 1870-1900," *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 44 (1993): 78.

16. Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915* (Uppsala, 1988), 221f.

17. Anita Olson, "Church Growth in Swedish Chicago: Extension and Transition in an Immigrant Community, 1880-1920," in *Swedish Life in American Cities*, ed. Dag Blanck and Harald Runblom (Uppsala, 1990), 306.

18. Anita Olson, "Swedish Chicago: The Extension and Transformation of an Urban Immigrant Community, 1880-1920," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1990, 306.

19. The total membership figure for Augustana was 261,000 and for the Covenant 18,000. (*Referat af förhandlingarna vid Augustana-Synodens femtioandra årsmöte 1911* (Rock Island, IL, 1911) part 3, Summary statistics of Augustana Synod; Weaver, 49. The Chicago membership numbers were 9,777 for Augustana and 2,503 for the Covenant (see Olson, "Swedish Chicago," 306).

20. Weaver, 61.

21. Sten Carlsson, "Chronology and Composition of Swedish Emigration to America," in Harald Runblom and Hans Norman, eds., *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration* (Uppsala and Minneapolis, 1976), 125-48.

22. "Vår kyrkas kallelse med afseende på de skaror landsmän som, särskilt i de större städerna, stå utanför henne," *Augustana*, 13 March 1902.

23. C. W. Andeer, "Årets stora folkvandring," *Augustana*, 16 July 1903.

24. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910* (Washington, D.C., 1912).

25. Dag Blanck, *Becoming Swedish-American*, 113ff.

26. Sten Carlsson, "Pastorena i Augustanakyrkan," [*Svensk*] *Historisk Tidskrift* 101 no. 4 (1981): 483.

27. Sven Lundkvist, *Folk rörelserna i det svenska samhället* (Stockholm, 1977), 105.

28. *Ibid.*, 106.

29. Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962), 463.

30. Anita Olsson, "Swedish Chicago," 330, and Membership Records, Salem Lutheran Church, Chicago, available on microfilm at the Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center, Augustana College, Rock Island, IL.

31. Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 553.

32. Nils Runeby, *Den gamla världen och den nya. Amerikabild och emigrations-uppfattning i Sverige 1820-1860* (Uppsala, 1969), 266.

33. Stephenson, *Religious Aspects*, 235ff. (quotation from 235).

34. *Augustana*, 14 April 1892.

35. Dag Blanck, "North Stars and Vasa Orders: On the Relationship between Sweden and Swedish America," *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 46 (1995); Maria Erling and Mark Granquist, *The Augustana Story: Shaping Lutheran Identity in North America* (Minneapolis, 2008), chap. 12.

36. Thomas Tredway, unpublished manuscript on the life of Conrad Bergendoff (2012). Excerpt in the author's possession.

37. Philip J. Anderson, "The Lively Exchange of Religious Ideals between the United States and Sweden during the Nineteenth Century," in *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, ed. Scott E. Erickson (Uppsala, 1996).