

South Dakota State University
**Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional
Repository and Information Exchange**

Bulletins

South Dakota State University Agricultural
Experiment Station

6-1-1937

Immigrant Settlements and Social Organization in South Dakota

J. P. Hohansen

Follow this and additional works at: http://openprairie.sdstate.edu/agexperimentsta_bulletins

---

Recommended Citation

Hohansen, J. P., "Immigrant Settlements and Social Organization in South Dakota" (1937). *Bulletins*. Paper 313.
http://openprairie.sdstate.edu/agexperimentsta_bulletins/313

This Bulletin is brought to you for free and open access by the South Dakota State University Agricultural Experiment Station at Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bulletins by an authorized administrator of Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. For more information, please contact michael.biondo@sdstate.edu.

**IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENTS
AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
IN SOUTH DAKOTA**

By John P. Johansen

**Department of Rural Sociology
Agricultural Experiment Station
South Dakota State College of
Agriculture and Mechanic Arts
Brookings, S. D.**

Table of Contents

	Page
I. Introduction	
Aim and Scope of the Present Study	3
The Conservation of the Immigrant Heritage	4
II. Immigrant Settlements in Dakota Territory and in South Dakota	
The Censuses of 1860 and 1870	6
Norwegian Settlements and Their Social Organization	8
Norwegian Pioneer Settlements in Dakota Territory	8
Persons Born in Norway, 1860-1935	9
Churches and Related Organizations	12
Sons of Norway Lodges and the "Bygdelaag"	14
The Norwegian Singers' Association of America	15
Swedish Settlements	16
Danish Settlements and Their Social Organization	17
Danish Immigrants in South Dakota, 1870-1936	19
Denominations Represented in Danish Settlements	19
Societies Which Function in Danish Communities	21
Bohemian Settlements and Their Social Organization	23
Beginnings in Southwestern Yankton County, 1869	23
The Village of Tabor	24
The Westward Trend of Bohemian Settlements	25
Social Organization in Bohemian Settlements	26
Immigration of German-Russians, 1873	29
Sub-groups among German-Russians	29
The Coming of the Mennonites and the Hutterites	30
Hutterite Branch Colonies along the James River	33
A Visitor Describes One of the Colonies in 1912	35
Principles of Hutterian Social Organization	37
Swiss-German Mennonites from Russia Transplant Whole Villages	39
Later Immigration of German-Russians	41
III. The Pattern of Nationality Settlements of the State, 1890-1930	
The Concentration and Dispersion of the Foreign-born	44
The Westward Expansion of Settlement	47
IV. The Assimilation Process, Its Nature and Extent	
The Concept of Assimilation	32
The Assimilation of Immigrant Churches	52
The Language Problem in the Immigrant Church ..	53
The Displacement of Norwegian by English	54
Stages of Levels in the Formation of Foreign Church Organizations	57
Tendency Toward Union and Federation	58
Factors Affecting the Assimilation of Churches	60
V. Summary: Immigration and Social Organization	

Immigrant Settlements and Social Organization In South Dakota

By John P. Johansen

Introduction

Aim and Scope of the Present Study

In a previous study, "Immigrants and Their Children in South Dakota," we discussed mainly the influence of immigration upon the composition and growth of the population of the state. In the present study, we are not so much concerned with the numerical or statistical aspects of immigration, but we aim rather to describe the historical, social, and cultural aspects of immigration into South Dakota. We make a brief account of the historical circumstances that led to the establishment of immigrant settlements in that part of Dakota Territory which later became South Dakota. We aim to answer the question "Where were these settlements located and by what nationalities were they made?" Having answered that question, we outline the system of social organization of the foreign settlements.

We pay special attention, therefore, to those group bonds which unite immigrant settlements into churches and church related associations; into lodges based upon nationality consciousness; and into a great variety of other associations organized by immigrants for social, charitable, and cultural purposes, both in the local communities and at large in the United States. Immigrant nationality groups are not divisible according to state lines. On the contrary, they are united by many bonds and influences, such as newspapers, educational institutions, radio broadcasting stations, fraternal societies and synodical affiliations which have headquarters in other states, if not in South Dakota.

Another objective of the present study is to discuss the process of assimilation as it affects immigrants individually and in groups, and as it conditions the social and cultural life of the people of the state. One large aspect of the assimilation process is social-psychological in nature. It comprises those gradual changes whereby immigrants and their children become American in sentiments, ideals, and behavior. Another large aspect of assimilation is that which pertains to the material culture of the immigrants, the things they bring from the old world. With regard to this process of assimilation, we may seek to answer various inquiries: To what extent has it taken place, not only in regard to individuals, but with regard to immigrant institutions? How may this process of assimilation be promoted? And lastly, how may these immigrant settlements with their varied cultural heritage be considered assets or sources of material, social and cultural enrichment of the life of the people of the state?

The tendency is to forget this heritage and to fail to appreciate its significance. Immigrants, in a certain sense, live in two countries, the new and the old. They occupy marginal positions in relation to two societies and cultures. Their children, in a slightly different sense, do likewise. Culturally there is a break, a lack of continuity, or even an estrangement between the two generations. Generally speaking, if we are to live fully we must make careful use of the heritage of our fathers. Certainly we should seek to understand the various origins from which we have come. In the public schools, children study the cultural foundations of the United States laid by English, French, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, and other nationalities. In a similar manner the history of South Dakota may and should be studied. Through this approach to our own background and origins, history can be related quite directly to our fathers and forefathers and to the great movements and trends of their times.

In this bulletin, therefore, we have aimed in some measure to bridge this gap in the history of the state. We have sought to assemble materials from numerous sources and publications which are not available to the general public. Out of these materials, we have put together our discussion of the various immigrant settlements in Dakota Territory and in South Dakota.

The Conservation of the Immigrant Heritage

In the homes of immigrants many objects are found which were brought from the old country, such as pieces of furniture, trunks, spinning wheels, kitchen utensils, garments, footwear, tapestries, linen, et cetera.¹ Many of these objects possess great beauty of design and excellence of workmanship. To let them be forgotten or destroyed would be a great waste of cultural resources. Here and there certain individuals have gathered private collections. Some historical societies, notably the Norwegian "Bygdslag", have evinced an interest in establishing museums for such collections. While it is desirable that private initiative should undertake such efforts at the outset, in the long run the cost of proper display, care, cataloguing, and storage of such objects is too great for private enterprises. In the larger cities of the state public museums have been established and beginnings have also been made in various county seats. A great task, however, remains undone in reaching and developing the interest and good will of the foreign contributors.

Similarly in immigrant settlements there are likely to be many valuable records of parishes, congregations, and affiliated societies. Some of these records may have considerable legal value for persons as well as for corporations. There are also likely to be found records of the organization and activities of early farmers' associations and farmers' cooperatives. The records of townships, school districts, and the like are often kept in the vaults of public offices at county seats. Yet there is great need for the services of trained archivists and librarians in order that such records may be properly stored, catalogued, filed, and made available to persons interested in these matters of historical study. Such responsibilities, of course, can not and should not be assumed without as-

1. In his *History of Minnehaha County*, Dana R. Bailey stated in 1899 that one of the Norwegian families in Edison Township possessed a family Bible which was printed in Copenhagen in 1632 and which contained a family record commencing in 1635. *Op. cit.*, 902-4.

surance of adequate financial support. The Historical Library at Pierre, and the libraries of the larger colleges and cities would seem to be the logical centers for this field of endeavor. Local historical associations, however, may do much to promote this work.

Immigrant settlements should be studied much more intensively than we have been able to do in this bulletin. There is need for the writing of more descriptive local history with reference to immigrant settlements and the development and transformation of their churches and their other social organizations. Unfortunately, much of what is being done rests upon inadequate historical sources or evidence. Such studies, if competently done, may well yield generous proceeds of interest not only to a few professional experts, but also to the whole lay community. Many other aspects of inquiry suggest themselves, such as the survival of certain customs in the larger settlements or the origins of immigrant national festivals; the contribution of immigrant groups to the development of agriculture, industry or professions; the influence of the foreign-born upon farmers' associations and upon the cooperative movement; the newspapers of the foreign-born; the foreign-born in relation to the temperance movement; and like topics. There are few persons, however, who are able to follow these paths of inquiry, for they require an intimate first-hand knowledge of immigrant communities and the ability to bridge the language barrier.

We shall see throughout this study that great linguistic, cultural, and religious variety still characterizes the people of South Dakota. To a certain extent the immigrant heritage is gradually being forgotten; but there is a strong tendency for the foreign language groups to persist in the larger settlements. In the life of the state they have been, they are, or may potentially become, the source of great cultural enrichment in music, literature, drama, handicrafts, arts, and industry. Such foreign groups make for variety but not for unity of social life. They involve a process of severing old loyalties and forming new ones. Certain organizations of foreign origin are still carrying on with great vitality, while other units which functioned in the past have disappeared, leaving hardly a trace behind.

The churches in open country, village, and city represent the most evident embodiment of the immigrant heritage; for about one-half of all the churches of the state (in 1926 there were 2,217 church organizations) were founded by immigrants. These churches are gradually becoming American in language and in spirit as well as in form of organization.

The stronger immigrant organizations are themselves doing much to perpetuate the Old World heritage and to adapt it to American life. Those which are successful tend to function on a community-wide, or even an intercommunity-wide, basis. Witness, for example, the Bohemian Day activities at Gregory, the Norwegian song festivals, the Tulip festivals among the Hollanders, and the anniversary celebrations of the founding of towns and churches. Yet, it is also apparent that when a given nationality is in charge, other nationalities either do not know about, or do not participate in, these activities. This is partly due to the language barriers; but they are being removed. The result, however, is that these activities do not furnish as strong a momentum for social and cultural progress as they should, since they are limited to the sponsoring nationality. American community leadership, therefore, needs to exert

itself in the utilization of these sources of cultural enrichment, drawing upon them for folk songs and folk music, folk dances and folk festivals, and for whatever they may possess of excellence in one form or another. In the larger American cities there have been immigrant folk festivals and exhibits from time to time with valuable results. In South Dakota immigrant culture still survives in town and country. As long as it remains inarticulate it is like a prized musical instrument in the possession of a person without musical interest and training. The immigrant folk heritage should find embodiment in the larger community life of the state.²

The historical pageant is one of the best means of utilizing the national heritages of immigrant groups represented in South Dakota communities. It may be used with excellent effect to portray social and cultural change, to link the past with the present, and to illustrate the typical phases of culture of the nationalities.

The westward progression of the American frontier is a familiar, yet an inspiring theme. In this vast drama the immigrant pioneer had his part. For the German-Russians the course of empire was first eastward into Russia and later westward to America. In older states, certain localities are the mother colonies whence immigrants came westward. The East Friesian colonies illustrate this westward movement of the American frontier in a typical way, though those of other nationalities might be mentioned if space permitted. From the homeland on the North Sea, East Friesian pioneers came to German Valley near Freeport, Illinois in 1847. Thence they went to Ackley and other places in Iowa. From these colonies they came to Lennox, Dell Rapids, Dempster, and other localities in this state. We cite this illustration to indicate that the history of immigrant settlements readily yields itself to treatment by periods and stages of progress suitable for historical pageantry.

Immigrant Settlements in Dakota Territory

And in South Dakota

The Census of 1860 and 1870

The census of 1860 listed a relatively large number of foreign-born among the inhabitants of the area later included in Dakota Territory.³ The aggregate native population numbered 3,063; the aggregate foreign, 1,774. This census district reached from the western boundary of the new state of Minnesota and the western boundary of Iowa to the Missouri River. The territory west of the Missouri was then designated Manda. Hunters and trappers born in Canada or the Hudson's Bay Territory were the most numerous element at the fur trading posts on the Big Stone Lake, between the Big Sioux River and the Big Stone Lake, and above the Big Sioux River. They were also located in small numbers at or near Fort Williams, Fort Union, Fort Pierre, Fort Lookout, and

2. For a splendid description of immigrant folk festivals and the contributions which immigrants have contributed to American art and culture, see Allen H. Eaton, *Immigrant Gifts to American Life*. (New York, 1932)

3. The 1860 census district included the area between the western boundary of the states of Minnesota and Iowa, and the Missouri River. To the north the border of the district was the international boundary; to the west the boundary of the district was indefinite. Dakota Territory was created by act of Congress March 2, 1861.

Old Fort George. Many of these trappers were Indian half-breeds and intermarried to a considerable extent with Indians. This group thus became the source of infusion of Indian traits into the population.

Table 1—Native and Foreign-Born Population of Dakota Territory

Year Census	Number			Per Cent		
	Total Population	Native	Foreign- born	Total Population	Native	Foreign- born
1880	135,177	83,882	51,795	100.0	61.7	38.3
1870	14,181	9,366	4,815	100.0	66.0	34.0
1860	4,837	3,063	1,774	100.0	63.3	36.7

"Compendium of the Tenth Census," 1880, 411; Immigration Commission, "Statistical Review of Immigration, 1880-1910," 445-47.

Through the courtesy of the South Dakota Department of History, we borrowed the photostat copies of the census sheets of 1860. A hand count of the inhabitants of the South Dakota settlements gives the following results: Total population, 967; native, 698; foreign born, 269. Enumerated according to countries of birth, the foreign born were distributed as follows: British America, 72; England and Wales, 7; Scotland, 4; Ireland, 23; Norway, 127; Germany, 22; other countries, 14. The British American element included a large number of half-breed Indians. The Norwegians were apparently the most numerous foreign nationality. In 1860 there was a fairly large settlement of them at Vermillion with post office at Sioux City. There was also a settlement of this nationality near the Yankton Indian Agency. On or near this agency there was also something of a German colony. But this nationality was by no means as large then as the Norwegian. Nor was the Irish. In the localities which later were organized as Union county, the 1860 census listed a number of settlers of French-Canadian nativity and descent, some of whom became members of the French settlement at Jefferson.

Table 2—Principal Nationalities of The Foreign-Born Population in Dakota Territory, By Counties: 1870

County	Total	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	France	Sweden and Norway ¹	Denmark	Bohemia	Switzerland	Austria	All Others ²
Total	4,815	906	251	888	77	563	57	1,559	115	153	33	171	42
Bon Homme	216	9	16	22	--	19	1	--	--	148	1	--	--
Brookings	12	2	--	--	--	--	--	10	--	--	--	--	--
Buffalo	63	19	3	18	1	17	3	--	--	--	--	--	2
Charles Mix	17	12	--	--	--	2	2	--	--	--	--	--	1
Clay	866	79	29	53	8	37	12	559	87	--	--	--	2
Deuel	12	--	--	--	--	--	--	12	--	--	--	--	--
Hutchinson	15	5	--	7	--	1	--	--	2	--	--	--	--
Jayne	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Lincoln	236	30	4	4	9	14	--	174	--	--	1	--	--
Minnehaha	155	6	3	3	--	2	--	141	--	--	--	--	--
Pembina ²	412	220	24	70	7	53	5	11	5	--	5	1	2
Todd	108	14	8	54	3	26	1	1	--	--	1	--	--
Union	1,004	348	42	150	19	24	4	412	1	--	--	1	2
Yankton	741	54	29	79	8	130	12	224	17	4	9	165	10
Unorganized Territory	958	99	93	428	22	238	17	15	3	1	15	4	23

¹Includes Norway, 1, 179; Sweden, 380. Not distributed separately by county.

²Later included with a part of "Unorganized Territory" in the state of North Dakota

In the 1860 census, one finds no mention of persons born in Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, or Holland, countries which furnished large numbers of immigrant settlers later on.⁴

Norwegian Settlements and Their Social Organization

Norwegian Pioneer Settlements in Dakota Territory.—The Norwegians constituted the most numerous foreign nationality in the frontier settlements in 1860. They were among the first white settlers in South Dakota. Ole Gjetle and Halvor Svendsen came in 1859 and established themselves at Meckling⁵. The Norwegian settler, C. P. Marindahl, came in 1860 to Yankton county to the locality which now bears his name—Marindahl township. This locality was later settled largely by immigrants from the Opdal Valley in Norway, who among Norwegians are therefore usually called Opdalinger. The Civil War, however, led to a temporary falling off of Norwegian immigration. After the war, "America fever" spread through Norway, and in 1869, had reached the people in Opdahlen, which became a source of large immigration to South Dakota. These immigrants came, as a rule, in family or larger kinship groups, and they came to stay. They settled mainly in Clay, Yankton, and Union counties.

These Opdalinger came from old Norwegian peasant stock. In many cases they were farm owners who sold their homesteads in Norway before emigrating. Many old Norwegian farmsteads were represented in these families. To mention a few: Vindahl, Furunes, Hevle, Sneve, Haugen, Stensem, Saether, Stuen, Nordviken, Bjerke, Halseth, Lien, Moen, and Melem. Following Norwegian custom these farmstead names are usually embodied in the family name; as, for example, "Peder Haldersen Sneve." Many of them had held responsible public positions in their homeland. That many of these immigrants were poor financially when they arrived here is not to be gainsaid. Emigrants ordinarily consist of propertyless classes of the homeland; there is less reason for the well-to-do to leave. But the above evidence is cited to indicate that these emigrants were representative of the best type of Norwegian stock.

A large group of "Opdahlinger" sailed from Trondhjem, Norway, on the 13th of April, 1869. They came via Liverpool and Quebec, Ontario. They arrived in Sioux City in the middle of May, from which place some of them went to Clay, Yankton, and Brule counties. The next year another group, more than 40 in number, came from the same valley in Norway. Their destination was Yankton county in Dakota Territory⁶.

During the first years, these immigrants from Opdal encountered severe poverty and privation. Grasshoppers and drought destroyed their crops. They were unacquainted with pioneer methods of farming. Prices on agricultural products were low, and the cost of living, following the Civil War, was high. Several of them, after having established the necessary improvements upon their claims, left for Sioux City and Yankton to obtain what employment they could find. Some of them were employed at Fort Randall, Fort Thompson, and Fort Sully. Some of the newcomers

4. South Dakota Department of History, *South Dakota Historical Collections*, "The Census of 1860," annotated by George W. Kingsbury, Vol. X, pp. 396-439 (1920).

5. *Opdalslagets Aarbok*, 1925, 24.

6. *Ibid.*, 40ff.

began to think of going elsewhere, and in the course of time a considerable number of families left this settlement for various destinations in Washington.

One of these settlers, looking back over this experience, states: "Many who had settled here were scared away during the grasshopper years. Their land seemed to be worth very little, and we bought quarter sections for \$500 apiece. This seemed to be quite a lot of money in those days, although it was only slightly more than \$3 per acre. Land of the same quality sold during the World War for around \$300 an acre. We have acquired possession of a good deal of this land, for it was our intention to divide it among our children and make it a sort of a family home locality ("Hjemstavn"). We have many children and they all seem to have both desire and disposition for farming. It is the surest way of making a living, and it is through the growth of the soil that we have acquired what we have, educated our children by giving them at least a good common school education, not to mention the gain which the community and state has made through our work. At the present time there is a tendency for young people to strive to get away from the farm as soon as possible, to go to the city to try something which they commonly do not attain. It is a fitting thought for the whole family to recognize that we owe our homestead to the growth of the soil, and make it a center for our family. The tendency now is for families to scatter, so that many of them do not really know where they belong."

These settlers were motivated by an intense desire for homestead land. This their homeland lacked. In rockbound, mountainous Norway, nature had been a stern taskmaster. She had taught these immigrants habits of industry and thrift, and endowed them with temperamental qualities which equipped them well for the task of pioneering. In "Giants in the Earth," O. E. Rolvaag has pictured with great fidelity their coming to South Dakota, their family life, and their founding of schools, congregations, and churches.

Table 3—Persons Born in Norway Residing in South Dakota 1860-1935

Census Year	Number	Per cent of	
		All Foreign Born	Total Population
1935	9,963	20.2	1.5
1930	13,061	19.8	1.9
1920	16,813	20.4	2.6
1910	20,918	20.8	3.6
1900	19,788	22.4	4.9
1890	19,275	21.1	5.5
1880**	7,957	24.0	8.1
1870	1,167	28.6	9.5
1860	127	47.2	13.1

** The number of Norwegians was calculated as 7,957 for the South Dakota part of Dakota Territory, and the Swedes as 1,909. These results were based on the assumption that the South Dakota inhabitants of these nationalities were numbered in the same proportions that they were in the whole Territory; for which the Norwegians were reported as 13,245, and the Swedes as 3,177.

Persons born in Norway, 1860-1935.—The figures in Table 3 tell the story of the increase of the Norwegians in South Dakota from 1860 to 1910, when they reached the total of 20,918. Since then they have declined until, in 1935, the state census returned them as 9,963. The more significant fact, however, is that during the decade from 1870-80,

the constituted close to 10% of the total population. The figure for 1880 is an estimate, to be sure, for the inhabitants of the South Dakota part of the Territory, but it does not involve a large element of error. In brief, this table substantiates the fact that the Norwegians were the earliest and the largest foreign group in the state. They were therefore in position to establish scores of compact settlements, such as those at Elk Point, Brule Creek, Meckling, Volin, Beresford, Canton, Baltic, Colton, Lake Campbell, and Lake Hendricks.

There is no better evidence of the fact that this nationality possessed a strong settler mentality than the number of congregations and churches they founded during the first decades of settlement in the territory. It is doubtful whether any other nationality, foreign or native, can show so large a number of congregations and churches which were founded at so early a period and which, furthermore, in the great majority of cases, have continued to function to the present. According to Norlie's history of Norwegian Lutheran congregations in America, 86 Lutheran congregations were established during the years 1863-1879⁸.

In a true sense, these associations were all pioneer congregations. They were organized before the great Dakota boom of the 1880's, and they marked the frontier of Norwegian settlements of the 60's and 70's. Statistics concerning these congregations are difficult to present because many of them experienced a very complex development, being subject to division, merger, and redivision. First of all, many subdivisions took place because of large distances within the parish, coupled with internal growth of the parishes. But subdivisions occurred also in a number of these because of doctrinal and linguistic differences. Quite a few of these early churches were at first Scandinavian in membership and included Swedish and Danish constituencies who later organized separate congregations.

The earliest Norwegian Lutheran church in the state was the St. Paul congregation located north of Elk Point in Union county. It was organized the 18th of August, 1863, but divided the following year on account of language differences and on account of long distances between members. The Ahlsborg Swedish Lutheran congregation and Vangen Norwegian Lutheran congregation in Yankton county were organized in addition to the pioneer congregation. Again, in 1868 a branch of the St. Paul church organized an independent congregation at or near Vermilion. Likewise, the old Bergen Norwegian Lutheran church southwest of Meckling was divided in 1912 and an independent congregation was organized in the village of Meckling. With regard to these early churches, there is considerable evidence indicating that their constituencies are no longer purely Norwegian, but include German, Swedish, Danish, and American elements. Approximately 20 of these early religious societies were disbanded for want of strength. Their numbers were invariably small and unable to maintain a pastor or to establish annex relationships with other congregations. At a very early date a number of mergers or reorganizations took place.

Table 4, which should be studied in conjunction with Fig. 1, indicates a number of salient facts about the development of Norwegian Lutheran churches in the state. Two-thirds (66 of 102) of the congregations in Area I were founded before 1890. This area comprises eleven counties in which the Norwegians established their earliest, largest and most com-

8. O. M. Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheter I Amerika, 1843-1916*, I, 899-906.

pact settlements before South Dakota became a state. In Area II, the great interior part of the state east of the Missouri River, about one-half of the congregations date from the period 1890-1915. West of the Missouri, except in the Black Hills district, settlement is much more recent and two-thirds of the churches were organized from 1890 to 1915; in fact, largely since 1900. From 1915 to 1926 a small number of new congregations (12 or more) were organized; but during the same decade this gain was offset by the disbandment of a somewhat larger number of churches so that the total number of congregations declined from 290 to 266. Since 1926, few if any new congregations have been started so far as the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America is concerned. In other words, the situation of this church has attained what may be called the level of stabilization.

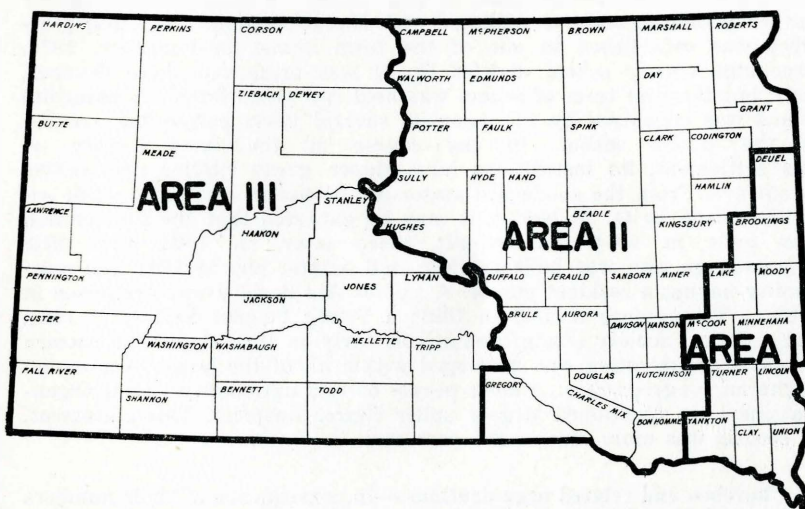


Fig. 1—The Principal Geographical Areas of South Dakota with Special Regard to the Organization of Norwegian Lutheran Churches.

Table 4—Period of Organization of Norwegian Lutheran Churches in South Dakota 1863-1936, By Principal Geographic Areas

Area	Total	Period				Not Reported
		1863-1889	1890-1915	1916-1926	1926.	
The State	275*	128	116	12	0	19
Area I	102	66	28	5	0	3
Area II	123	60	54	3	0	6
Area III	50	2	34	4	0	10

* This total does not include preaching places and hospitals, children's and old people's homes. Congregations which were merged later were counted as of the original year. Source of data: Report of the N.L.C.A. 1934, Official Roster of Congregations, pp. 798, 803.

In "The Immigrants' Trek," Gustav O. Sandro presents a detailed historical account of the founding and social history of the Lake Hendricks colony in Brookings County. Heads of this group of immigrant families came from the vicinity of Thronhjelm, Norway, had emigrated to this country in 1867 and 1869, and had acquired farms in Houston County, Minnesota, and Allamakee County, Iowa. Finding the land there already well occupied, they set out upon the long trek to Dakota Territory in search of a choice new location. This party of homestead seekers stopped en route at the new settlements at Dell Rapids, Flandreau, and Medary before settling on the shores of Lake Hendricks. The following spring some of the settlers learned that the land they had chosen was railroad land and not open to homesteads. Consequently, they moved again and filed on sections north and west of Lake Hendricks.

This colony grew rapidly not only by natural increase but also by large accessions from the homeland. A permanent Lutheran congregation was organized October 26, 1874. It was named the Singsaas Evangelical Lutheran Church and was affiliated with Hauge's synod.⁹ The first post-office was established in one of the farm homes in February, 1876. Brookings county school district No. 4 was organized there October, 1877, but the first term of school was held two years later. A parochial school was organized by the colonists several years before the opening of the public school. In the course of the later history of this settlement, its institutions have shown great vitality and ability to survive. From the condensed statement of parish institutions and activities made by O. M. Norlie, it may be gathered that the first church was built in 1884 and rebuilt twice later, in 1903 and 1913. A parsonage also was built in 1882, and a later one in 1904, the community having a resident pastor. A Ladies Aid Society was organized in 1882; a Temperance Society in 1891; a Young Peoples Society in 1904, and a Choral Society (Sangforening) as early as 1882. A similar pattern of social organization was developed within all of the larger Norwegian Lutheran congregations. Among people of this nationality, social organizations have functioned largely under church auspices. This statement, of course, was more true in the past than it is now.

Churches and related organizations.—In consequence of their numbers and their social solidarity, the Norwegians have exerted a strong influence upon the development and form of community life in the state. This is especially seen in the strength of Norwegian Lutheran churches, for which we present certain data relative to the number of congregations, their adult membership, and the average membership per congregation, as reported in the federal censuses of religious bodies and as given in their church reports for 1935-36. The ten years from 1906-1916 saw an expansion of the number of churches and a growth of the adult membership of this church body. Both these developments were the result of the expansion of settlement in South Dakota into the West River country, at least in part. During the decade 1916-26, there was still further growth in the adult membership of the Norwegian Lutheran church; but during the last ten years the figures for South Dakota indicate a slight decline.

9. O. M. Norlie, *op. cit.*, 929.

On account of variations in topography and settlement in South Dakota, state averages of church membership and the like per congregation are relatively meaningless; for there is a wide range of differences between Union county in the south-east and Harding in the north-west corner of the state. These differences are shown in the accompanying table.

Table 5—Norwegian Lutheran Congregations In South Dakota

Datum	1935-36	1926	1916	1906
Congregations	266	266	290	229
General Membership	44,205	41,778	---	---
Adult Membership	26,937*	27,795	26,269	25,032
Average Adult Membership Per Congregation	101	104	91	109

* This total is arrived at as follows: Confirmed members in South Dakota District (29,765) less the number in Denver (846) and in Omaha (1,312) circuits, and less the numbers of congregations situated in Minnesota, North Dakota, Nebraska, and Montana, estimated to total 370; plus congregations located in South Dakota, but having ministers from these states (337). The number of congregations was obtained by adding the number of all circuits, less those outside the state.

Table 6—Norwegian Lutheran Congregations in South Dakota by Representative Counties in 1935-36

Datum	The State	Union	Yankton	Minnehaha	Brookings	Day	Haakon	Harding
Congregations	261	8	12	18	9	13	5	12
Members, Adult	25,396	1,169	1,665	3,361	1,616	1,980	276	367
Average Membership Per Congregation	97	195	139	210	180	152	55	33
Ministers	108	3	6	10	6	6	2	3
Congregations Per Minister	2.4	2.7	2	1.8	1.5	2.2	2.5	4

Membership was not reported for two congregations in Minnehaha county, two congregations in Harding county. The respective county totals of adult membership are, therefore, somewhat below what they should be; but in calculating average memberships the number not represented was subtracted from the number of congregations.

The state totals are for 1934. The number of congregations included seven associated congregations, but not the preaching places represented for that year.

Norwegian immigrants and their descendants have established a number of church related institutions in South Dakota. Among them are the following: one liberal arts college, Augustana, at Sioux Falls; one normal school and academy at Canton; three general hospitals; two old peoples' homes; one orphanage; one home for unmarried mothers and one children's home-finding agency.¹⁰ These institutions are an index of the strength of the Norwegians in the state, not only in numbers but also in organization; for no other nationality has made a greater contribution in these fields. Furthermore, they are becoming fully assimilated and serve not only the parent nationality group but also the larger American constituency. Yet, it is through them that the Norwegian-American cultural heritage finds its most discernible expression in the larger life of the state.

10. The Lutheran World Almanac and Encyclopedia 1931-33, 326, 331, 337, 352.

Sons of Norway Lodges and the "Bygdslag"

The Sons of Norway is a fraternal organization for men and women of Norwegian birth and descent. The first member society was organized in Minneapolis in 1895. The order itself was founded in that city in 1900.

This organization now reaches from coast to coast, having about three hundred lodges and approximately twenty thousand members. The membership is drawn not only from cities but also from rural population groups. In North Dakota there are 60 lodges of this fraternal order. In South Dakota it is less strong; in 1935-36 there were 8 lodges with 250 members. It is significant that while certain small lodges in the state have been disbanded, some new units have been started in recent years. The name, location, and date of organization of each of these local societies are given below. Their location is also shown in Fig. 3.

Name	Location	Date Organized
Gjoa	Sioux Falls	Nov. 22, 1906
Grieg	Aberdeen	Nov. 6, 1908
Lidsiva	Canton	Oct. 15, 1920
Trygg	Veblen	Dec. 20, 1928
Odin	Roslyn	Feb. 14, 1929
Sather	Bristol	Aug. 5, 1930
Roald Amundsen	Summit	Feb. 17, 1931
Rolvaag	Flandreau	Sept. 17, 1935

Among the aims and activities of this fraternal order are life insurance, sick benefits, mutual aid, and the support of certain charitable institutions. But the aims and purposes of the organizations are also largely social and cultural in nature as may be seen, for example, in the following statements:

"To maintain and further interest in everything that is good and noble in the Norwegian national character."

"To instil into the second and succeeding generations of Norwegian people in the United States and Canada a knowledge of the deeds of the great men and women whom Norway has fostered, and the part Norway has played in the affairs of nations."

"To preserve such of our national traits as may be of value to the countries in which we live, and to further love and loyalty to these countries."^{10a}

During the last three decades there have been organized a number of societies commonly known among Norwegians as "Bygdslag." The basis of organization is the fact that the members of these "lag" have come from the same valley or district in Norway. Thus they are based upon the sense of community origin which is felt by subgroups among Norwegian immigrants. There are now more than fifty such active associations, mainly in the Northwest states, but also on the Pacific coast. We cannot say definitely how many of them are represented in South Dakota communities; but the following, and probably several others, are active in certain localities of the state: "Naumdola Samband," "Snaasalaget," "Nordhordlandslaget," "Tronderlaget," and "Opdalslaget." Some of these societies are divided into regional or local units. The leading societies have also taken steps to federate themselves into a common advisory council". The last two organizations, especially, have strong memberships in South Dakota.

^{10a} Skandinavens Almanak og Kalender, 92-97; Leaflet: Sons of Norway Its History and Its Aim and Purpose.

"Opdalslaget" is divided into two regional associations, one on the west coast and one whose members are located in South Dakota, North Dakota, and Minnesota. In this state the greater part of the constituency live at or near Irene, Volin, Canton, and Beresford, in the southeast corner of the state. But some members also are located further west and north; for example Geddes, Wessington Springs, Hetland, and other localities. The society was first organized in Seattle, Washington, in 1920. The South Dakota membership grew rapidly and the Eastern (South Dakota) branch was organized July 26, 1925.

In common with other "Bygdelag" associations, it devotes its activities mainly to biographical, genealogical, and historical studies. These are published with other materials in the yearbooks of the society, which have appeared annually or biennially since 1920. These publications are invaluable sources for the study of Norwegian immigration into the state. The society is also interested in the preservation of the material things which immigrants brought with them from Norway. In 1930 one exhibition of such objects was sponsored at Canton, South Dakota. It has also shown interest in establishing a museum for this cultural heritage, but the depression and drouth years have so far prevented its realization. Along with the general local activities of these associations, they do much to foster Norwegian songs and music. Skiing is undoubtedly the outstanding foreign sports activity which they have helped to promote¹².

The Norwegian Singers' Association of America.—In cultivating and promoting vocal music and choral singing, no foreign nationality in South Dakota has made a greater contribution than the Norwegian. In the past, furthermore, comparable talent and organization of native origin has not been in existence. This nationality is known for its well-trained and competently directed male choruses in many cities and towns of the state. At present, two local male choruses in Sioux Falls are members of the Norwegian Singers' Association of America; namely, the Norse Glee Club, and the Minnehaha "Mandskor." The association was originally known as the Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association and was organized in Sioux Falls on September 24, 1891. At first its constituency was Scandinavian, but Danish and Swedish choruses withdrew in the course of time, and the name was changed correspondingly.

At the outset it included three organizations, which have now increased to 36 choral societies ("sangforeninger") located in Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Canada. Sioux Falls is recognized as one of the association's principal centers of activity. On three occasions it has been host of the song festivals, held in 1892, 1902, and 1910. It is scheduled to be again in 1938.

Records indicate that several local choral societies are still active, or have functioned in the past, in the following cities and towns of the state: (The year given is that which indicates the date when the society was first mentioned as taking part in the biennial festivals) Minnehaha "Mandskor," 1892 and since; "Orpheus" at Baltic, 1894 and since; "Norse Glee Club," Sioux Falls, 1927 and since; "Crooks Male Chorus," Crooks, 1934 and since; "Grieg," Canton, 1894 and since; "Nordraak," Madison, 1894; "Idun," Yankton, 1894; "Sagatun," Lounsberry, 1896; "Unge Svea"

11. *Skandinavens Almanak og Kalender* 1936, 53-56. A list of the secretaries of the Bygdelag was furnished me by G. M. Bruce, Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

12. The file of yearbooks of Opdalslaget, 1921-1935.

(Swedish), New Hope, 1902; "Viking," Aberdeen, 1910. The last five choral societies have been inactive for years.^{12a}

Upon the initiative of the director of the Minnehaha "Mandskor," delegates of various local singers' associations met at Canton in April, 1913, and organized a Sioux Valley Norwegian Singers' Association. The song festivals of this association are held in years alternating with those of the parent group.

Through these organizations, a strong interest has been fostered in vocal music, both choral and solo numbers. The "Mandskor" recently observed its 46th anniversary in Sioux Falls. Other choruses have been organized with it as a model. The Norse Glee Club requires its members to understand Norwegian. It is held that this is necessary in order to render the music in the right spirit. The "Mandskor," on the other hand, has long since become Americanized, although many numbers are still sung in Norwegian. The song festivals of the Norwegian Singers' Association have been held regularly every other year since 1892. They have attained a high quality of musical performance, as well as great popularity. The program of the festivals usually includes orchestral numbers, solo numbers by artists obtained from leading operas and schools of music, competitive numbers rendered by the several participating choral societies, and finally the great, inclusive choruses by all of the delegates in unison. Since 1909, a monthly periodical, "Sanger-Hilsen" (Singers' Greeting), now with bi-lingual content, has been published for the membership of the association. Unquestionably, these organizations are so strong, and their activities have attained so much momentum, that they will be able to project themselves vitally into the future.

Swedish Settlements

Compared with the Norwegians, the two other Scandinavian peoples, the Swedes and the Danes, were less prominent in Dakota Territory. The census of 1870 reported 1,179 Norwegians, 380 Swedes, and 115 Danes in the whole territory. Norway and Sweden were then under a dual monarchy, and the distribution of the two nationalities was not shown separately by counties in the census. Church reports indicate that the Swedish first-comers settled especially in Union, Clay, and Minnehaha counties in the late 60's and 70's. In the 1880's Swedish settlements were also established in Grant, Roberts, Marshall, Day, and Brown counties. Still later, during the first and second decades of this century, a few small Swedish settlements and congregations were established west of the river, in Dewey, Stanley, Harding, and Lawrence counties.

On the whole, Swedish immigrants came to the state later than the Norwegians. Their settlements as seen in Fig. 2, are relatively less compact and more scattered through the state. Besides, unlike the Norwegians, who have stayed within the framework of the Lutheran synods to a remarkably large extent, the Swedes are divided among four or more principal denominations. All of these factors tend to weaken their system of social organization within the state. Consider, for instance, the following relative facts: immigrants from Sweden numbered 6,540 in 1930 while those from Norway numbered 13,061. In other words, the latter nationality is about twice as numerous as the former. But Norwegian immi-

^{12a} Th. F. Haman, *Sangerfaerden til Norge*, 1914, 190-232, 272-274, *Sanger-Hilsen*, April, 1937, 3.

grant settlements have established approximately five times as many churches and congregations as the Swedish settlements. Likewise, the Norwegians have fostered a much greater number of social, cultural, historical and fraternal organizations than have the Swedish immigrants.

Table 7—Swedish Congregations in South Dakota

Denominations	1935-36	1926	1916
Baptist			
Congregations, number	9	10	11
Adult Membership	933	785	825
Average Membership per Congregation	104	79	75
Mission Covenant			
Congregations, number	7	7	10
Adult Membership	271	295	368
Average Membership per Congregation	39	42	37
Free Church*			
Congregations, number	---	6	10
Adult Membership	---	331	381
Average Membership per Congregation	---	55	38
Lutheran			
Congregations, number	27	32	30
Adult Membership	3,693	3,576	2,852
Average Membership per Congregation	137	112	95

* For this church body, we failed to procure data for 1935-36.

Danish Settlements And Their Social Organization,

During the early part of the 1870's, the Danes laid the foundation for one of the largest settlements of this nationality in the United States. It is located in Daneville, Spring Valley and Swan Lake townships in Turner county. Slightly later, other Danish settlements were established in Kingsbury, Moody, and Brookings counties. From 1870 to 1880 this nationality in the Dakota Territory increased from 115 to 1,447; and 1,298 of these were located in counties which later became a part of South Dakota. It is possible that figures for this nationality include a small number of Icelanders, Iceland being then under Danish sovereignty. But in the Federal census from 1870 to 1920, a number of Danish immigrants from South Jutland (Schleswig—Holstein), which was ceded to Germany after the Danish-Prussian War of 1864, were reported as coming from Germany. This would be true of one congregation at Gayville whose constituency was largely made up of people from South Jutland. Among Danish immigrants, the establishing of settlements and the founding of churches went hand in hand. The Danish Baptist congregations appear to have been founded somewhat earlier than the Lutheran ones. Four denominations were active in Turner and adjacent counties; namely, the Lutheran, the Baptist, the Methodist, and the Adventist. This denominational rivalry caused considerable bitterness and strife. Moreover, in 1893 the Danish Lutheran congregations were divided in affiliation between two contending synodical bodies.

Since 1870, statistics of Danish immigration into South Dakota show the tendency of this nationality, as is true also of other foreign born, to decline as an element in comparison with the whole population of the state, but the Danes constitute also, as the table below indicates, an increasingly more important element as compared with the total foreign born population of the state.

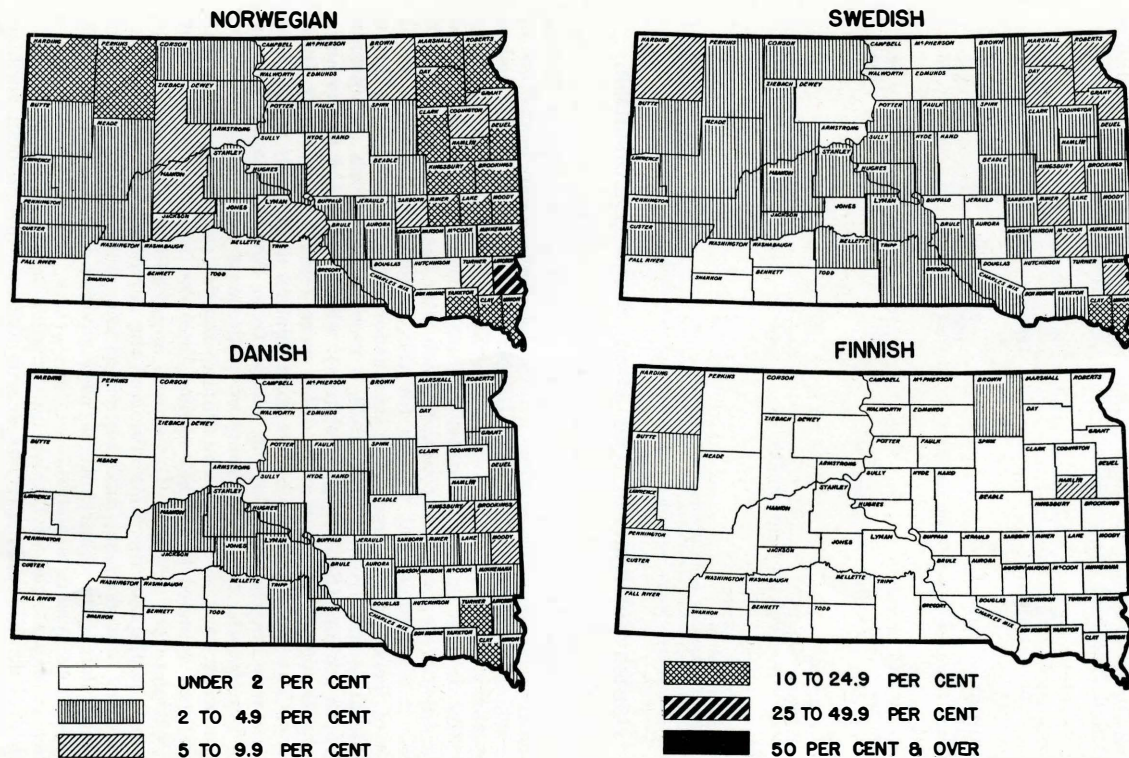


Fig. 2—The Distribution of the Foreign White Stock of Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Finnish Origin in Per Cent of the Total Population of Each County. The foreign white stock consists of two elements: (1) The foreign-born white and (2) the native white of foreign or mixed parentage of the given country of origin.

This latter tendency is to be ascribed to the fact that Danish immigration is relatively more recent than most of the foreign elements in the state. Related to this fact is another of equal significance, that this immigrant group is relatively younger than most immigrant nationalities in South Dakota as shown by the statistics of the median age. We may, therefore, expect Danish institutions and organizations to show the effects of this recent immigration in the persistence of the language and customs of the native land.

As indicated in Fig. 2, the Danish element is concentrated to a considerable extent in Turner, Clay, and Yankton counties in the south eastern part of the state; and in Minnehaha, Moody, Brookings, Kingsbury, Roberts, and Marshall counties in the eastern part. Only one county west of the river contains a fairly large proportion of Danes and their descendants; namely, Pennington, but we have no record of either Danish churches or societies or settlements in that county. There is a sprinkling of Danes in many other counties of the state but they tend to assimilate themselves either with Norwegian social organizations or with the American ones.

Table 8—Danish Immigrants in South Dakota 1870-1935

Year	Number of Persons Born in Denmark	Per cent of	
		All Foreign Born	Population of State
1935	4,141	8.4	0.6
1930	5,298	8.0	0.7
1920	5,983	7.2	0.9
1910	6,294	6.2	1.1
1900	5,038	5.7	1.3
1890	4,369	4.8	1.2
1880	1,295	3.9	1.3
1870	109	2.7	0.9

Denominations Represented in Danish Settlements.—To understand the church structure which is found in Danish settlements, it is necessary to delve into the historical past of Danish immigration to a considerable extent. Danes are customarily thought of as Lutherans, yet in this state they have furnished adherents to several other denominations, principally the Baptist, the Adventist, and the Methodist denominations. The earliest emigration from Denmark consisted largely of followers of these non-Lutheran groups. Emigration from Denmark reached large proportions in the years following the disastrous war with Germany in 1864, as well as in the 1880's and 1890's.

According to N. S. Lawdahl's account,¹³ the first Danish Baptist congregation in South Dakota was organized on the 25th of March, 1872, and comprised a widely scattered membership located in the new settlements at or near Lodi. Out of this original congregation developed 4 later ones: (1) the Daneville congregation which was organized on December 31, 1873; and (2) the Bethel Scandinavian Baptist congregation at Wakonda (Lodi). Out of separated locality groups within the Daneville congregation, two congregations arose later: (3) the Spring Valley church organized in August, 1888, and (4) the Turkey Valley church, in Yankton County, organized in the fall of 1892. The Daneville congregation itself later became the Danish Baptist church in Viborg. Since Lawdahl wrote his account in 1909, the Spring Valley congregation has been disbanded but the Turkey Valley congregation is still in

13. N. S. Lawdahl, *De Danske Baptisters Historie i Amerika*, 360-402.

the current reports. The congregation at Daneville derived its membership at first partly from Racine, Wisconsin, and partly from certain localities in Denmark.

As early as 1872 certain Baptist families from the vicinity of Vejle, Jutland, Denmark, settled northeast of Dell Rapids, part of them locating in Moody county. For several years they were isolated from other congregations but were finally strong enough to organize an independent congregation in 1882, which has continued functioning since then. It is now one of the largest Baptist congregations in the state. Small Danish Baptist congregations functioned also at one time at Pukwana in Brule County; at Conde in Spink County; at Millard in Faulk County; and at Woonsocket in Sanborn County. The membership of these societies was largely derived from the older organizations in the state. Those at Conde (Adelaide) came from the Baptist congregation at Atlantic, Iowa, and those at Woonsocket, came from Union Grove, Wisconsin, Gilmore, Iowa, and from Dell Rapids. The table below indicates the foundation period of Danish Baptist congregations in South Dakota. It shows also that 6 of the 9 congregations which functioned at one time, have now been disbanded. At the outset these congregations began with very small memberships. They suffered from doctrinal defection in that some of their members joined Adventist bodies. Many families removed from the localities mentioned on account of the discouragement caused by drouth. Several of these congregations were so far removed from others that they could not maintain pastoral services in connection with them; and they were too small to support heir own. In the long run, therefore, they have disbanded and merged their membership with American congregations.

Table 9—Foundation Period of Danish Congregations in South Dakota, 1870-1936

Denomination	Total, 1936		Period		
	Active	Disbanded	1916-1936	1890-1915	1869-1889
Baptist	3	6	0	3	6
Lutheran I: Danish Ev. Luth.	4	4	1	2	5
Lutheran II: United Dan. Ev. Luth	6	0	0	3	3

Source: N. S. Lawdahl, "De Danske Baptisters Historie i Amerika," (1909) pp. 356-402. "Beretning Fra Den Danske Ev.-Luth. Kirkes 59. Aarsmdg," 1936, pp. 17-19; and the Statistical Appendix. The United Danish Ev. Luth. Church, "Year Book," 1936, pp. 201-23.

The Danish Lutheran congregations and churches in South Dakota are affiliated with two separate synodical bodies; namely, the Danish Evangelical Lutheran church, whose principal educational institution and seminary is located at Des Moines, Iowa, and the United Danish Lutheran church, which maintains a college and seminary at Blair, Nebraska. The formation of this first mentioned synod dates from 1872. It included, at first, the several divisions of the Danish church "Hojkirke-lige," "Grundtvigianere," and "Indre Mission." The first group were High-Church Lutherans; the second group were followers of N. F. S. Grundtvig, the renowned Danish clergyman, poet, and educator; and the last mentioned inner mission people represented a pietistic religious lay movement. In the early 1890's differences of opinion became more strongly emphasized between the three groups than before, and a group of 19 pastors and 37 congregations withdrew from the original church body

in 1894. Somewhat later this body united with the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Association to form the United Danish Lutheran Church in America¹⁴. It appears that the churches of the seceding group have carried forward the inner mission heritage while the congregations of the older Danish church have represented the national heritage of Grundtvig which especially finds expression in the folk school movement. In the congregations of this church, the Danish language is more preserved than in the congregations of the other synod.

Table 10—Danish Lutheran Congregations in South Dakota

Synod	1935-36	1926	1916	1906
Lutheran I:				
Danish Ev. Luth. Ch.				
Congregations	4	7	6	6
Members, Adult	340	574	615	417
Average Adult Membership per congregation	85	82	103	70
Lutheran II:				
United Danish Ev. Luth.				
Congregations	6	7	7	7
Members, Adult	532	552	383	444
Average Adult Membership per congregation	89	79	55	63

Source: "Beretning Fra Den Danske Ev.-Luth. Kirkes 59. Aarsmode," 1936, pp. 17-19; and the Statistical Appendix. The United Danish Ev. Luth. Church, "Year Book," 1936, pp. 201-23.

The congregations of the "United Church" are located at Viborg, Spring Valley, Turkey Valley, Beresford, Rockfield, and Irene, in the south eastern corner of the state. Those which affiliated with the "Danish Church" are located at Viborg in Turner county, Gayville in Yankton county, White in Brookings county, Denmark, Badger and Erwin in Kingsbury county, at Howard in Miner county, and Lake City in Marshall county. The membership and strength of these congregations are shown in the accompanying tables. The stronger churches of both synods date from 1875. The last one to be organized dates from 1923. The Lutheran congregations have not been as much subject to disbandment as those of the Baptist denomination. This is partly traceable to the fact that Danish Lutherans outside of the larger settlements have lost their national identity in Norwegian or American Lutheran congregations.

Societies Which Function in Danish Immigrant Settlements

The Danish Brotherhood in America.—The Danish Brotherhood in America was organized by representatives from certain Danish immigrant societies in Omaha in 1882. The organization consists of a supreme lodge governing the local lodges, 8 of which are now active in South Dakota¹⁵.

The objects of the Danish Brotherhood and the general nature of its business according to its Articles of Incorporation are "to strengthen its members in fidelity to the constitution and laws of the United States; to render aid to its members and those dependent upon them in the

14. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1926*, II, 794-98.

15. *Danske i Amerika*, I, Part II, 213-23.

event of sickness, disability or death, and to generally conduct its affairs as a fraternal benefit society upon the subordinate lodge system; and also to aid its members in securing employment and furnishing to them such other brotherly help and assistance as the by-laws of the society shall prescribe."¹⁶

Table 11—Lodges of The Danish Brotherhood in South Dakota

Location and Name	Date of Organization	Membership Jan. 1, 1936
Badger, S. D.	June 5, 1886	35
White, S. D.	Feb. 24, 1898	15
Henry, S. D.	April 13, 1900	10
Viborg, S. D.	Dec. 28, 1900	118
Irene, S. D.	Jan. 31, 1901	16
Pierre, S. D.	Dec. 31, 1906	15
Lynn, Colman, S. D.	April 5, 1907	40
Howard, S. D.	March 23, 1912	9
		258

The financial activities of the Danish Brotherhood concern life insurance, burial aid, aid on account of sickness or old age dependency, and aid and support of certain children's homes. But it is at least equally important on account of its social functions in the communities. These include general social gatherings, amateur dramatic performances, dances, picnics, and the like. The Danish brotherhoods are not church sponsored organizations. In fact, at the outset, they met strong opposition from the more conservative pietistic Lutheran clergymen and congregations. Nevertheless, the lodges made rapid gains in membership in general and also in South Dakota. Emigration from Denmark favored their growth. Since 1920 several factors have made for a decrease in membership. The decline and stoppage of immigration, first on account of quota legislation, and later because of the depression, meant that that source of members was stopped. It was especially the financial and economic hardships of the depression of 1930-35 which reduced the premium paying membership. In 1919 the brotherhood found it necessary to re-organize its insurance according to actuarial principles, which meant that some of the older members dropped out. In 1920 one of the South Dakota lodges alone had more active members than the present state total.

The Danish Sisterhood in America is the corresponding society for women of Danish nativity or descent¹⁷. It is organized for purposes similar to those of the Brotherhood and functions largely as an auxiliary to the latter organization. The Sisterhood members are the leading spirits in many of the social activities sponsored by the brotherhoods. There are two units of this organization in South Dakota; one at Viborg, and one at Irene. These lodges have paid considerable sums to their members in the form of insurance or sick benefits. In agreement with the stricter state insurance legislation, the society in 1929 changed its function from life insurance to burial aid for its members.

16. The Danish Brotherhood in America, *Konstitution og Bilove*, September, 1935, 67-80

17. *Danske i Amerika*, I, Part II, 227-34.

Bohemian Settlements and Their Social Organization, 1869-1936

Beginnings in Southwestern Yankton County, 1869.—In June 1868, through appeals in several Bohemian newspapers, a colonization society was organized in Chicago, Cleveland and other cities for the purpose of establishing Czech colonies in western states. It soon enlisted a large membership¹⁸.

In the spring of the following year, it sent a delegation to Niobrara, Nebraska, but they were not favorably impressed with the sandy hills and roving Indians of that locality. They were made to believe that some 40 miles west there was an abundance of fertile land, woods, and flowing creeks. On the strength of this favorable but misleading hearsay, a handful of bona fide colonists left Chicago in May, 1869, for Sioux City, Iowa. Here they bought some implements, provisions, wagons, and ox teams, and proceeded toward their destination. Frank Bem acted as guide. He became later one of the official immigration agents of the territorial government.

In four days they reached the Niobrara vicinity. Hills, sandy soil, and scarcity of trees were a great disappointment. They resolved to return to Chicago. While leaving Niobrara, they met Charles Meyers, a Yankton surveyor, who urged them to investigate land on the Dakota side. From the Santee agency, three of them crossed the Missouri River and were favorably impressed with the lay of the land from the spot where Springfield is now located. They joined their companions on the Nebraska side and crossed the river again at Yankton, reaching the Dakota Territory capital on the fourth of July, 1869. At that time, the only available homesteads were seven miles west of Yankton along the old military road in the locality of Lakeport. These were taken up, and subsequent newcomers pressed from there west to Bon Homme county. New colonists also spread toward the present Utica and Lesterville in the years of 1871 and 1872.

Like the majority of immigrants, the Bohemians came to Dakota Territory as poor people. They came to bare prairies, virgin ground untouched by plow, where the Indian with tomahawk hunted wild animals. The first Czech settlers were able to see herds of buffalo galloping over the boundless prairies. They had no provisions and no money; therefore it followed that they suffered dismal poverty before they had gathered the first and second crops. The first crop was generally small, because not enough ground could be cultivated. Grasshoppers appeared in places and prairie fires destroyed property and human lives. But the first hard years were passed, and now the pioneers generally are prosperous. Sod houses and log houses have disappeared and everywhere one sees substantial buildings. Many Czech settlements are made attractive by groves, planted by the pioneers, and many of the original 160 acre grants have been enlarged to twice and four times that measure. One of their contributions to the development of the state was along the line of fruit culture. "They began experiments with apple and cherry orchards at an early date and have been very successful in this direction. Their settlement now abounds

18. For this and the following paragraphs, except where otherwise indicated, I am largely indebted to Herm. Klima, M. D., Tyndall, S. Dak., whose manuscript I used. I used also a translation of Jan Habenicht, *History of American Czechs*, 1904, furnished me by courtesy of Rose Rosicky, 406 South 12th Street, Omaha, Nebraska.

with fine orchards and they have already been compelled to seek a market for their fruit outside the territory."

Village of Tabor.—When the first Bohemian settlers began to settle at Lakeport and further west in 1871, there was an agitation to organize a new town in the midst of the homesteaders. Accordingly in April, 1872, there was a public meeting, and a homestead belonging to Johanna Kocer, consisting of a quarter section of land, was chosen and bought as pre-emption for a sum of \$200. Frank Bem surveyed 120 acres into 53 lots (one lot to each stockholder). One lot each was devoted to the church, school and cemetery; while 40 acres were left undivided and were assigned to the Catholic Bohemian Literary Society. The town was named Tabor. The Literary society bought Bohemian books, had a fair library, and loaned books to readers. This society disposed of their forty acres to the Milwaukee road when the road established a station at Tabor, in 1900.

With the coming of the Milwaukee railroad in 1900, Tabor began to grow and prosper; it was always foremost in social doings. Town band, amateur theatricals, free library, and church activities were in order and helped considerably to enliven hardships of the times. In spite of the fact that practically all settlers were trained workers of the soil from their old country, they had to learn anew how to cultivate prairie land that was deficient in moisture. Droughts, hot winds, prairie fires, and grasshoppers broke the power of endurance of some settlers, who sold out their homesteads for \$400 and went east again. One settler exchanged his 160 acres for a cow.

The very first Bohemian trade center was Zizkov, which was established in 1870, but which has long since been abandoned. It was situated approximately four miles west of Utica, and was named after the celebrated Bohemian Hussite warrior, Jan Zizka. Tabor derives its name from the radical branch of the Hussites, called Taborites. Other place names of Bohemian origin are Blaha and Vodnany in Bon Homme county, and Janousek in Yankton county. Formerly, in the 70's, there was also a county post office called Havlicek, south of Tabor.

Brule, Charles Mix, Buffalo and Aurora Counties also contain Czech communities. Approximately half of the population of Brule County, according to Jan Habenicht's account, was at one time of Bohemian birth or origin. This county was opened to settlers in 1880 and at first had plenty of rainfall and good crops. Many Czechs from Wisconsin and Iowa moved in, but drouths and poor crops followed and many went to Minnesota and Nebraska. The worst year of drouth was 1894, but better years followed and farmers learned to do better planning, to engage in stock raising and thus receive a more varied income. The first Czech to enter Brule County was Vaclav Ployhard, who had lived in South Dakota from 1863 to 1866, as a cavalryman in Company 6, Iowa Volunteers. In 1880 he took a claim 15 miles southwest of Kimball and became postmaster of Ployd, established on his farm and abolished in 1887. In 1890 he moved to Minnesota. Further Bohemian settlers came to the locality at Bijou Hills in 1881 and 1882. They were followed by still others, principally from Muscoda, Wisconsin and Spillville, Iowa; but, as said before, during the dry nineties many left the country. Czechs in this county live mostly on farms in the vicinity of Bendon, Coyle, Red Lake, Dunlap, Eagle, Ola, Bijou Hills and Lyonville, and in the towns of Kimball, Puk-

wana and Chamberlain. They have built one Protestant and four Catholic churches.

The Westward Trend of Bohemian Settlements.—Since the first settlements were made in 1869, there has been a pronounced tendency for Bohemian immigrants and their descendants to migrate from the home base in Yankton and Bon Homme counties westward into Charles Mix, Douglas, Brule, and Buffalo counties east of the Missouri and into Gregory, Tripp, Mellette, and Bennett counties west of the Missouri. In 1890 there were but a handful of Bohemians in the counties west of the river. When portions of the Rosebud Reservation lands were opened to homesteaders in 1904, they spread into Gregory, Tripp, Mellette, and Todd counties.

**Bohemians or Czechs in Selected Counties
In South Dakota, 1890**

Bon Homme	1,032
Brule	523
Charles Mix	59
Gregory	7
Yankton	321
Other counties	546
Total	2,488

In 1930, the Czechoslovakian element in the population of the state numbered 10,650, including in this figure persons born in Czechoslovakia or having one or both parents born in that country. They constituted 1.54 per cent of the population of the state. If all persons were included who recognize their ancestry as Bohemian, a much larger proportion would have to be given. More than 62 per cent of the Czechoslovakian immigrants arrived in the United States prior to 1900. From 1899 to 1935, 777 Bohemians and Moravians gave South Dakota as the state of future residence. Only about 100 of these immigrants entered during the period 1914-1935. In other words, this group has not been renewed by newcomers from the homeland, as far as shown by federal immigration statistics. At the same time, since the average age of immigrants from this country is high, the death rate of the group is high also. Consequently, the number of foreign-born Bohemians in the state is declining rapidly. (See Table 12 and footnote.)

Table 12—Persons Born in Bohemia, Selected South Dakota Counties, 1915, 1925, 1935

County	1935	1925	1915
The State	1,466	1,870	2,219
Bon Homme	278	437	501
Brule	44	153	222
Charles Mix	256	181	320
Gregory	163	191	195
Hand	19	30	34
Hyde	14	37	60
Mellette	19	28	20
Sanborn	28	38	35
Tripp	64	168	112
Yankton	142	195	259
All other counties	439	412	461

Sources: State Censuses of Population.—According to the U. S. censuses, there were 2,589 natives of Czechoslovakia in 1930, 2,819 in 1920. Consequently, we are led to believe that the above figures constitute distinct under-enumerations. That errors may have been made by state census enumerators may be explained in part by the changes made in the political boundaries in the history of Czechoslovakia.

Social Organization in Bohemian Settlements.—The Bohemians are predominantly members of the Roman Catholic Church. A relatively small part of them are adherents of Protestant churches. Thomas Capek, writing in 1920, stated that there were 12 Roman Catholic and 4 Protestant congregations among Bohemians in South Dakota. There is also an unchurched fringe of liberals or "free-thinkers" among them. This latter feature of Bohemian cultural life in America has attracted much attention and caused much criticism. They are, however, a deeply moral and religious people. "Every Bohemian," Herbert A. Miller has said, "has a bit of John Huss in him." He might have mentioned not only that famous Reformer but also John Amos Comenius, Charles Havlicek, and many others. "Truth Wins," the motto of the Hussites, is now the slogan of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

At the heart of Bohemian life and culture lies the fact that for centuries the Bohemian people were a conquered nationality, suffering oppression and striving to maintain their national culture and independence. This helps to account for the idealism and democracy of her people. It was a basic reason motivating the large immigration to the United States from Bohemia. It helps also to explain the attachment of her immigrants to the mother country, on the one hand; but on the other, it accounts equally well for their marked settler mentality.

The first church organized among Czech Protestants dates from 1883, when a stone church was built on land donated for the purpose four miles east of Tyndall, in the center of a community of Protestant members. In 1900, according to Jan Habenicht, the parish house was built and the congregation obtained a resident minister. Two other Bohemian Presbyterian churches are located at Eagle, in Brule county, and Wagner, in Charles Mix. In these churches, according to an informant, "the third generation of children are taught to read the Bohemian Bible and sing in Bohemian. The Sunday School and occasional church programs, besides the preaching, are still conducted in the Czech language. The young people, however, are beginning to express a strong preference for English."

A relatively strong system of social organization has been developed by the Bohemians in the United States. The settlements in South Dakota are also represented, having 20 lodges of the Western Bohemian Fraternal Association, four lodges of the Czecho-Slovak society of America, and five "Sokol" societies. The former society of lodges had its inception in Omaha in 1897, and provides for fraternal insurance, sick benefits, social and cultural activities. The latter society originated in Bohemia, where it is still flourishing, and was transplanted to the United States. It provides for physical education and gymnastic training, but combines this phase of its work with the perpetuation of nationalistic Bohemian ideals¹⁹.

Five local units of the National "Sokol" society are found at Tabor, Tyndall, Wagner, Gregory, and Winner. At present their activities depend on a special instructor and trainer who is sent out by the western branch of the National "Sokol" society at Omaha. Local leadership is also evident. Usually an annual exhibit in physical training and a literary program are presented. The members are mostly the third generation of Czechs in this country. The Catholic "Sokol" at Tabor has a member-

19. Rose Rosicky, *A History of Czechs (Bohemians) in Nebraska*, 365-57, 352-55, 56, 57. (Omaha, 1929)

ship of 250. The dramatic section of this organization gives two to four performances each year in the Czech language. Organization has been started for Catholic "Sokols" at Dante, Vodnany, and Winner.

The Western Bohemian Fraternal Association is one of the strongest sources of social and cultural activity among the Bohemians. It comprises about twenty lodges, of which the earliest one was organized in 1897, and the latest in May, 1936. Only two lodges have been merged with others for want of support. Membership statistics indicate that when the lodges were organized they had about 335 members. Their total number is now about 1,450. Three of the lodges now have about 200 members. The date of organization and the location, showing town and county, indicate partly the growth of the organization and also the westward expansion of Czechoslovakian settlement in the state²⁰.

Table 13—Lodges Of The Western Bohemian Fraternal Association

Location By County	Name	Date	1936 Membership
Yankton			
Yankton	John Rosicky	1897	20
Utica	Star of South Dakota	Sept. 24, 1899	96
Lesterville	Charles Jonas	June, 1901	26
Bon Homme			
Tabor	Star of the West	Sept. 12, 1897	141
Tyndall	Truth	Feb. 4, 1900	213
Scotland	Scotland	Sept., 1907	Merged with Tyndall
Charles Mix			
Lake Andes	Western Branch	Jan. 6, 1899	58
Wagner	Harmony of Patriots	Feb., 18, 1900	197
Geddes	Dakota Farmer	Jan. 1, 1905	99
Brule			
Vega	Dakota Enlightenment	May 10, 1908	33
Gregory			
Fairfax	Sobeslav I	April 21, 1903	26
Gregory	Universe	Nov. 3, 1906	194
Dixon	Green Mountain	April 1, 1908	Merged with Gregory
Herrick	Bohemian (Czech) Crown	July 3, 1910	14
Tripp			
Witten	New Hope	June 27, 1910	45
Winner	The Star of Peace	Dec. 21, 1914	32
Hamill	The Czechs' Victory	Nov. 5, 1921	53
Colome	South Dakota	July 30, 1926	24
Mellette			
White River	Rosebud	March 25, 1923	30
Jackson			
Belvidere	New Home	Dec. 29, 1907	57
Bennett			
Martin	Martin	May 24, 1936	38

The local lodges include both insured and non-insured associate members. They comprise both men and women, and practically all of these lodges have organized branches of junior members. Ten of these local associations own their own halls. The lodges have taken an active part in encouraging social development in the community. Each lodge has its library; most of them have organized bands; and particular interest is evidenced in dramatic production. The plays, given in the Czech language, are frequently shown in lodges at Omaha and other Nebraska cities. One of the most colorful social activities which the Bohemians have retained is the dancing of the "Beseda," their national dance, in full native costume. The parade, with pageants, bands, and decorative floats, occupies the center of interest at all celebrations. Drill and maneuvers by well-trained "Sokols" are likewise deemed indispensable features of their programs.

20. Western Bohemian Fraternal Association, *Souvenir of Czechoslovak Day Festival*, passim.

The basic aim of each unit at the time of its organization is fraternalism. Each member has the privilege, should misfortune befall him, of obtaining aid from the lodge to which he belongs, from other lodges of the organization and from the organization itself. In time of sickness or death the family is aided by other members of the lodge. From the standpoint of entertainment the lodge sponsors educational programs for various occasions. Programs of this type are ordinarily put on by the children under the sponsorship of some older member. Almost every lodge has its dramatic club, the members of which present plays under the auspices of the lodge. Most of these plays are given in the Czech language by the younger members of the lodge. All are enjoyed by the older members who are able to speak only their mother language. Besides being a form of entertainment to the audience it proves to be of much benefit to the young Czechs on the stage. It does much in furthering the continuation of the Czech language among the younger generation. Members of all lodges are benefitted by the library service which is conducted by a group of lodges of the Western Bohemian Fraternal Association and other Czech organizations. The western district library is composed of several hundred volumes which circulate among the lodges²¹.

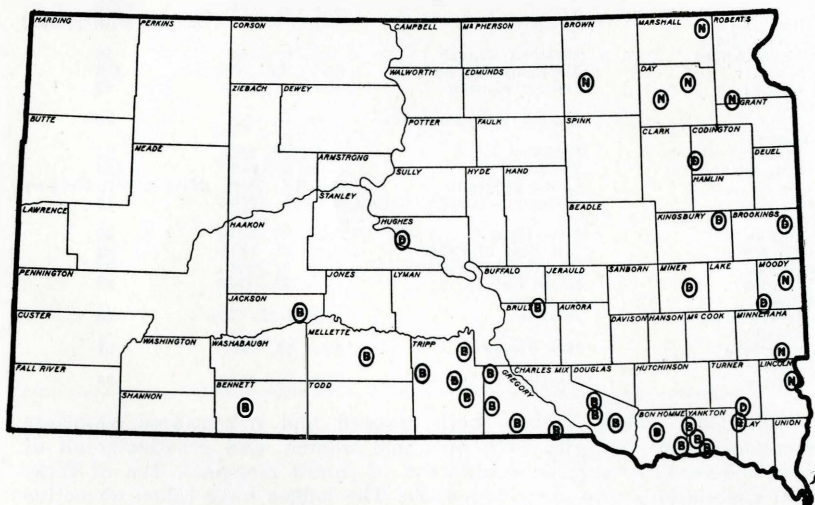


Fig. 3—The Location of Bohemian, Danish, and Norwegian Fraternal Societies. The nationality of the society is shown by the letter enclosed in the oval: B, Bohemian; D, Danish; and N, Norwegian.

The first Czechoslovak Day of the Western Bohemian Fraternal Association lodges in South Dakota was held at Gregory, on August 24, 1936. Seven thousand, including members of South Dakota lodges, delegates from six Nebraska and two North Dakota lodges, and hundreds of interested spectators of other nationalities assembled for the long anticipated day of celebration. In addition, telegrams of congratulation and encouragement were received from all parts of the country. Activities got underway in the morning, with a colorful parade made up of

²¹ Field notes and information sent me by J. Krizan, Colome, South Dakota.

seven bands, numerous floats, "Sokols," folk dancers in full costume, flag-bearers, the governor of the state and his party, the Catholic Knights, the Scouts, and members of all Association lodges in South Dakota and some representing neighboring states. In the afternoon, "Sokols" from Tabor, Tyndall, and Verdigre (Nebr.) presented drills, and 32 men and women in folk costume danced the "Beseda," national dance of the Bohemians. The session was climaxed by addresses by the Governor of South Dakota, and by the Supreme President of the Association. The latter traced the history of Bohemian settlements and emphasized the important part played by the Czech lodges in bringing about harmonious living among the immigrant peoples of Bohemian stock. In the evening, a group of amateur actors presented a play in the lodge hall as the concluding feature of the day's program.

The Immigration of the German-Russians, 1873

Subgroups Among the German-Russians

Between 1870 and 1880, the Russian-born people in Dakota Territory increased from 4 to 6,493, according to the federal censuses. As shown by the censuses of 1880 and 1890, they were distributed by counties as follows:

Table 14—Persons Born In Russia, In Certain South Dakota Counties

County	Group I	
	1880	1890
Bon Homme	1,282	1,316
Hutchinson	2,957	3,305
Turner	1,170	817
Yankton	905	654
All other counties in the S. D. part of the territory, except Groups II & III	32	654
County	Group II	
	1880	1890
	None	322
	None	1,265
	None	303
	None	2,922
County	Group III	
	1880	1890
Hamlin	22	271
Lawrence	23	281

The first two groups indicate that there were two rather distinct tides of immigration. The three groups indicate settlement in four different regions of Dakota Territory. The Russian-born immigrants in Hamlin and Lawrence counties were forerunners of the present Finnish immigrant settlements.

To avoid misunderstanding or confusion, it should be made clear that these immigrants, except the Finns, were German-speaking colonists from various parts of Russia and that they belonged to several religious faiths. German-Russians are derived (1) from provinces of Russia bordering on the Black Sea "Schwarzmeerdeutschen," (2) from districts bordering on the Volga River "Wolgadeutschen"; and (3) from Volhynia, Poland, and other parts of European or Asiatic Russia. These groups are again subject to different historical treatment because they belong to several broad religious groupings (1) Mennonites and Hutterites, (2)

Evangelical Protestants, (3) Lutherans, and (4) Roman Catholics. In describing the settlement of the first group of counties, we deal largely, though not exclusively, with immigration of the Mennonites and the Hutterian Brethren Mennonites. The latter have been the subject of considerable attention and study, quite out of proportion to their numbers, because of their unique collectivist community organization. Relatively full materials are also at hand for the Mennonites. As to the other branches of this immigration, there are almost no historical treatments available, except Richard Sallet's study of the German-Russians in the United States²².

The Coming of the Mennonites and Hutterites.—In the following passages we are concerned only with the immigration and settlement of the Mennonites, followers of Menno Simons (1496-1561) and the Hutterite Brethren Mennonites, followers of Jacob Hutter, a leader of the Anabaptists in Moravia, (Circa 1496-1536). These groups hold many religious principles and practices in common, such as a strictly evangelical religious faith based upon New Testament teachings, adult baptism, and refusal to take oath and engage in military service. They differ mainly in that the followers of Hutter adhere to the principle of community of goods and property and live together in the so-called "Bruderhofs" or "Brueder Gemeinde." There are, however, also congregations of Hutterian Brethren who do not live in communistic colonies but on individual farms.

The Hutterian Brethren originated in Moravia, now a part of Czechoslovakia, and had at one time twenty-four societies in that country. Persecuted on account of their faith, they migrated from Moravia to Transylvania and later to Wallachia, two provinces which are now parts of Rumania. From the latter location they again removed to the manorial estate of a certain Russian count located near Gluchow in Northern Ukraine. Attempts by the later owners of this estate to reduce the Hutterians to serfdom forced them to migrate again, this time to the Crown lands on the Molotschna River in south Russia. In this location they came in close contact with the Mennonite settlers who had come there from various parts of Germany. Here they established four villages, Hutterthal, Johannesruh, Hutterdorf, and Neu-Hutterthal. Under new leadership they revived their communal "Bruderhofs" which had fallen into disorganization and been abandoned for some time²³.

According to the terms of a manifesto issued by Empress Catherine the Great in 1763, the German settlers in Russia enjoyed very extensive rights and privileges. The most important of these were: toleration of religious creeds and practices, exemptions from military service, autonomous local administration, a measure of exemption from taxation, and some assistance in their first settlement. On account of these far-reaching privileges the German colonists in Russia preserved their national characteristics, spoke their own language, administered their own educational system, chose their own local and district government officials, and lived in closed religious communities. The German colonies therefore constituted a sort of state within a state. That such was the case is

22. Richard Sallet, *Russlanddeutsche Siedlungen in den Vereinigten Staaten*, (German-American Historical Review, Chicago, 1931.)

23. John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931, A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty*, passim, The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Indiana.

partly explained by the fact that their economic and cultural development was far in advance of their Russian neighbors²⁴. Under the administration of Czar Alexander II, the new policy of Russianization threatened the autonomy of these colonies. Furthermore, compulsory military service was introduced in 1871, greatly contrary to the religious principles of the Mennonites, Hutterites, and other German settlers. When it became clear that former privileges and immunities were to be abolished, the Mennonite colonists began to arrange for emigration to Canada and the United States.

The Mennonites and Hutterites sent delegations to the United States in 1872 and again in 1873. These delegates came to explore sites for new colonies, to make arrangements for their purchase, and to contact officials of the governments in order to obtain a privileged status similar to that which they had had in Russia. One of the delegates sent by the Hutterian Brethren kept a diary of his journey from April 14, 1873 to July 27 of the same year. According to this diary, the delegates apparently did not visit any localities in South Dakota. They did inspect lands along the Northern Pacific railway west and south of Fargo, and also certain tracts near Pembina, North Dakota. Paul Tschetter and his associates stopped also at Worthington and Windom and other points in Minnesota, and at Sioux City, Iowa. In their efforts to locate new lands they were assisted by American Mennonite friends of Elkhart, Indiana. Railroad land agents also exerted themselves in trying to contact these potential buyers of large tracts of land.²⁵

Before returning to Russia the delegates obtained an interview with President U. S. Grant. They were accompanied by an agent for the land department of Jay Cooke and Company, Trustee for the Northern Pacific Railroad, who acted as interpreter and spokesman for their cause. At this time they submitted a petition to the President, from whom they wanted to obtain a written grant for certain political, civic, and educational privileges. More particularly, the delegates wanted to obtain assurance that the Mennonites would be exempt from military service for a period of 50 years; that they be exempt from jury service, this likewise being contrary to their religious faith; and that they would be allowed to keep their own German schools and administer them as they had done in Russia. If these privileges could be obtained they held forth the prospect of an immense immigration from that country²⁶.

24. George Leibbrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VI: 206-07 (Oct. 1932).

25. J. M. Hofer (translator and editor), "The Diary of Paul Tschetter, 1873: I-II," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. V, 112-127, 198-220. (April and July, 1931). On account of the differences between the Julian calendar and the Gregorian calendar, according to which we reckon time, the dates of Paul Tschetter's diary were actually about two weeks later.)

26. Ernst Correll, "President Grant and the Mennonite Immigration from Russia," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. IX, pp. 146-47, (July, 1935). This article contains (1) a summary of the sources relative to this interesting question, (2) copies of original documents from the archives of the U. S. Department of State, and (3) discussion of the debates in Congress relative to the modification of the Federal land settlement laws so as to allow public lands to be withdrawn from entry by others and reserved for compact settlements to be established by Mennonite colonists.

For another citation of the Tschetter petition, which differs considerably from the official one cited above, see J. M. Hofer, "The Diary of Paul Tschetter, 1873: II," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Vol. V, pp. 214-15. (July, 1931).

President Grant referred the matter to the Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, with the following notation: "Of course no privileges can be accorded to foreign born citizens not accorded to all other citizens. But it may be proper to state to these people that it is entirely improbable that they will ever be called upon to perform involuntary Military Service." The reply by the Secretary of State was even more negative. The President was not in position to give them any such assurance as they asked, for the reason that in the United States such matters as jury duty, militia service and control of public schools are subject to state legislation, and military service or commutation for it subject to the laws of Congress.

The delegates, therefore, waited in vain for a favorable reply. The prospective Mennonite immigrants also sought to obtain large compact tracts of land upon which to establish their colonies. Representatives of Mennonite and railroad interests petitioned Congress in 1873-74 for legislation to authorize the setting aside of such compact tracts. In this quest also they were unsuccessful. The United States Congress did not approve of the system of closed foreign language colonies. In contrast, the Canadian government granted the Mennonites extensive rights and concessions which enabled them to establish on the prairies of Manitoba the same type of settlements that they had had in Russia. Nevertheless, by far the larger part of the Mennonite immigrants chose to make the United States their future country, and settled especially in Kansas, Dakota Territory, Nebraska, and Minnesota. This immigration was a mass movement, transplanting whole villages and colonies. They were assisted in migrating and in getting settled by the Mennonite Board of Guardians who collected and provided a special fund for their assistance, made arrangements with steamship and railroad lines for their passage, and assisted them in other ways in reaching their destination. The immigration commissioners of Dakota Territory, working to overcome the humiliating ratio between man and land in the Territory, were also on the job seeking to influence the German-Russians in favor of locating in Dakota territory. In the performance of this duty, however, they competed with immigration commissioners and with railroad land agencies in neighboring states.

Various other accounts of the coming of the Mennonites and the Hutterites have placed due emphasis upon the activities of railroad land agents and of immigration commissioners. It is also reported that the colonists liked the undulating prairie, the soil, and the climate, all of which were very much like what they were accustomed to in Russia. One further factor was at work which has not received sufficient attention. These immigrants came in large groups and wanted to settle in solid communities. On the one hand, they did not desire to scatter and filter in among other nationalities; on the other, it was quite impossible for them to do so. In their petition to Congress, December 1873, they stated the colony idea and one of their reasons for it very succinctly as follows²⁷:

"Desirous of settling in your country as colonists, there is, however, one obstacle in the way. The unimproved lands, which we would be likely to select for our future homes, being owned, in alternate section, by railroads and the Government; if we should purchase from the railroad companies some of the sections belong-

27. George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 712.

ing to the Government would be taken up by persons who do not belong to our colonies, and who are not in sympathy with us. Besides this, our mode of farming is for 15 or 20 families to join together on a large tract of land, and to have portions of it set aside for common pasture, where all the horses and cattle may graze together, kept by one herder. This saves much expense in fencing."

Railroad lands did not quite suit their purposes, except in a round-about way—when alternating railroad and government sections happened to be available at the same time and other nationalities had not made entries upon them. Among the Mennonites as among the German-Russians generally, the farm village was the basic pattern of social organization. The requirements of the Homestead Act were also contrary to village settlement; for they stipulated that the homestead claimant must live upon it in order to receive a government patent to the land. In the light of these considerations, the best adaptation that could be made was to make scattered but relatively compact settlement upon the open homestead frontier.²⁸

In order to find such an unoccupied frontier with lands of desirable quality, they had to advance somewhat beyond the tier of counties bordering on the Missouri and the Big Sioux. They had to go beyond the native settlements at Bon Homme, Scotland, Olivet, and Swan Lake; and also beyond the earlier foreign settlements established by Canadians, Scandinavians, Bohemians, and Germans. In 1880, practically all immigrants from Russia were located in Bon Homme, Hutchinson, Turner, and Yankton counties. The federal census of that year gave the following returns for Hutchinson county: native, 2,043; foreign-born, 3,530. The corresponding percentages were 36.7 for the native and 63.3 for the foreign-born. This foreign-born element consisted mainly of Mennonites, Hutterians, and Evangelicals, and also some Roman Catholics.

As we have seen, the Hutterite colonists would not and could not make use of the Homestead Act. But, according to the article by Gertrude Young, they were fortunate in their first purchase of a colony site. "Hon. W. A. Burleigh yesterday sold twenty-five hundred acres of his large farm near Bon Homme, the purchasers being a society of Russian-Germans banded together after the manner of communists. They have paid twenty-five thousand dollars, seventeen thousand in cash, the remainder in installments²⁹." The other two original colonies, Wolf Creek and Elm Spring, were established in 1874 and 1877, respectively, in Hutchinson County. In the course of time, these three original colonies increased by a process of growth and branch colonization to seventeen. All of these colonies were located along the course of the James River, or its tributaries.

Hutterite Branch Colonies Along the James River.—Gertrude Young cites the years when other Hutterite colonies were founded as follows: "Milltown in 1886, Jamesville in 1894, Maxwell 1900, and Tschetter in 1900 were all in Yankton or Hutchinson Counties. The Hanson County

28. R. Sallet points out how the Volga Germans in settling south of Russell, Kansas sought to establish a village according to the home land pattern with farmsteads grouped along one street, a communal garden, and the like. But this project fell through on account of the fact that according to the law each homesteader had to live upon his claim in order to secure title to it.—*Op. cit.*, 65.

29. *Dakota Herald*, August 25, 1874. Quoted from Gertrude S. Young, "Mennonites in South Dakota," *Department of History Collections, S. D.*, 10: 470-506, (1920).

colonies of Rockport and Rosedale were founded about 1904 and 1906. A location near the mother colony in Hutchinson county was chosen for New Elm Spring in 1911. Between 1900 and 1915 the Sanborn, Beadle and and Spink county colonies, Richard, James Valley, Huron, Lake Bryon, Millford, Yale, and Frankfort were placed."³⁰

The movement northward through the James River Valley was the result almost entirely of the internal growth in numbers by second and third generation increase among the colonists, who did not wish one colony to have more than from 100 to 150 members. By 1918 the three original colonies had increased by a process of branch colonization to 17. In 1915 two of them were located in Montana. When the United States declared war against Germany, strong feelings of distrust and antipathy were aroused against their German culture, their conscientious objection to war, and their limited participation in public affairs. For similar reasons the Hutterite colonists had also suffered malicious attacks upon their enterprises and property before the war. Now the feelings became so bitter that the colonists decided to emigrate to Canada in search for new locations for their communities. This movement out of the state is reflected in the following table.

Table 15—Hutterite Colonies In South Dakota

Year	Number of Colonies	Adult Membership
1936	4	375*
1926	6	700
1916	15	837
1906	8	275**
1890	5	352

* Estimated

** From the Census. Most likely an erroneous under-enumeration

In recent years, several families from the Lake Byron colony in Beadle county removed to Montana; but later developments point to their return to South Dakota. During the summer of 1936 another group of Hutterite colonists who had been living near Winnipeg, Canada, purchased lands from the Federal Land Bank and made plans to return to South Dakota. This colony will be located where the Elm Spring colony formerly had its home.

The three original groups and their branches bear German designations derived from their leaders. The Bon Homme group was led by Michael Waldner who was a blacksmith. Hence, their name "Schmiede Leute" (i.e., the blacksmith people). The leader of the Wolf Creek group was Darius Walter, while the Old Elm Spring group came under the guidance of two men who were teachers. Hence, among the German speaking colonists the former are known as "Darius' Leute" and the latter as the "Lehrer Leute" (literally, the teacher people).³¹

The tabulation below gives the location of the three colonies which remained in South Dakota in 1934. The total acreage which they owned and its assessed valuation is given according to the county assessment lists of real estate property. At the first glance, the colonies appear to be extensive economic enterprises; yet when the number of families

30. Gertrude S. Young, *Mennonites in South Dakota*, Department of History Collections, 10: 491, (1920).

31. Bertha W. Clark, "The Hutterian Communities," *Journal of Political Economy*, 32: 357-74 and 32: 468-86, (June and August, 1924).

which each one of them includes is considered, the per capita or per family acreage is not very large.

Table 16—Hutterite Colonies In South Dakota, 1934

Name And Location		
1. Bon Homme: Bon Homme county	}	Acreage 12,953
Little Tabor Township, Twp. 93, Rge. 58, Sec. 21		
2. Rockport: Hanson county		
Wayne Township, Twp. 102, Rge. 58		
Worthen Township, Twp. 101, Rge. 59		
Rosedale Township, Twp. 102, Rge. 59	}	Assessed Valuation \$347,771.00
Beulah Township, Twp. 101, Rge. 58, Sec. 6		
3. Lake Byron: Beadle county	}	
Lake Byron Township, Twp. 113, Rge. 61, Sec. 30		

A Visitor Describes One of the Colonies in 1912.—From time to time various studies have been made of the religious, economic, and social aspects of the Hutterite colonies. In a distinct sense they are cultural islands representing sixteenth century Europe in the midst of contemporary America, being separated from it by their form of settlement and property ownership, by their German dialect and strange customs and by their distinct and different organization of economic, social, and religious life. The exact details of description vary from one colony to another. Their main features, however, are largely the same. One visitor described the Jamesville colony as follows in 1912.³²

About fourteen miles north and five miles west of Yankton lies the Jamesville colony. The woods of the river and the hills enclosing the James river valley hide the colony from view until one is fairly upon it. After crossing the river, one is particularly struck by the immense flocks of pigeons encircling the boxelder and maple groves, and by the presence of noisy flocks of geese. To the left of the road one views a stately, yellow-painted flour mill, three stories high. The friendly, yet somewhat reticent, miller states that the mill was driven by water power at one time, but that the dam in the river caused some damage to farmers above it, and, after being partially destroyed several times, the mill was burned down by unknown hands. So the new mill is driven by modern gas engines, and has a capacity of some six bushels of wheat per hour. Here also, the farmers of the vicinity come to have their grain converted into flour and feed.

As one turns up the valley through tall and handsome maple trees, the blacksmith shop is seen on the left. In it is a man who knows his business and who has complete, modern equipment at his disposal. To the right is the carpenter shop where two men are engaged in making spinning wheels of the type which our ancestors in Europe used, perhaps a century ago. Some thirteen spinning wheels, new and repaired, bear witness to their ability. Adjoining the carpenter shop is the broom factory. The broom corn is raised on the farm ("Hof"), and with the aid of machinery, is transformed into brooms. Broom-making is a winter occupation, and several hundred, sometimes more than a thousand, are made and sold to merchants. Shoes are also made during the winter, but, at the present time, for women and children only. Men can buy their supply more cheaply than they can be made.

32. The following paragraphs are based upon the manuscript entitled, **Huter's Religious Communism** by George J. Zimmer. This manuscript was written in 1912. We obtained permission to borrow it from Yankton College Library.

Toward the north one sees before him a regular little village of East European type, consisting of long, low-built dwellings of cement and rough unhewn stone. One of them is modern, two stories high, with a basement, and built of brick. The basement serves as a storage room for supplies. The first floor contains the kitchen and the dining hall. The latter is as simple, plain, and austere as one can imagine. No picture, save perhaps a lonely calendar, is on the white-washed wall. Four plain, redpainted tables, two on each side, fill the hall. Plain, wooden benches, as long as the tables, serve as seats. Around the four pillars supporting the upper structure, fixtures have been made for holding forks, spoons, plates, etc.

At about 4 p.m., the inhabitants who are not in the field gather for a meal. The men occupy their own tables on one side of the hall, while the women are seated on the other side. Loaves of bread, white and graham, from 8 to 12 inches wide, from 18 to 24 inches long, and from 6 to 8 inches high, are placed on the table. Upon a wooden stand on one end of the table, a steaming tea kettle with boiling black coffee is placed. There is neither cream nor sugar on the table but syrup is brought forth and the colonist has what to him is a meal. The men pull out their pocket knives and cut bread. Everyone tries to get one of those unwieldy chunks, some two inches thick, and carefully dips one end into the syrup repeatedly until consumed, meanwhile sipping black coffee. In the kitchen, the bulk of the cooking is done in four big kettles with a capacity of half a barrel or more, walled in from all sides by air tight cement material. They are raised some two feet above the surface. The passage below them joins the spacious chimney on one end and is fed with fuel at the other end. The heat thus passes from kettle to kettle, heating water in one, boiling potatoes in another, and soup and pork in still another.

North of the kitchen-and-dining hall is a dwelling for several families, each occupying one or two or more rooms as the size of the family demands. The west end of this building serves as a schoolhouse and church auditorium. Seats and common school benches are available for about 150 people. The interior again is simple and austere. Not one picture or other ornament can be found on the walls. If a person has seen one of the dwelling rooms, he has practically a picture of all the others. Among the furniture there is a clock, a table, some chairs, and one or two long wooden trunks. Plain curtains somewhat checked the flow of light through the small windows in the white-washed walls. The room is poorly ventilated. In the sleeping room, one observes the same cleanliness and simplicity. These people are fond of feather beds and when these are made up and the feather pillows shaken up, the bed appears to be four to five feet high.

Near the cattle yards are big barns capable of sheltering several hundred head of cattle. Forty milk cows are about to be milked. In a few minutes the boys have tied them up, the gate opens, and from 15 to 20 women, who have been waiting outside of the gate busily engaged in conversation, now come into the barn with milk stools and pails. The husky women carry the milk to the nearby milk house which is a small creamery in itself. A stationary cream separator driven by motor power is used to separate the milk.

Large flocks of chickens occupy long stone-built white-washed stalls a little farther on. These flocks contribute their share to the common

household of the society. From 1000 to 2000 geese and goslings are housed by themselves. These flocks, the friendly guide will explain, are indispensable to the household of the colonists. Goose fat is used sometimes instead of butter; the meat is a table delicacy; and their feathers are essential for the beds.

Now a long row of some 13 teams with plows, cultivators, wagons, discs, and harrows come up the lane from the hills to the north. These are the field workers of the brotherhood. With well-kept horses and modern riding machinery, they till the soil but the bulk of the plowing is done with a modern 4-cylinder, 48 horsepower tractor. Short and sharp commands are given by the foreman of the horse barn. Duties are minutely divided among the workers. Everything goes like clockwork. Having fed and bedded their teams, the workers go to supper in the dining hall.

These Hutterite people are short to medium in stature, erect and rather stout, dark-complexioned, blue-eyed, and of a kind and submissive disposition. The men wear long beards. Men and boys wear dark gray suits with loose trousers and sack coats. The clothes are made by the women of the colony. Their hats are round and black. The women wear dark figured dresses with long full skirts, plain waists with long sleeves and high neck. A black head shawl is worn by every woman. One is reminded of the quaint dress of the Quakers. Their Sunday attire is about the same but of a somewhat newer and better grade and appearance.

Principles of Hutterian Social Organization.—The foregoing description was made by a visitor in 1912 and bears evidence of being based upon first hand information. Accounts made by later visitors to the colonies are in most respects strikingly similar. Aside from the fact that the majority of the colonies have left the state and are now located in Canada, social change has affected these colonies only to a slight extent, as the following summary will reveal³³.

First of all, the colonies are characterized by seclusion and isolation. The latter is not only physical but also social and cultural. Clearly they are isolated by their language which is a High-German dialect, Tyrolese, modified by their contacts with Hungarian, Russian, and English. They believe in isolation and take very limited part in public life. Radios are not found in their homes and American newspapers do not seem to be in general circulation among them. Their contacts with the outside are largely limited to business relationships. They will sometimes undertake to carry out large farming jobs for hire.

One of the fundamental aspects of the Hutterian community is its high degree of self-sufficiency. The men who are skilled in certain trades are employed at least a portion of the year in the blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, broom shop, shoe shop or the mill. Practically all goods which are necessary for the satisfaction of their simple wants can be produced at home. Coffee, sugar, spices are the principal articles of food brought in from the outside. Community bakeries, dairies, laundries, and the like meet the needs of the entire colony.

A highly developed division of labor and an extensive plan of social organization go hand in hand in the daily work of the community. Visitors report that every person's time for the day is planned to the smallest detail. The plan of communal housekeeping enables a few women to cook

33. The following conclusions are based upon the various sources cited above; and upon observations made by the author when he visited one of the colonies in 1936.

for the entire community while the others are employed in the dairy or the gardens and fields. This cooperative household system is at least very economical. The women are also enabled to devote time to the home care and kindergarten training of the children. An outstanding feature of the colony is the "little school" which is a sort of kindergarten.

"In the Hutterische community," says L. E. Deets, "the economic unity of the family is practically nil." The father of a Hutterite family has no more economic responsibility for his own family than for any other family in the community. The mother does not prepare food for her own family. These functions pass to the communal kitchen and dining hall. The community also takes over almost completely the educational functions of the family, first in the kindergarten ("Kleine Schule"), and later in the grade school. The function of disciplining children and youth is largely assumed by the boss ("Wirt") or the minister of the colony³⁴. In other words, the family is shorn of functions by the community except for the role of race-propagation. The colonists are strict monogamists. Marriage is entered early and practically all Hutterians of marriageable age do marry. The colonists are said to disapprove of romantic love in marriage. Divorces are practically unknown among them.

In the colonies, authority or leadership is wielded by two men: one is the preacher, who ministers to the spiritual needs of the group; the other is the manager or "Wirt", who is in charge of the industrial functions of the community. These men are chosen by the colonists because of their fitness for their positions, and they hold office for life. There is also a body of elders to assist them with advice in governing the affairs of the colony. The "Wirt" is in charge of the finances of the group. He is assisted by foremen in charge of the various fields of work. The minister also is assisted by a junior preacher.

The Hutterite communities are required to take out articles of incorporation. The preamble of these indicates the importance of religious thought in all phases of Hutterian life. The brethren are associated "for the purpose of promoting, engaging in and carrying on the Christian religion, Christian worship, and religious education and teachings, according to our religious belief that all members should act together as one being, and have, hold, use, possess, and enjoy all things in common, we all being of one mind, heart, and soul, according to the word of God revealed to us," and "to engage in and carry on farming, stock-raising, milling, and all branches of these industries, and to manufacture and deal in the products and by-products of these industries." Religious thought is in a sense the basis of the entire Hutterite system. The colonists think in terms of the Bible and talk in the language of the scriptures. In support of their communal system they quote from the Acts 2:44-45: "And all who believed were together and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and divided them among all." Religious principles and maxims govern their relations with others and among themselves. Amusements and celebrations are "of the world" and hence unknown in the community. Their interpretation of Christianity is that Christians are not to serve in war nor are they to take revenge. The followers of Hutterianism are therefore determined pacifists. They refuse

34. L. E. Deets, "The Origins of Conflict in the Hutterische Communities," *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXV, 125-35, (May, 1931).

also to go to courts and to take oaths of any kind. Religion also governs the relationships of men with women.

In brief, their social system is largely a result of a strict interpretation of the teachings of the early Christians. It emphasizes the idea of human brotherhood but sacrifices the individual for society. It seeks to maintain a simple, humble and self-sacrificing type of living. But to achieve these aims, the colonists set themselves apart from the rest of the world, and their participation in the contemporary world is limited indeed. Family living does not afford them expression of the higher emotions and joys of living. An outsider is impressed on the one hand by the social security which the colonists seem to possess; but on the other hand he can hardly fail to notice the limited qualities of music and esthetic arts, and the lack of participation in public life which are the results of their withdrawal from the world.

Swiss-German Mennonites from Russia Transplant Whole Villages, 1874.—The Swiss-German Mennonites came originally, as their name indicates, from Switzerland, and their origin may be traced to the time of the Reformation when they became followers of Menno Simons, one of the leaders of the Anabaptist movement. On account of their faith they suffered bitter persecution and punishment and were driven into exile into surrounding countries, notably the Palatinate, Holland, England, and north-eastern France. From the Palatinate, certain groups migrated to Einsiedel in Austria, where they sojourned for a few years. Thence they wandered further eastward into Russia where they settled in the government districts of Tschernigof, Kief, and Volhynia. In the latter province the Swiss-German either settled in or founded the villages of Waldheim, Horodisch, Eduardsdorf, and others. In the adjoining Polish district, Lublin, their principal location was the village of Michelsdorf, south of Warsaw. Most of the Swiss-Germans came to the United States from the villages of Waldheim and Horodisch. These two villages were represented by two of the twelve delegates who toured the northwest states and Canada in search of a suitable location during the summer of 1873.

John J. Gering and F. C. Ortmann³⁵ relate that the Swiss-German Mennonites were attracted to the Turkey Creek locality in Turner county through the influence of a friendship formed between the delegate they had sent to the United States and one of the very earliest pioneers, Daniel Unruh, who had settled in that valley. The first group of the German-Swiss, consisting of 11 families, arrived in Yankton on May 23, 1874. Instead of proceeding to the Red River Valley—that was their original intention—they inspected the locality where Daniel Unruh had settled and decided to locate there. This they did partly by purchasing the homestead rights of earlier settlers. Later during the same year they were joined by two large groups, including about 60 families of German-Swiss descent. The first winter they suffered greatly because of their destitute condition. The two following summers, grasshoppers destroyed their crops. Through these difficult years they received extensive aid from the American Mennonite relief committees.

The second group of Swiss-German immigrants under the leadership of outstanding church elders and ministers came toward the end of September, 1874. Two villages were represented and their population ap-

³⁵ John J. Gering, *After Fifty Years*, A brief discussion of the history and activities of the Swiss-German Mennonites from Russia who settled in South Dakota in 1874. *Passim*. Article by F. C. Ortmann, in *Unser Volk und Seine Geschichte*, 76-108, (1931).

pears literally to have been transplanted. From the village of Horodisch came 36 families and from Waldheim 24 families. Later additions to the settlement of about 14 families came from Kansas in October of that year. They had lived in the villages of Kotosufka and Sacharin. Since it was late in the fall, many remained in and near Yankton in rented houses and on farms. The majority belonged to the propertyless class. Many went to work wherever there was an opportunity, often for their board only.

During this summer came many families from the Crimean peninsula; from Molotschna in the province Taurien; from Huttortal; and from Karolswalde in Poland; from Warsaw and Kalisch. Of these the greater part went immediately to the country. The Hutterites settled west of Silver Lake; the Molotschnaers and Karolswalders located southeast and north of the present town of Parker. The others from Poland made their home on the West Vermillion River. Among all these were many propertyless, who could hardly have lived through the severe winter without the help of others. This was made known by the Swiss through letters to the Emigrant Committee of Philadelphia, who thereupon sent two brethren to investigate conditions. These men bought 1000 sacks of flour in Yankton and had them distributed among the most needy. In this way physical needs were supplied so that all the people had their daily bread even though in restricted circumstances.

Organization and Development of Congregations.—The Swiss-German immigrants from Horodisch organized themselves as a congregation in 1876 and elected two preachers in the spring of 1878. Two years later the first church was built partly with financial aid from Pennsylvania Mennonites. At about the same time the settlers from Waldheim also organized a congregation and installed two ministers. In 1883, 1884, and 1888, several families left these settlements for destinations in Kansas and Oregon. But the tendency was rather the opposite, in that new families, many of whom were of Low-German origin, joined these congregations. In 1892 a part of the Salem congregation who had settled in the vicinity of the Little Vermillion River built a church structure of their own and formed an independent organization but obtained ministerial services from the parent church. This relationship lasted until 1917, when they became fully independent and obtained their own minister.

Kinship bonds between the people of the Salem and Zion congregations and the fact that they lived close together brought it about that the two churches united into one in 1895 under the name, Salem-Zion Congregation. When this congregation found it necessary to consider building a larger church edifice in 1908, the congregation was again divided on account of the question as to where the new structure should be located. The southern part of the congregation organized themselves as the Salem Church. The church edifice there was re-built and enlarged in 1917. In the meantime in 1898 about 11 families who had been members of the Salem church but were located in or near Freeman organized themselves as the Bethany congregation. This congregation was Swiss-German in origin and has grown largely by addition of families of Hutterite and Low German stock.

In the region north of Turkey Ridge, and south of Parker, Freeman, and Dolton, there are now four thriving churches whose foundations were laid by the Swiss-Germans. They are affiliated with the general

conference of the Mennonite Church of North America. The membership of the Salem congregation in the conference dates back to 1881. On two occasions, in 1890 and again in 1923, the Salem congregation has been the host to the general conference assembly. This conference body and its constituent congregations are the principal supporters of Freeman Junior College at Freeman, South Dakota.

During the earlier decades of settlement, especially, various Protestant Evangelical church bodies sought to gain converts by maintaining missionaries among the Mennonites. These efforts were largely in vain. The descendants of the two original churches remained true to the faith of their fathers. The two original groups prospered greatly in material circumstances and in numbers. Without counting those that went to other states or those that joined newer congregations, over 250 families had by 1928 taken the place of the 70 original ones.

Today, the German-Russians of Swiss origin occupy nearly four townships in the western part of Turner and eastern part of Hutchinson county. The settlement is credited with being one of the most prosperous in the state. "Their farms are marked by a large number of spacious and well kept farm buildings and these surrounded with large groves of cottonwood, Box Elder and Ash. Their orchards are without question the largest and finest in the state. Their improvements are the most up-to-date and show care and skillful management."³⁶

Later Immigration of German-Russians

The immigration of Evangelical-Protestant German-Russians from the region of the Black Sea began on a considerable scale in the late summer of 1872. They arrived in Sandusky, Ohio, in December of that year. The following spring they sent out a delegation of twelve to look for land. Since they desired to settle in a compact colony they did not find suitable land in Michigan, Illinois, or Wisconsin. In Nebraska there were such lands belonging in part to the railroads. In South Dakota, northwest of Yankton, they found what they wanted: a wide expanse of prairie open for homestead settlements. It is related that the colonists helped survey their lands. The settlement was called Odessa and the township still bears that name. Later this settlement grew by the arrival of another group of families who came via Lincoln, Nebraska. In the course of the next few years, 1874 to 1880, several settlements were established in Yankton, Bon Homme, Hutchinson, and Douglas counties in the vicinity of Menno, Freeman, Tripp, Avon and Delmont.

Some of the names of towns and townships in these counties clearly point to the German-Russian origin of their respective settlements. In the 1870's immigrants from Kassel, near Cherson in Russia, settled in the present Kassel township in Hutchinson county. Kulm township, southwest of Parkston, became the home of immigrants from Kulm in Bessarabia.³⁷ The province of Bessarabia is now part of Rumania. It is adjacent to the Black Sea region whence so many of these immigrants came. The 1930 census credited South Dakota with 410 Rumanians. It showed also that 98 of them are found in Hutchinson county, 34 in Douglas county, 35 in Edmunds county, and smaller numbers elsewhere. The mother tongue of at least three-fourths of these "Rumanians" is German.

36. John J. Gering, "The Swiss Germans of Southeastern South Dakota," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, 359.

It is especially in the northern block of counties, including Edmunds and Walworth, McPherson and Campbell, that the "Schwarzmeerdeutschen" (literally, Black-Sea Germans) and their descendants constitute the preponderant population element. The first settlements made by Evangelical-Protestants began in the vicinity of Roscoe, Hosmer, and Eureka in 1884. The last-named town was for some years the terminal of the railroad. It became "the hub" of large German-Russian settlements spreading east-ward into McPherson county, north-ward across the state boundary, and west-ward into Campbell and Walworth counties. When Standing-Rock and Cheyenne River Indian Reservations were opened for settlement in 1909-10, German-Russian settlements were founded in Corson and Dewey counties. The township names in McPherson county give ample evidence of the German-Russian origin of their settlers. Among the three northern tiers of townships, we find the following: Bauer, Stickel, Kassel, Moscow, Odessa, Rosenthal, Glucksthal, Detmold, Petersburg, Bergdorf, Wachter, Weber, Wachter. In contrast, the railroad villages and towns seldom bear names of German-Russian origin.

Protestant German-Russians are divided among several denominations.^{37a} The Baptist, Congregational, Evangelical, Lutheran and Reformed churches especially have found adherents among them. We estimate that about 20 of the parishes of the Dakota district of the American Lutheran church are German-Russian in membership. Without first hand study of the parishes of this church body, it is not possible to present specific statistics because the parishes and their membership are partly of German Empire origins ("Reichs-Deutsche"). The same difficulty presents itself with regard to the German-Russian Baptist churches. According to Shanafelt's "Baptist History of South Dakota," the following Baptist congregations had been organized by 1899 and without doubt, their membership was chiefly German-Russian³⁸.

Emanuel Creek, April 26, 1876	Yankton and Scotland, Nov. 22, 1892
Plum Creek, June 9, 1883	Parkston, January 13, 1894
Emery, February 24, 1886	Fairfax, June 30, 1894
Eureka, June 16, 1886	Mound City, December 29, 1897
Avon, December 15, 1890	Choteau Creek, October 9, 1898

The field of Baptist activity at Eureka grew very rapidly during the 1880's and '90's. At one time the Eureka congregations maintained 12 stations in McPherson and Campbell Counties and also across the line in North Dakota. The church at Mound City in Campbell County was, therefore, organized in 1897. It in turn became the parent congregation of several stations, some of which later developed into independent congregations. In Russia large numbers of these Baptists had taken part in a lay religious movement called the "Stundists." One of the German-Russian ministers was for many years a missionary among the "Stundists" of Russia, and he became one of the leading Baptist pioneers among his countrymen in this state.

German Congregationalism in America traces its origin to Swiss and German settlements founded in the vicinity of Dubuque, Iowa, in the late

37. Richard Sallet, *op. cit.*, 12.

37a. Eureka Civic Club, Golden Jubilee Organization, *Eureka: 1887-1937*, 193-204.

38. T. M. Shanafelt, *op. cit.*, 186-91, 195-98.

1840's. Under the leadership of a former German army officer, German Congregationalists later founded settlements and congregations in Nebraska. From these the first ministers came to Dakota Territory to work among the newly arrived German Evangelical immigrants from Russia³⁹. The organization of the first six congregations near Scotland, Parkston, and Tyndall dates from 1884. The numbers of congregations of this denomination continued to expand until 1931. The growth was due partly to new immigration during the period 1899-1914, and partly to the expansion of German-Russian settlements into the West River country. The average size of the membership of these congregations is shown in Table 17. It should be observed that they are all located in rural and open country areas; and that each minister is in charge of 4 or 5 congregations. For about 27 years (1905-1932) the association of German Congregational churches maintained a liberal arts college and academy at Redfield, South Dakota. A theological seminary had also been maintained at the same college since 1916. Difficulties of various kinds, however, led to the merger of the college and seminary with the Congregational College at Yankton in 1932-33.

Table 17—German-Russian Congregational Churches In South Dakota

Year	Number of Congregations	Adult Membership	Average Per Congregation	Number of Ministers	Congregations Per Minister
1934	44	2,303	52.3	10	4.4
1933	45	2,275	50.6	9	5.0
1932	47	2,431	51.7	--	--
1931	47	2,518	53.6	13	3.5
1926	48	2,222	46.3	13	3.7
1912	45	1,161	25.2	--	--
1902	30	874	29.1	7	4.3

Source of data: "Kirchenbote Kalender" for 1936, 1935, 1934, 1933, 1928, 1913, and 1903.

Forerunners of German-Catholic immigration from the region of the Black Sea came to Yankton county in 1875. Some of them located at Scotland for a few years and migrated then northward to the vicinity of Ipswich in the present Edmunds county. The real immigration of this group into Edmunds and adjacent counties began about 1885. The settlement at Ipswich seems to have been the mother colony through which other colonies in this region of the state originated. Northeast of Ipswich arose the settlement of New Strassburg. In 1887 the urban settlement in Aberdeen began. There are now Catholic, as well as Evangelical German-Russians in the vicinity of Roscoe, Bowdle, Hosmer, Hillsvew, Leola, Loyalton and Onaka. The last mentioned settlement arose during the years 1910 to 1915 and was originally called Neu-Russland (New Russia.) There are also settlements of the Roman Catholic faith at Trail City, Glencross, and Isabel, west of the Missouri River.

In South Dakota German-Russians from the Volga district (Wolga-deutschen) are relatively few. In Nebraska, Colorado, and other states these immigrants are known as beet field workers. Richard Sallet reports that groups of them are found in this line of work near Newell and Nisland in Butte county.⁴⁰ The census of 1930 reported 207 Russian born persons in that county.

39. General Conference, German Evangelical Congregation Churches, *Kirchenbote Kalender*, 1928, 84-88, 96-97. *Ibid.*, 62-69.

40. Richard Sallet, *op. cit.*, 24-5, 44.

The Pattern of Settlement of the New State, 1890

We can now summarize the distribution of foreign-born settlements in the state. To the trained observer, this pattern of settlement gives the appearance of a vast mosaic, pieced together along section, township, and county lines.

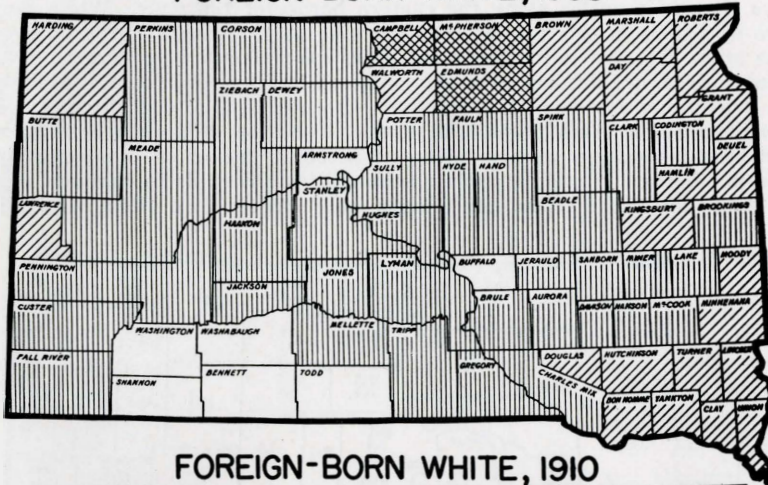
In the attempt to show how the nationalities tend to be distributed or assembled in certain areas, we encounter the difficulty that foreign settlements do not follow county lines closely. It would be better if we could make this description on the basis of townships; but for townships we do not have the data according to nationalities. On the whole, the population pattern with which the new state began its history in 1890 was plainer or more distinct in its outlines than it is now. The nationalities have become somewhat diverse; they have become more scattered than they were then; they have tended to spread away from the older colonies established prior to 1890. The mingling process has been accompanied by considerable intermarriage, with consequent amalgamation of ethnic stocks.

Fig. 4 and 5, and several tables, indicate the gradual disappearance and decline of the foreign-born in the population of the counties. In 1890, two counties had more than 50 per cent of the population foreign-born; twenty-two counties had between 25 and 50 per cent; twenty-eight counties had between 10 and 25 per cent; and none had less than 10 per cent. In 1930, 45 counties had less than 10 per cent foreign-born of the total population; twenty-one counties had between 10 and 15 per cent, and only three counties—Campbell, Edmunds, and McPherson—exceeded 15 per cent.

The Concentration and Dispersion of the Foreign-Born

So far as some nationalities and their descendants are concerned, they were, and still are, noticeably concentrated in certain regions of the state. The Bohemian element is markedly apparent, if not dominant in Yankton, Bon Homme, Charles Mix, and Brule counties east of the Missouri, and in Gregory, Tripp and Mellette west of it. They are also present in other counties, but in much smaller numbers and proportions. The Hollanders are concentrated to a remarkable extent in Douglas county, but are found also in the neighboring Charles Mix, Aurora, and Bon Homme counties. This nationality has also smaller settlements in Brookings, Deuel, Hamlin, Minnehaha and Turner counties. The German-Russians of the immigrant and the first native generation still constitute about one-third (32.1%) of the population in Hutchinson county. This element is also numerically strong in Bon Homme and Gregory counties. It is especially in the north central part of the state in McPherson, Campbell, Corson, Dewey, Walworth, and Edmunds counties—that this nationality is predominant. It is located mainly in rural farm territory with the exception that more than 85 per cent of this nationality in Brown county is found in the city of Aberdeen. For Aberdeen the 1930 census gave: Born in Russia, 663; native of foreign and mixed parentage (Russian), 1,498. The Finnish settlements, though small numerically, likewise show a distinct tendency toward concentration. More than three-fourths of this nationality are located in certain parts of Hamlin and Brown, Lawrence, Butte, and Harding counties. The Norwegians, the

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, 1930



FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, 1910

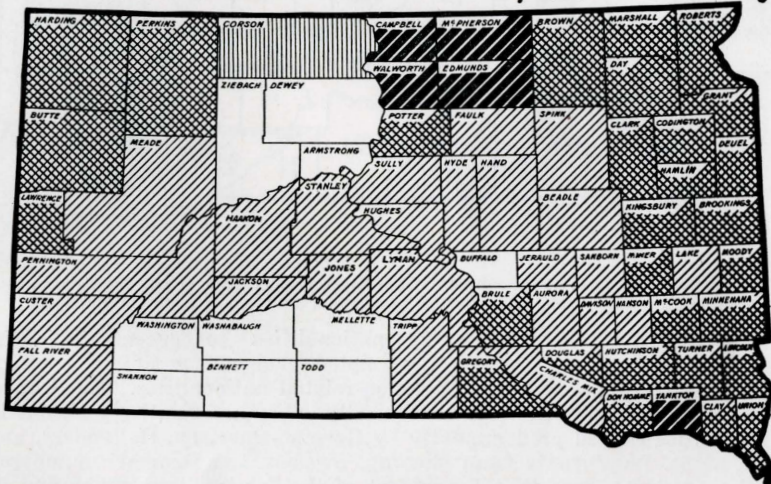


Fig. 4—The Distribution of the Foreign-born White in Per Cent of the Total Population of the Counties, 1930 and 1910.

ment. Whether these colonies became compact and homogeneous or scattered and heterogeneous settlements depended mainly upon the period of the coming of the colony group. The nationality-pattern of settlement has a large general bearing upon social organization, or perhaps it is better to say that social organization is founded upon it.

Table 18—Concentration Or Dispersion Of Foreign White Stock In South Dakota
By Country Of Origin, 1930

Country of Origin	Per Cent of Total Foreign White Stock of Given Origin in.				
	The State	County having largest Number	5 counties having largest number	10 counties having largest number	Remaining 59 counties
Finland	100.0	23.7	89.5	96.0	4.0
Czechoslovakia	100.0	17.4	57.0	70.5	29.5
Poland	100.0	25.9	52.7	67.7	32.3
Russia (German-Russians)	100.0	13.0	48.9	70.3	29.7
Netherlands	100.0	15.7	45.4	62.2	37.8
Austria	100.0	12.1	43.6	46.7	53.3
French-Canada	100.0	18.2	41.4	57.2	42.8
Denmark	100.0	13.0	38.8	54.3	45.7
Norway	100.0	13.2	37.0	53.8	46.2
England	100.0	8.9	30.1	43.0	57.0
Canada (Other than French)	100.0	8.3	30.1	44.8	55.2
Switzerland	100.0	7.1	30.0	46.1	53.9
Scotland	100.0	10.2	28.8	44.4	55.6
Sweden	100.0	10.0	28.8	45.0	55.0
Ireland	100.0	8.5	26.5	41.6	58.4
Germany	100.0	6.9	23.1	36.6	63.4

In Table 18 we have attempted to show the relative concentration or dispersion of the foreign white stock in South Dakota for the various countries of origin in 1930. They are ranked according to degree of concentration of each nationality in the five counties having the largest numbers. This table corroborates the statements made in the above paragraphs. It furnishes a valuable basis for an understanding of the assimilation process, for we shall later show that there is a very marked relationship between the concentration or compactness of settlement of a given foreign group and the degree of assimilation of that same group. There is also a high correlation between numerical strength of the foreign white stock and the projection of its influence upon the social and cultural life of the state. Concentration should be considered as one factor, and numerical strength as another factor. It is hardly necessary to elaborate upon the contents of the table. The Finns are relatively few in South Dakota, but they show the highest degree of concentration. Almost one-fourth of them are located in one county, Hamlin. At the other extreme is the German element, which is the most diffused throughout the state.

The Westward Expansion of Settlement.—Immigrant settlements in South Dakota should be seen as a part of the westward expansion of settlement of the American continent. In the course of the process of settlement, the foreign-born generally go to communities where their countrymen are already located. The tendency is for immigrants to concentrate in certain centers or areas in the new land. Other things being equal, the nearer regions are settled first and the more remote or inaccessible ones later. Immigrants from Italy, Germany, Russia, England, Ireland, Poland, Austria, Scotland, are more numerous in New York state than in any other state. French Canadians have settled in states

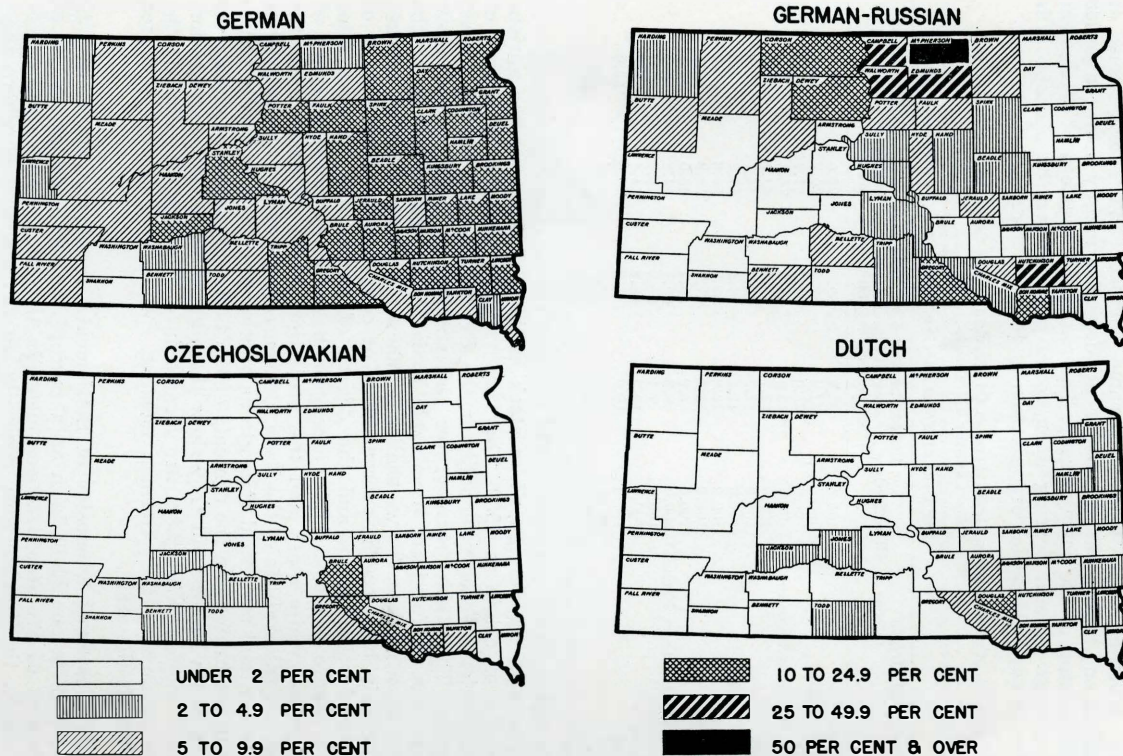


Fig. 6—The Distribution of the Foreign White Stock of German-Russian, Czechoslovakian, and Dutch Origin in Per Cent of the Total Population of Each County.

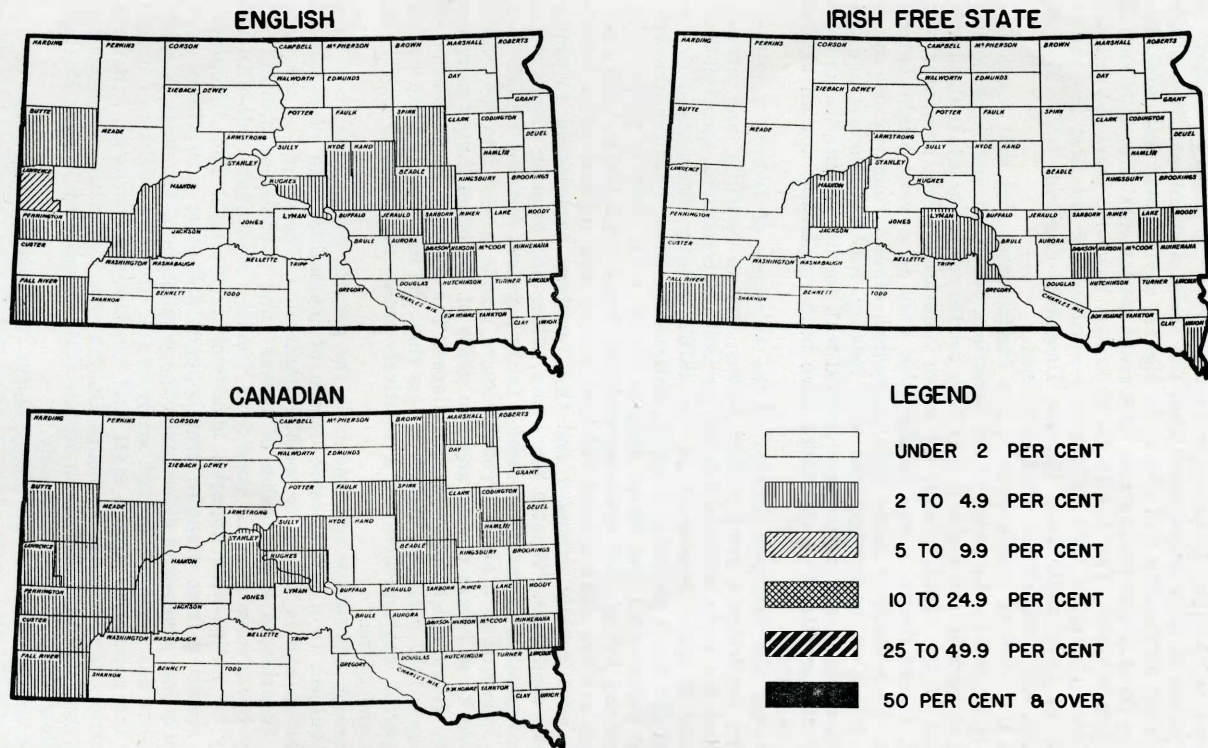


Fig. 7—The Distribution of the Foreign White Stock of English, Irish Free State, and Canadian Origin in Per Cent of the Total Population of Each County. The Canadian figures do not include the French-Canadians.

adjacent to Canada; Mexicans in states across the Mexican border. In such states it is to be expected that the social and cultural life of the immigrant nationality will attain its highest development and most distinctive focus. From these states immigrant settlements ordinarily spread to adjacent states. The Pacific Coast states, however, markedly attract the foreign-born. In 1930 California ranked among the first five states so far as immigrants from Canada, Denmark, England, Italy, Mexico, Sweden, and Switzerland were concerned.

In this view of immigration it is a fundamental fact that South Dakota is located in the heart of the American continent and is predominantly an agricultural state. It was fully settled relatively late in the development of the country, and, its urban industries being comparatively small, it has drawn recent immigration only to a very slight extent. When the homestead lands were exhausted, other strong reasons for a large influx of the foreign-born were lacking. Adverse climatic and agricultural conditions in the state coupled with conditions exercising relatively strong attraction elsewhere have been responsible for an exodus from the state.

During the first two decades of the existence of Dakota Territory, foreign settlements grew rather slowly. Indian hostility and attacks repulsed the early settlers. Adverse agricultural conditions, the Civil War, and the financial depression of the 1870's greatly discouraged or retarded the development of frontier settlements. Soon, however, the Territory experienced the Great Dakota Boom from 1879 to 1886. The Homestead Act of 1862 made agricultural lands available to native and foreign settlers alike almost "without money and without price." Railroads were rapidly extended and the Territory experienced favorable climatic conditions. "What a few years before had been an almost uninhabited expanse of prairie, became a fairly populous farming region, soon to be admitted as a state]. Probably more people moved into the region to make farm homes during any two years of the boom than during the twenty years which followed its collapse. The increase in population of 1907 over 1887 (perhaps 60,000) is less than the increase by birth during this period supplemented by a relatively small immigration mainly to cities and towns."

Foreign and native settlements in the greater part of the state have been subject to a considerable degree of instability both in regard to population and in regard to social organization. The people of the state have experienced a succession of booms and depressions brought on partly by adverse climatic conditions (mainly inadequate rainfall) and partly by nation-wide financial industrial fluctuations. The discouragement resulting from drought, grasshoppers, and other misfortunes have probably had a selective effect upon the population of the state. Stephen S. Visser has made a thorough study of the effects of periods of drouth upon the population of the state and reaches the conclusion "that the proportion of foreigners in South Dakota was increased conspicuously, while that of American born in certain states, especially in New England and New York, decreased greatly."⁴¹

He reasons as follows: "Many native Americans, being more or less familiar with other parts of the country and having friends and relatives

41. Stephen S. Visser, *The Geography of South Dakota*, (South Dakota Geological Survey, Bulletin No. 8, Vermillion, July, 1918).

in other regions, soon discovered greater opportunities elsewhere. As a class they probably were more likely than recent immigrants to have the funds with which to move. Others lacked the perseverance to await favorable seasons, or the patience to sow a second or third crop when the preceding one or two had been failures. Most of them, being accustomed to some degree of prosperity, were unwilling to subsist on the meager diet and endure the other hardships imposed by dry years and partial crops. Most of the foreigners in Dakota had come from northern Europe or eastern Canada and many of them were accustomed to poverty and meager crops resulting from infertile soils, tiny fields, or adverse climate. Some of the immigrants found conditions in Dakota even during the worst half-decade an improvement over those they had left. Such as were inclined to leave Dakota were in most cases prevented by lack of information concerning other regions or for want of funds with which to move."⁴²

While this conclusion must remain tentative until more thorough statistical studies can be made, his deductions seem to be logically sound. In his discussion of the Danish settlement at Viborg, J. Jorgensen relates that those who first became discouraged and moved away were Americans and Germans from the eastern states; and they were people with means. The Danish settlers, in contrast, had come directly from the old country and were too poor to leave. They had to remain and in the long run came out to their own advantage. Those who left, sold their lands at extremely low prices.⁴³

Foreign settlements, however, have also been subject to heavy re-emigration. Through these losses of population their social organizations have been greatly weakened. At one time Danish congregations flourished at Ethan, Erwin, and Howard, South Dakota, all of which were disbanded because the greater part of the families left the state.⁴⁴ Many Swedish settlements in Charles Mix County and Bohemian settlements in Brule County have suffered a similar fate. Very early in their history the Norwegian settlements in Yankton County saw an exodus to Washington state. Many Hollanders from Douglas County have moved to California. Several families left the German Crandon settlement in the late 1880's and the German-Russian settlements have been sources of immigration going to Canada and other west coast states. During the last severe drouth and depression years, this exodus has been pronounced, although its exact extent is not known. While South Dakota has had a relatively high birth rate, it has not shown the growth of population that should be expected.

42. Stephen S. Visher, *op. cit.*, 157-58.

43. *Danske i Amerika*, II, 314.

44. *Ibid.*, 308-09, 452-53.

The Assimilation Process, Its Nature And Extent

The concept of assimilation.—Social science has borrowed the term, "assimilation," from physiology. In that field, it has reference to the process whereby a foreign element is absorbed by, or integrated with, a live organism. When the term is used in sociology, it usually denotes the gradual process whereby a foreign group or person becomes merged with the larger community and identical with it in sentiment, thought and behavior. Since in assimilation it is not only persons that are affected, but also the material objects, customs, social organization and principles of thought, it is perhaps more appropriate to call this whole process acculturation. Many students of society now use this term to describe the introduction of new elements into an older culture. It is naive to think that the immigrant group completely abandons its cultural heritage and wholly accepts the American. The process is two-sided or many-sided; it is mutual and not one-sided in nature. The outcome of the process of acculturation depends largely upon the attitude of the larger toward the smaller cultural group and vice-versa. This attitude may be one of intolerant suppression of the different culture, with a tendency toward nationalistic uniformity, or it may be one of cosmopolitan tolerance of differences without attempts to promote uniformity of culture.

It is also inaccurate to think of assimilation as being wholly a process affecting individuals, one by one. Although in the ultimate sense there is no social mind other than that which is shared in by individual persons, individuals are largely what they are because of the groups, organizations or institutions to which they belong. These social units are the essence of society. It is in them that we live and move, and have our being. We should think, therefore, not only of the assimilation of individual immigrants, but also of the assimilation of their churches, societies and the like. We examine first the process of assimilation of the immigrant church.

The Assimilation of Immigrant Churches.—Although some immigrant nationalities have come from dissenting churches, the larger numbers of immigrants at the time of emigration, were members of the state churches of their representative countries. Their citizenship was not only political, it was also ecclesiastical. Except for countries having the Presbyterian system, religious functions were governed by an official hierarchy. The first principal change or condition to which the immigrant church had to accommodate itself was the principle of separation of church and state. The emigrants could not expect the state church of the homeland to function beyond its national borders. Although some incidental missionary aid may have been furnished from the old country, they were obliged to take the initiative themselves in organizing congregations, ordaining ministers, establishing seminaries and educational institutions, developing synodical organizations, carrying on missionary activities on a far-flung frontier; and all this had to be done on the basis of personal devotion and effort.

Therefore, the general tendency, at least in Protestant and Reformed Churches, has been toward the adoption of a democratic representative form of self-government. H. Richard Niebuhr observes: "As the policy of the Roman church followed the pattern of the Roman empire so the

American churches incline to organize themselves in conformity with the system of state and national legislatures and executives. Final authority among them is generally vested in a church congress, a general conference, assembly or synod, which legislates for the denomination and chooses its executive officers. Despite many individual variations the adoption of this model of church polity has been so general that a close agreement in the form of ecclesiastical government exists among the Americanized immigrant churches."⁴⁵

The frontier fostered an intensively practical dominant attitude toward one's environment. Pioneer immigrants came to grips with nature daily. They built their own block houses, sod houses, or claim shacks. They also took into their own hands the shaping of their churches. They contributed lands for the church, the parsonage, and the churchyard. They built and re-built their churches; they paid the salary of the minister, who was of their own choosing. Congregations were organized by the orthodox, but also by the dissenters. The sects found themselves engaged in an intense rivalry. Under these competitive conditions, prominent leaders found a large opportunity to mould religious life and organization according to what they considered the true or expedient principle. The church is unquestionably the immigrant's principal institution. This was even more true during pioneer days than at present; for cities and towns had not reached their present ascendancy in social and cultural life. Every congregation developed a comparatively large system of auxiliary organizations. It had its elders, deacons, delegates and teaching staff. The upshot of all these things was an unusually active religious life in the new environment.

The Language Problem in the Immigrant Church.—"One of the most important elements in culture is language and every European church in America, save those whose native tongue was English, has been required to make its accommodation to this factor. The language question has been one of the most difficult problems with which the immigrant churches have had to deal, for it involved the problem of rebirth in a new civilization. Conservatives in these churches have always maintained that the abandonment of the old, European tongue and the adoption of English as the language of worship and instruction involved the abandonment of all the ways of the fathers and the introduction of a new "English or American religion." Their intuitions have usually been correct, for the adoption of the native tongue is only the most obvious symptom of the assimilation of the native culture as a whole. Progressive, that is more Americanized, leaders have argued for two centuries in immigrant church after immigrant church that the abandonment of the foreign language was essential for the self-preservation of the denomination concerned. Their reasoning has also been sound, for it is a well-known fact that institutions are much more conservative than individuals and that churches will continue to pray, preach and teach in Dutch, or German or Swedish long after the major number of their members have dropped these languages in all save religious relations and have raised a generation of children to whom the mother tongue is a foreign sound. The choice between accommodation and extinction finally becomes a forced choice. Though

45. H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, 207. (New York, 1929).

churches may delay the moment of their surrender few elect to perish with their mother tongue."⁴⁶

Why is the language problem of the immigrant church such a difficult one to solve? First of all, the transition to English is not difficult for the immigrant who arrives in America while he is yet a child or an adolescent. His linguistic habits are not fixed and his attachment to the language and literature of the homeland is comparatively weak. Furthermore, he is likely to receive some of his public school training in America. But for the mature immigrant it is difficult to learn to master the English language well. It is likely not to arouse the joys and emotional satisfactions which the native language conveys. The native language has a stronger appeal than the adopted one. This is true especially in regard to religious experience. Language and religion are largely inseparable. What is true of the immigrant layman is also applicable to the immigrant clergyman; even more so, for the latter represents more fully the refined national heritage of his group. The preacher or priest was often the only educated man in the immigrant community. The culture he possessed was not an inarticulated mass of memories but something which expressed the genius of his nationality. Therefore, it is not difficult to appreciate the fact that the immigrant church tended to awaken and foster the nationality consciousness of the immigrant settlers.

In the very nature of things, a bi-lingual ministry, for the reasons suggested above, is difficult to maintain. The foreign born minister finds it difficult to master English and his disposition may be to adhere to his native tongue against all change and to consider it wrong to adopt English. The native-born minister may not be hostile toward the language of his fathers but is apt to think of it as a thing of the past, and he is likely to master it only in a very bookish way without the play of expression which is embodied in its idioms. To serve a bi-lingual congregation is, therefore, a very difficult task. It is a transition which requires great tact and patience on the part of both the minister and the membership.

The Displacement of Norwegian by English

In the history of most foreign congregations one may observe 3 fairly distinct stages of language usage: the foreign language wholly; both the foreign language and English (American); and the native language. This change of the church language is accompanied by profound spiritual changes in the nature of the service liturgies and hymns are essentially untranslatable. The translations are apt to be clumsy expressions which satisfy neither the foreign-born nor the native-born. There are, of course, available many instances of perfect or near-perfect renderings of foreign hymns in English and the spirit of the music is not difficult to preserve. But when the language of the old country is dropped, the worship of the immigrant churches rapidly changes so as to conform in general pattern with the democratic spirit, the urban-industrial life, and the patriotism of America. The immigrant church has become in many ways utterly dissimilar from the mother church from which it sprang.

It is not easy to measure the gradual adoption of the English language in place of the foreign tongue in immigrant churches. There are but few synods who publish parochial reports indicating this change. In the six congregations of the United Danish Lutheran Church, which as

46. H. Richard Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, 211-12.

a synod has shown a progressive adoption of English, Danish was still used to the extent of about one-third of all services in 1934. In the churches of the older Danish Synod, Danish is more largely used, possibly to the extent of more than half of the services. For other churches, except the Norwegian, we lack data concerning this point.

Table 19—The Displacement Of Norwegian By English Services In Norwegian Lutheran Congregations In South Dakota, 1905-1935

Norwegian and English Services	1935-36	1925	1915*	1905 ^a
Congregations Reporting:	272	274	164	120
English only	125	47	10	1
Both English and Norwegian	121	202	86	16
Norwegian only	0	12	68	100
No report	26	13	0	3
Average Number of Services:				
Per congregation having English services	29.0	22.1	9.0	11.6
Per congregation having Norwegian services	9.1	15.9	19.6	23.6
Per cent Norwegian services of all services	13.6	37.3	78.2	93.0

Source of data: The parochial reports of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, for 1936 and 1926.

* For 1915 and 1905, we used the Norwegian reports of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America "Den Forenede Norsk Lutherske Kirke i Amerika."

The transition from Norwegian to English in the congregations of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in South Dakota is shown in Table 19. During the 30-year period, 1905-1935, English and Norwegian changed position as the major and minor languages. The figures, in general, show convincingly the displacement of Norwegian by English. The averages shown refine the problem somewhat. In 1915, for example, there were many more congregations (namely, 96) which had English services than in 1905 (17), with the result that the average for English services was considerably lower. Many congregations by this time had begun to use English for special occasions, such as funerals, confirmation services, and the like.

Philip S. Dybvig has shown the trend from 1917-1928 with regard to the use of Norwegian in Sunday school, confirmation, and week-day instruction.⁴⁷ Throughout the period of his study, English was used most in the Sunday school and least in the week-day instruction, while confirmation instruction ranged between the two. His study included the entire Norwegian Lutheran Church. It showed that English was being used increasingly in all forms of instruction of the church; also that Norwegian services declined from 73% of the services in 1917, to 40% of the services in 1928. In the South Dakota district, Dybvig's study showed that the use of Norwegian in 1928 was considerably less than in the church at large. It was used in only 29% of the services, this being less than the average obtaining in all other districts of the Church save one, the Rocky Mountain area. Finally, this study showed that there appeared to be a positive correlation between the use of English and the growth of church membership. In general, our own findings corroborate his conclusions. The parishes of the Norwegian Lutheran Church extend pretty generally over the whole state, except for counties in which the Bohemian or German-Russian elements are predominant. But this can-

47. *Lutheran Church Herald*, 14: 697-700. (May 20, 1930).

not be said about the other national Lutheran denominations. Consequently, when English is adopted as the language of the service, several other Lutheran nationality elements may be taken into the fold.

Two types of churches have taken the lead in adopting English instead of Norwegian in their services: first, the churches situated in large cities; and second, the churches located in small and scattered Norwegian settlements in the interior and far western areas of the state. It is well known that the city churches have made rapid strides in their membership. It is less well known that Norwegian Lutheran churches located in Haakon, Harding and other counties west of the river have also shown an increasing membership in spite of seriously adverse climatic conditions.

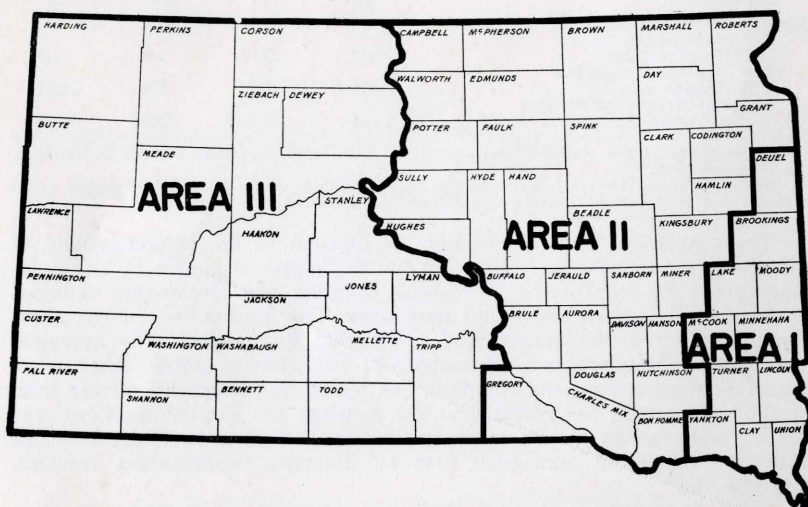


Fig. 8—The Principal Geographical Areas of the State with Special Reference to the Displacement of Norwegian by English Services.

Table 20 illustrates convincingly the point that the use of the Norwegian language persists longer in the compact, early established settlement than in either the urban community or in the dispersed, mixed open country community. In studying this table, the reader should refer to the accompanying Fig. 7 showing the three areas of the state. Area I includes those eleven counties in the eastern part of the state in which a larger number of Norwegian settlements were founded before the great Dakota boom of the 1880's. Area II includes the remaining counties east of the Missouri and Gregory County west of the river; and Area III includes all of the counties west of the Missouri except Gregory. The data for the twelve urban congregations (also shown in the table) were not included in the areas.

This survival of the use of Norwegian is in thorough agreement with the whole theory of social cultural inter-action. But it is not often possible to illustrate it so neatly with statistical data. We arrive at the conclusion that the foreign language tends to be retained in compact and

strong settlements in the open country. There is plenty of evidence that the same principle applies to other nationalities as well. George Schnucher says about the East Friesian settlements at Lennox, Davis, Chancellor, and other villages, that in these places one seems to be in East Friesland (1917).⁴⁸ Another writer says about the German-Russians in McPherson county: "I do not know of any settlement where Russian-German customs, language, and the like have been kept purer than in McPherson, Campbell, Edmunds, and Walworth counties in South Dakota, and in the adjoining counties in North Dakota."

Table 20—Displacement Of Norwegian By English Services In Norwegian Lutheran Congregations In South Dakota

English and Norwegian Services	1935-36	1925
12 Urban Churches		
Congregations reporting:		
English services only	6	4
Some services in Norwegian	6	8
Average number of Norwegian services	13.2	28.3
Norwegian services		
per cent of all services	9.3	21.2
Area I		
Congregations reporting:		
English services only	23	9
Some services in Norwegian	51	72
Average number of Norwegian services	11.8	18.4
Norwegian services,		
per cent of all services	22.8	46.6
Area II		
Congregations reporting:		
English services only	48	17
Some services in Norwegian	56	100
Average number of Norwegian services	10.9	14.2
Norwegian services,		
per cent of all services	14.8	40.1
Area III		
Congregations reporting:		
English services only	41	16
Some services in Norwegian	11	27
Average number of Norwegian services	4.5	7.9
Norwegian services,		
per cent of all services	4.4	25.4

Stages or Levels in the Formation of Foreign Church Organization

The earliest frontier congregations were made up of mixed constituencies. The earliest Norwegian Lutheran congregation included Swedes and Danes. The Scandinavian Baptists cooperated at first in many of their original congregations. But with the growth of settlement and the influx of the various nationalities there was a definite tendency towards separating congregations on a nationality basis. The Territorial Period, 1861-1889, also witnessed a pronounced momentum of sectarian activities within the national denominations, resulting in the formation of separate synodical bodies. Much rivalry and bitterness accompanied these developments. But when immigration began to decline in volume in the late 80's, sectarianism also subsided, although denominational home-mission activity continued for many decades. The first two decades of statehood were marked by stabilization of church organization in older settlements and by expansion of activities in the newer regions of the state.

By 1915 synodical organizations had been fully developed in terms of local congregations, district conferences and national bodies. The language problem now began to make itself felt. The conviction grew

48. *Die Ostfriesen in Amerika*, 243. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1917).

more and more that the synodical overhead was too great locally and generally. Progressive church men turned their attention to the problem of mergers and federations of synodical bodies. Two kinds of results followed this tendency towards union and federation. First, the mergers resulted in coordination or consolidation of educational, home mission, and philanthropic institutions; and second, the number of local church units was reduced through mergers. The last stage in the trend toward unity is reached when, after the foreign language has been abandoned as a spoken or written medium, the national synodical body merges or federates itself with the general American denominational structure. At the same time the local churches change their official congregational designation by dropping the adjective indicating their national origin.

The Tendency Toward Union and Federation

Numerous instances might be cited to illustrate these levels of integration. The summary applies only to Lutheran and Reformed denominations. It is quite wrong to think that the tendency toward union and federation has been at work only in recent times. A study of the German-Lutheran church in America especially reveals again and again the formation of separate synods and their merging into organic unions or federations. Space will not permit a detailed discussion of this matter. Let the following summary suffice.

Lutheran churches in South Dakota are included in two principal synodical conferences; namely, the American Lutheran Conference which was organized in 1930, and the Evangelical Synodical Conference of North America which was formed in 1872. Besides these two conference bodies (which account for more than 95 per cent of the congregations and more than 79 per cent of all Lutheran church members in South Dakota), there are six smaller national Lutheran synods represented in the state. Five of the larger synodical bodies have come about through the merging from time to time of no less than 21 Lutheran synodical organizations. Eight of these national Lutheran church bodies have associated themselves in the National Lutheran Council. Thus, there is an unmistakable trend toward federation and union of the larger Lutheran organizations.⁴⁹

The Norwegian Lutheran churches in South Dakota illustrate fully, first, processes of differentiation into several synodical bodies; second, a comprehensive movement toward organic union of these synods; and third, the gathering of these churches with other independent Lutheran bodies in a general American federation.

"In the year 1890 there were among the Norwegian Lutherans the following synods: The Hauge Synod of 1846, the Norwegian Synod of 1853, the Norwegian Augustana Synod of 1860, the Norwegian-Danish Conference of 1860, the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood of 1887, and the reorganized Evangelical Lutheran Church of America."⁵⁰ Thus, during the period of Dakota Territory, five or six synods competed in offering Lutheran church homes for Norwegian immigrants. In 1890, however, the first extensive merger took place, uniting the Norwegian Augustana Synod, the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Conference and the

49. National Lutheran Council, *The Lutheran World Almanac and Encyclopedia*, 1931-33, 406-410, also 51-65, 66-78.

50. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies*, II, 1926, 761.

Norwegian Anti-Missourian Brotherhood into one church body called the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. From 1905 to 1915 the question of a union of church bodies was discussed further by the Norwegian Lutherans. In 1916 a plan of union was adopted by three of the principal bodies and the following year the merger was finally consummated. Hauge's Synod, the Synod of the Norwegian Church and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church were merged in the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Finally, in 1930, this church body and four others joined in the formation of the American Lutheran Conference.⁵¹

The federation process results in coordination of many fields of denominational activity. When mergers take place at the top of a church structure, they are also likely to result at the basis of the structure, the local congregations. The roster of congregations of the Norwegian Lutheran church of America published in 1931, enumerates 35 mergers in South Dakota congregations of which the greater part have taken place since 1917. This was the year when the merger of the three principal Norwegian synods was completed.

In regard to the Danish, Swedish, and German Baptist churches in the state, the federation process has been less fully developed than in the Lutheran synods of the same nationalities. These congregations are organized into nation-wide conferences based upon the mother tongue. While statistics are furnished by the state conference reports and while these congregations help support the functions of the latter, practical union with it "lies in the distant future." Various Danish congregations illustrate the process of transition. In the Viborg congregation, Danish services have not been given for many years. The present pastor does not speak Danish. It has practically discontinued its affiliation with the Danish Baptist General Conference and has associated itself with the State Conference. At Dell Rapids the present minister serves two congregations, one of which is American, and the other Danish. The latter is affiliated both with the State Baptist Association and with the Danish Conference.

The foreign language Methodist Episcopal congregations in the state are few and their assimilation is much further advanced. The German M. E. Church of the Crandon settlement in Spink county illustrates the several stages in their assimilation. During the years 1882-84, a great number of German Methodist families from other states moved to Crandon and vicinity. Several mission churches and Sunday schools were founded in the Crandon settlement and in nearby localities. During the first years, the settlements were prosperous, but in the 90's drought resulted in crop failures and reverses which cause the majority of families to move away. Nevertheless, "the Crandon settlement soon became the strongest German Methodist church in South Dakota." The church edifice was built in 1893 and the parsonage in 1902. So strong a center of German Methodism was this settlement that the German Conference convened here in September, 1904, and again in 1914. When the parish celebrated its 50th anniversary in June, 1932, the membership stood at 165. In 1929 this congregation, with four others, still belonged to the Charles City (Iowa) District of the German Chicago Northwest Con-

51. *Ibid.*, 761-62. National Lutheran Council, *op. cit.*, 68-70.

ference. But since then the district has been disbanded and the congregations located in South Dakota have become affiliated with the regular districts of the State Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Between 1906 and 1934, eight mergers were consummated between national church bodies of a number of Protestant evangelical creeds⁵². During the same period, six Lutheran groups merged into two national organizations. Still, among Lutheran and non-Lutheran nationalities in South Dakota, multiple division is yet the rule. In Danish communities, two main Lutheran synodical bodies are represented, besides two or three Evangelical "Reformed" ones. The same statement is true about the Swedish settlements. The Finns are divided among three Lutheran synods. More than half a dozen church associations are found among the Mennonites. The German-Russians align themselves with Lutheran, Congregational, Baptist, and Roman Catholic congregations. The Hollanders are divided among two main national churches. The East Friesians have lined up mainly with the Reformed Church, but also with the Baptists and Presbyterians.

Many villages and open-country localities in South Dakota, consequently, reveal a much greater number of churches and congregations than the local population should be expected to maintain. Various writers have not failed to lament, indict, and render an unfavorable verdict upon this dividedness of the churches. Richard Sallet, in commenting upon the religious break-up of the German-Russians, cites an illustration of one German-Russian village in South Dakota having 200 inhabitants and maintaining five protestant German congregations. George Schnucker likewise laments the denominational divisions of the East Friesians in the Lennox settlement⁵³. K. V. Mykkanen dwells with a note of regret upon the sectarian divisions which set apart the Finnish Lutherans in the Black Hills settlements. His historical sketches of the congregations indicate that this dividedness is one reason why the congregations lack the necessary resources to maintain resident pastors, to build and own edifices, and in general to carry on the work of church organizations. Consequently some of them have been disbanded⁵⁴.

Factors Affecting the Assimilation of Churches; Shift of Population to the City.—We have seen that the survival of the foreign tongue is closely related to the compactness and strength of settlement in the rural area of the state, and that the city churches take the lead in adopting the English language. The city congregation also, as a rule, is more fully organized and enjoys more highly cultured and more elaborate religious services and activities. City life also introduces varieties of thought and behavior which are in distinct conflict with the rural heritage of the immigrant church.

But there is still another manner in which the shift of population from the country to the city affects congregations and church bodies: For many decades the rural and the open country population has been either stationary or declining while the urban population has grown extensively. The corresponding result in terms of church membership is that open country churches have either a stationary or declining membership while city congregations increase by rapid strides. We pointed out, however,

52. *The Christian Century*, 51:916, (July 4, 1934).

53. Richard Sallet, *op. cit.*, 85. George Schnucker, *op. cit.*, 244-45.

54. *Kultamuruja (Crumbs of Gold)*, I: 46-56, (Hancock, Michigan, 1923).

that in certain open country areas, the abandonment of the foreign language may open up new prospects for membership increase.

In this shift of population from the country to the city, we have most likely the principal explanation of the differences in the proportions of Lutheran church membership to the foreign white stock of corresponding nationalities. Of the four Lutheran nationalities shown in Table 21, the Danish synods claim 8.9 per cent of the Danish white stock in the state (1930), while in the three Norwegian synods the proportion is 78.6 per cent. The Swedish and the Finnish synods range in between the Danish and the Norwegian. Several hypotheses may be advanced to explain these differences. Perhaps the third generation element in the church membership is relatively greater in the Norwegian congregations than in those of the other nationalities. A relatively greater number of Danes and their descendants are members of non-Lutheran churches in the state.

Table 21—Membership Of National Lutheran Synods In South Dakota In 1926 in Proportion To The Foreign White Stock Of Corresponding Nationalities In 1930

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Synods		Membership 1926 including children under 13 years	Foreign White Stock, 1930	Proportion of (1) to (2)
Danish:	(Danish Ev. Luth.) (United Dan. Ev. Luth.)	1,612	18,214	8.9
Finnish:	(Soumi synod) (F. Ev. Luth. National Ch.) (F. Apostolic Luth.)	1,562	3,100	51.4
Norwegian:	(Norw. Luth. Ch. of A.) (Eie sen) (Luth. Free Ch.)	43,778	55,712	78.6
Swedish	(Augustana Synod)	5,141	23,563	21.8

We are not in position to say which nationality contains the relatively greater unchurched margin. The Danes are undoubtedly much more likely to filter into American churches than, for example, the Finns; but in addition to all these possibilities, it is undoubtedly true that the Danish synods have failed to reach the Danish elements in the state because the congregations are all rural; they are located either in the open country or in the villages. At the other extreme, the Norwegian Lutheran church maintains congregations in all of the principal cities and towns of the state. The membership of some of these has grown by leaps and bounds. In 10 of the main city and town churches in the state, the adult membership increased from 2,569 in 1925 to 4,739 in 1935, an increase of close to 85 per cent. Incidentally, the use of Norwegian in these same congregations dropped from 21 to 7 per cent of all services during the same period. In the course of the shift of population from the country to the city, it unquestionably often happens that Danish and Swedish immigrants or their descendants affiliate themselves with Norwegian Lutheran congregations, but this is happening at a time when the Norwegian heritage is more and more becoming a thing of the past, both in the local congregation and in the church at large. "E pluribus unum:" One out of many.

Summary: Immigration and Social Organization

There is no need to sum up what has been said in regard to the treatment of the immigrant heritage nor to repeat the salient points of the historical parts of this study. To give a fuller description of the culture of the several nationalities is not possible within a basic frame of this bulletin. It is also rather difficult to make a fair comparison of the several nationalities. There is no factual, scientific basis for many of the qualities which are attributed now to one nationality and now to another. Each national group may be considered as having something unique to contribute to the cultural life of the state.

Yet, certain facts stand out about the foreign groups in South Dakota: that they differ greatly in the development and strength of their social organization; and that this complex thing called social organization is in itself a factor of great significance. It furnishes the forms and channels in which the assimilation processes take place. It determines the extent to which the foreign group may retain its heritage and project its national cultural influence upon the native community. Numerical strength of the foreign-born is one factor; compact or scattered settlement is another; and unified or divided social organization is still another. Where all three factors are present as they are, for example, to a marked extent in the case of the Norwegians, the result is an enduring set of religious, social-cultural and political influences upon the life of the state.

Even where the settlement of a given nationality is compact and numerically strong, its social cultural influence may fail to acquire the momentum it should be expected to have because of divided social organization. Extensive division and differentiation of activities characterize many immigrant nationalities, partly because of geographic factors, partly on account of differences in the adoption of English in the place of the mother tongue. In regard to church organization and related institutions, much depends upon whether the synodical framework is sufficiently elastic to admit of the expression of the wide range of differences without permitting basic division to occur. In the early Norwegian settlements there were found a variety of synods which differed widely in their form of service, in ritual and creed, in lay influence and polity. By and large, however, they remained within the Lutheran framework.⁵⁵ Under far-sighted leadership these various synods and their member congregations were united, and more recently, federated with other general American church bodies. In the local communities this resulted in consolidation of over-lapping parishes; in the regional or national field it brought about a stronger system of church-related colleges, seminaries, publishing houses, hospitals, and philanthropic institutions. In the history of denominations, there is ample evidence that such church related institutions are necessary to the life and perpetuation of the synodical body. The fact that their maintenance is costly is one of the most potent factors making for denominational mergers. Yet, it is largely through them that the foreign cultural influence, in the long run, finds its embodiment in American life.

55. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies* 1926, II, 761. The Rev. N. J. Lohre says, "From 1860 five synods and from 1887 six synods competed in offering Lutheran church homes for the Norwegian immigrants. This competition and possibility of choice to suit individual preference accounts in a great measure for the fact that such large percentages of the emigrants from Norway remained true to the Lutheran confession."

Then there is the fact that immigration into the state has gone through a population cycle which began with the early settlements in the territory, reached its climax about 1910, and declined gradually since then. See, for example, Table 3, Table 8, and Table 12. In the earlier study of "Immigrants and Their Children," we have shown that a similar population cycle involving the native of foreign and mixed parentage will follow that of the parent generation. These two population groups are statistical abstractions which in reality overlap a great deal. The course of their rise and decline suggests an interesting query: Do immigrant institutions pass through a similar life cycle? The answer lies partly in the future. Immigrant church bodies appear to have reached the level of stabilized numbers. A comprehensive movement toward unity and federation is taking place. With the passing of the foreign language medium the tendency toward unity should gain momentum. But there is also evidence that certain immigrant organizations such as lodges, mutual-aid societies, colonization agencies, newspapers, and higher educational institutions disappear with the passing of the immigrant generation. They failed to transform themselves so as to meet the needs of the American generation. Their failure to carry on may also have been due to a fatal lack of unity and strength on the part of the nationality group which fostered them.