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ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS, 1933

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C O N T E N T S

ERNST W. OLSON PAGE

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AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN
PRINTERS, BINDERS, PUBLISHERS
ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS
1933

Augustana Historical Society Publications

Augustana Book Concern: Publishers to the Augustana Synod

History of Its Activities Since 1889, with an Introductory Account of Earlier Publishing Enterprises

By ERNST W. OLSON

AS the official publication house of the Augustana Synod, the Augustana Book Concern was established by action taken at the annual convention of the Synod held at Rock Island, Ill., in June, 1889. A board of publication elected at that time shortly after took over by purchase a small printing plant and book store established in Rock Island under that name in the year 1884, and continued it as a synodical publishing house. While it has existed as an authorized branch of the activities of the Synod for a period of forty-five years, its prior existence for five years as a private plant doing a part of the Synod's printing furnishes the occasion for commemorating in 1934 the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the enterprise and for recording the history made by the Augustana Book Concern during its first half century.

I

EARLY PUBLISHING ENTERPRISES (1854-1884)

These fifty years cover only a part of the publication work carried on in behalf of the Augustana Synod and of the small conferences and scattered congregations out of which it was formed. To trace the beginnings of that work would take us back another thirty years, to 1854. Only in the light of fore-

going events can the history of the Augustana Book Concern be correctly understood; hence these events are here briefly outlined as a preface to the story proper.

HASSELQUIST AS PUBLISHER

Early in the year 1854, the three pioneer pastors L. P. Esbjörn, T. N. Hasselquist, and Erland Carlsson planned a gen-



T. N. HASSELQUIST, D.D.

eral newspaper to be published, preferably by Carlsson in Chicago, in the interest of the Swedish Lutheran immigrants. When Carlsson found no time for the enterprise, Hasselquist assumed the task and sent out a prospectus from Galesburg, Ill., October 1, the same year. Several issues of the new paper, named *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och det Nya*, were published, the printing being done at Knoxville, before Hasselquist started his own little Swedish print shop in March, 1855, on the first floor of his own house. Here the first of a series of small books was set up and printed in the summer of that year. As far as known, ten or twelve Swedish books and pamphlets were

Det rätta Hemlandet.

"Tänker på Gettran i Sjerran land och låter Jerusalem ligga eder i hjertat!" Jerem. 51 : 50.

1: a U r g.

Galesburg, Ill., den 11 Juli, 1856.

No 1

Kom, o min Jesus.

1.

Kom, till mitt kalla, Domnade sinne!
 Ågudar, alla För dig försvinne!
 Kom, att befalla Gysant derinne!
 Kom, o min Jesu!

2.

Kom, du min kära, Mig att besöka!
 Tror värdes nära, Kraften föröka!
 Värdes mig lära Allt hos dig söka!
 Kom, o min Jesu!

3

Kom, när jag ålades, Kom när jag qvider,
 Kom, när jag rådes, Brestas och strider;
 Kom, var tillstådes Sigt när det lider
 Med mig, o Jesu!

4.

Ja, du skall komma Sigt uti ära.
 Wäl dina fromma, Wäl dina kära!
 Träden nu blomma, Sommar'n är nära.
 Kom, o min Jesu!

Fader vår, som äst i himlön.

En så upprörd och äfventyrlig tid, som den vi nu upplefwat, borde hwarje Christen känna ett öfwerwäldigande behof af ett förtroligt F a d e r w å r — en förtrolig tillgång till den Allsmåttige Fadren, som "bor i himmelex och gör allt hwad Han will" — en mäktig och huld Fader, hwilken, så som David säger, "öfwertäder mig i sine tryddo i ondom tid, förgömmet mig hemliga

i sitt tjäll och upphöjer mig på ena klippo, (Ps. 27: 5). Huru trygg man känner sig, då man i bönen flyr till denne Faders namn, derom säger åter Skriften: "Herrans namn är ett fast stötte; den rättfärdige löper dit och warder bestärmat"

Men de trogne böra icke tänka blott på sig sjelfwa. Då nu hela werlden är i den mest betydelsefulla rörelse, då allt gammalt tydes wilja upplösa sig och en af ny arta omstapelser i alla riktningar synas wärd för dörren, borde alla Christnas händer woro upplystade, såsom Moses, medan striden wogid, (2. Mos. 17: 11), att Guds Allsmåttige Swärde öfwer de upprörda djupen, och de nya stapellerna blifwa sådana, att Gud, menniskor och änglar kunna fröjdas deråt, såsom i den första stapellens morgon. Borde icke denna tid vara en b ö n e t i d! Borde icke alla Christna färdelas i denna tid vara, hwad de stundom blifwit kallade, "bönesfolk"! Här är en orsak antydd, hwarföre vi nu wille med en betraktelse öfwer F a d e r w å r gifwa någon anledning till mera bön. Dehutom är det några så utomordentligt wiktiga ämnen, som wi uti de sju bönepunkterna i Herrans bön ätkomma, att wi äfwen derföre wälje denna rika text, och göra nu en börian med orden: F a d e r w å r.

En upplyst Lärare har med sanning anmärkt, at bönen "F a d e r w å r" är det åter öppnade paradiset på jorden, der den försonade menniskan nu åter talar med Gud, såsom med en Fader och wandrar mellan de

published from this office during the next three years, including Luther's Small Catechism, The Augsburg Confession, a small collection of "Ahnfelts Sångar," and "Luther-boken." Hasselquist's printing office, known as "Svenska Boktryckeriet," was doubtless the first Swedish printery in the United States. Prior to its establishment two tracts had been issued by Esbjörn, the first one, a greeting to Scandinavian immigrants, having been printed in New York in 1851. In July, 1856, Hasselquist started another periodical, a religious paper named *Det Rätta Hemlandet*, published every other week to alternate with the first paper, also issued fortnightly.

At its meeting in Galesburg the following October the Mississippi Conference (now the Illinois Conference) for the first time concerned itself directly with the affairs of its own printing office, for so Hasselquist designated it from the start. He remained in charge for the next two years, whereupon by decision of the Mississippi Conference at Galesburg in April, 1858, a society was organized to take over its affairs from Hasselquist, who desired to be relieved. The new concern, known as "The Swedish Lutheran Publication Society," completed its organization Dec. 6-9, and assumed charge at the beginning of the year 1859, the printery having been moved from Galesburg to Chicago in December. The plan was promoted chiefly by Erland Carlsson, who actively or indirectly managed the publication work for a long period in conjunction with his work as pastor of the Immanuel Church.

THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY

The Publication Society was organized "for the purpose, not only of continuing to publish *Hemlandet*, but of enlarging the printing establishment and of publishing and selling books of general usefulness, especially Christian books and foremost those of the Lutheran confession." The Society was incorporated Feb. 21, 1859, the first trustees and directors being Tuve N. Hasselquist, Erland Carlsson, Eric Norelius, Andrew Andreen, Charles F. Anderson, Charles Stromberg, John Johnson, and Peter Lagercrantz. It was to consist of such Swedish Lutheran congregations as were united with any synod belonging to the General Synod, and the government of the Society was to be exercised by their clerical and lay representatives at

the respective conventions. *Minnesota-Posten*, a paper started at Red Wing, in 1857, by Norelius and Jonas Engberg, in unwelcome rivalry with the secular *Hemlandet*, was now absorbed, and Norelius was made editor to succeed Hasselquist, who for the sum of \$350 relinquished his share in the publication business founded and built up by him. The secular *Hemlandet* was now made a weekly, while the religious one was published monthly. The reorganized concern started business the first week in January, 1859, in the schoolhouse of the Immanuel Church on Superior street and later moved into the basement of the church. After the Swedish and Norwegian conferences joined in organizing the Scandinavian Augustana Synod in 1860, the Publication Society was composed of all the Swedish clergymen of the Synod and all the lay delegates to the synodical conventions, and its meetings followed immediately upon the adjournment of the Synod. This accounts in part for the absence of its reports from the synodical records of this period.

Now placed under the direct control of the pastors and churches comprising the Mississippi and Minnesota conferences, the business was thought to have been started on its way to success. At the head was Erland Carlsson, a man of energy and business acumen, who had to divide his time between the Publication Society and the church he served. When after nine months Norelius withdrew—not in 1862, as stated by Enander (11)—Carlsson became responsible for the editing of the paper also, remaining in charge, with some assistance, for several years. Jonas Engberg, treasurer of the Publication Society, worked with him on the paper until November, 1864, when A. R. Cervin, colaborer with Hasselquist in 1856-57, was made editor. He was succeeded in 1868 by P. A. Sundelius, who in turn yielded the place in 1869 to John A. Enander, then a student at Augustana College in Paxton.

The fifteen years during which the Publication Society was in charge of the publishing work neither justified the hopes entertained, nor redeemed any promises of success. The enterprise did not flourish at any time; it merely struggled for existence. Except for Rev. Carlsson, there were too frequent changes in management, and *Hemlandet* changed editors six times in ten years. The obstacles to progress were many and formidable. In the first place, the field was very limited. *Hem-*

landet was started by Hasselquist with about 400 subscribers and turned over by him in 1858 with 1,000, a fair percentage of the Swedish Lutherans, who numbered only 3,750 adults when they founded the Augustana Synod in 1860. To the political strife of the time, resulting in the Civil War, were added bitter contentions between the churchly and the non-church elements and no less bitter rivalries among the various Swedish church denominations, followed in 1870 by a split in the Synod. In the Chicago fire of 1871 the Society suffered heavy losses. The financial panic of 1873, followed by years of depression, was the last of the factors that crippled the Synod's publishing business. Its output of books was small, and could not have been very much larger under such unfavorable conditions. The principal publications during this whole period were "Psalmboken" (the Church-of-Sweden hymnal) in two editions, 1864 and 1871, "Hemlands-Sånger" (gospel hymns), in three editions, various editions of the Bible History and Luther's Catechism, and "Kyrkohandbok." The Society did not make any annual reports to the Synod; most of its records were lost in the fire, and a private file of letters by Erland Carlsson was the chief source of information about the book business for this period as recorded in the 50th-anniversary booklet issued in 1910 by the Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company (3).

The printing office was housed in the basement of the Immanuel church until about 1870, when it was moved to rented quarters at 139 North Clark street. During more than half of that time Carlsson had served as unsalaried manager, and at various periods the stock of books was almost depleted for lack of funds to replenish the supply. Another and a most serious handicap remains to be noted. The Synod's own book business did not enjoy the unanimous support of the Synod itself. Agitation against and opposition to the Publication Society's activity, which seems to have been inherited from Hasselquist's time as publisher, persisted throughout its existence only to grow more bitter as the years passed. The main cause for discontent lay in the fact that the business yielded no profits. The limits of the field, the poverty of the immigrants, mostly newcomers, and all the other unfavorable factors noted were circumstances which the faultfinders would not take into account. This open or secret undermining of the

business proved even more disastrous than the fire which destroyed the entire plant in October, 1871.

During the year 1872, while the business was struggling to get on its feet, the opposition sought to keep it down. Worn out by the agitation, the supporters of the undertaking lost patience and the officers expressed willingness to yield their



ERLAND CARLSSON, D.D.
Head of Publication Society

thankless task into other hands. It was seriously proposed to sell the entire business. That year the Synod placed the publishing business in the hands of the board of Augustana College and Theological Seminary by constituting them the board of the Society. The members were: T. N. Hasselquist, Erland Carlsson, Jonas Swensson, John Johnson, clergymen; Jonas Engberg, Johannes Samuelson, J. H. Wistrand, and Nelson Chester, laymen. The idea of disposing of the business was gaining ground.

At this juncture the Synod was in sore pecuniary straits. The location of Augustana College and Theological seminary at Paxton had proved to be a mistake, and its continued existence was doubtful. The publishing business had been carried

on for many years for the benefit of the Synod, but with indifferent success and without financial profit. Now that the plant had been destroyed and serious losses sustained, there was no hope of gain from this source for several years to come. All were agreed that the maintenance of the school was vital to the Synod, while, in the opinion of the majority, the publishing business was not. Despairing of its ability to keep both, the Synod decided to sacrifice the latter in order to save the former. It is fair to assume that without the substantial annual income for the school secured by the sale of *Hemlandet* and of the bookstore, printing office, and publishing rights of the Synod, its college and seminary could hardly have been maintained and would have been still less likely to establish itself in Rock Island during the financial crisis of 1873 and following years. Eric Norelius has given us the best explanation of the conditions that compelled the sale. Many years after the transaction he wrote: "Since I have been blamed as the man who probably most urgently advocated that the Synod dispose of the old Publication Society by selling *Hemlandet*, the bookstore, and the printing plant, an act which was afterward and still continues to be branded as the height of foolishness, if not worse, I here take the liberty of making an explanation. An act must be judged according to the time and circumstances, if it is to be rightly judged. Had conditions then been what they became later and what they now are, I admit that it would have been very unwise for the Synod to dispose of the Publication Society; but as things were at the time, I doubt very seriously that we could have acted otherwise. Hasselquist had the very best reason for asking: 'How shall we be able to support this large household? What can prevent the dissolution of the school?' The Publication Society brought us nothing to speak of at that time, but by selling its property we gained the means for the maintenance of the school. Necessity knows no law. We doubtless did the right thing in selling out the publication business rather than to have let the school go by the board. As between two evils, we chose the lesser."

Hemlandet was sold late in the year 1872 for \$10,000 payable in semiannual installments of \$500. The purchasers were two employees of the Society, John A. Enander, the editor, and G. A. Bohman, the manager, who assumed its publication with

the first week in Decembr. With the sale went an agreement by the college board of directors not to publish any other general newspaper so long as the *Hemlandet* was published as specified in the bill of sale, and the agreement was ratified by the Synod. In 1873 the board was still determined to retain the remainder of the business, but when the Synod resolved to move the college and seminary to Rock Island and had to draw on every resource for the funds needed, the board, after asking for power to act, sold the rights and privileges of the Publication Society, its present publications, copyrights, plates, stock of books, etc. for the sum of \$17,000, payable in semi-annual installments. Jonas Engberg, Charles P. Holmberg, and Rev. C. O. Lindell purchased the business in partnership and assumed charge in July, 1874.

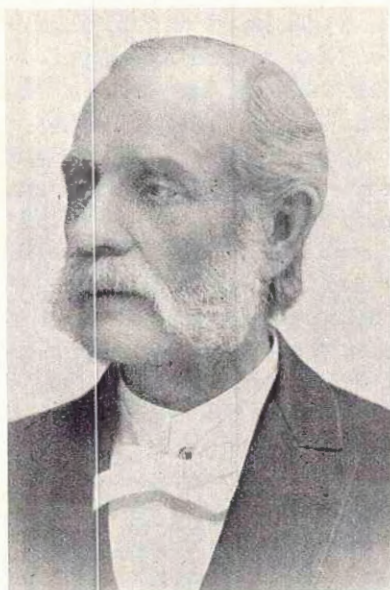
THE ENGBERG-HOLMBERG PUBLISHING COMPANY

This new firm took over a stock of books valued at about \$12,000, debts aggregating \$11,000, and book accounts totaling \$4,700. The publications were few in number, principally "Psalmboken," "Hemlandssånger," Luther's Catechism and a child's primer. The chief asset of the business was the good will and the prospect of success based on the publishing rights of the former official Publication Society and the further agreement that the firm was to supply the Synod's future demands for "the standard theological and religious works of the Lutheran confession." These were the main stipulations in the contract, which was signed by both parties on Sept. 29, 1874, on behalf of the Publication Society by Hasselquist and Nelson Chester, president and secretary respectively. Their action was ratified by the Synod the following year. The activity of the new authorized publishing house of the Synod cannot here be minutely recounted. It may be stated in brief that during the fifteen years' duration of its official mandate this publishing company developed an activity with which that of its predecessor can hardly be compared. No less than twenty-seven publications aggregating forty-five editions, were issued during the first five years, twenty-five of which were religious books published especially for the Augustana Synod. For the entire period 1874-1889 the Engberg-Holmberg house put out more than seventy different books, ranging from the Bible, books of worship and devotion, doctrinal works, hymnals and

songbooks to textbooks for parochial and Sunday school, religious story books, and juveniles. In the entire list we find only three items not directly serviceable to the Synod—a medical book, a letter writer, and a songbook printed for the Mission Friends. Exclusive of tracts, pamphlets, and other minor items, the total number of first and successive editions reached or exceeded two hundred. In view of this, it does not seem quite fair to say, as one writer has done (15), that on the dissolution of the Publication Society “followed a period of fifteen years of comparative inactivity.” His opinion that it meant “the general wreck of the synodical publishing work” could not have been based on a just estimate of the work actually done. It may be added here that in examining Erland Carlsson’s records of the Society the present writer found nothing in support of the assumption that even from a financial point of view the Society had been successful.

During the whole period the educational institution of the Synod was sharing the profits of the publishing business in the form of the installments regularly paid on the purchase price. Yet, in certain quarters there was dissatisfaction with the bargain struck by the Synod, profitable though it was. This cropped out from time to time. In 1876 the Synod decided to publish the Book of Concord and sell it at cost, an invasion of the contract which was forestalled by compromise. When in 1879 a revised Catechism was adopted, the old opposition, reinforced by those who held that the publishers were growing prosperous and ought to yield some of their rights, was more successful, and the Synod withdrew that important publication from the firm and reserved all rights to the college board for the benefit of the institution. The printing was left to a private firm which paid nothing to the school, and an edition of 10,000 copies was sold to the authorized publishing house for \$2,000, at a profit of \$877. (Cf. Minutes of the Augustana Synod, 1880, p. 40). The records show that the Catechism yielded from \$1,000 to \$1,100 in profits annually in the years 1881–1883. Subsequently a Sunday school textbook in Bible History was similarly withheld from the official publishers and privately printed for the college board. Against this friendly rivalry between the Synod and its own authorized publishing house the latter, being under some sort of moral compulsion, had no recourse save futile protests. Another form of

neighborly competition, pointed out by Edstrom (13), had to be met almost next door, when Enander & Bohman, publishers of *Hemlandet*, started a bookstore and went so far as to publish "Koralboken," the official book of worship for the Synod. Themselves by contract safeguarded against synodical competition in the newspaper field, they did not respect similar privi-



C. G. THULIN
Manager "Augustana" 1874-1884

leges granted by the Synod to other parties, even though former fellow workers with them in the Publication Society. The publishing of the hymnal for the churches required the eventual sanction of the Synod, and so costly an enterprise could not have been undertaken without substantial backing among the clergy. The plates of Enander's edition of "Koralbok" were purchased jointly by Engberg-Holmberg and the Augustana Book Concern after Enander & Bohman had succumbed in the fierce competition for the book trade started by themselves (13).

After 1874 *Augustana* and *Missionären*, the official church papers of the Synod, were printed and circulated by other and private printing plants, C. G. Thulin serving as manager for

a period of ten years. The Synod also took its other official printing elsewhere. The Minutes of its annual conventions were printed by the authorized house once in the next fifteen years, otherwise, and sometimes in very faulty form, by A. C. F. De Remee, Enander and Bohman, Wistrand and Thulin, Thulin and Anderson, and the Augustana Book Concern stock company.

The relations between the Synod and its official publishing house during this period are presented in documentary form and more fully analyzed in the Engberg-Holmberg anniversary booklet (3). The history of this publishing house contacts that of the Augustana Book Concern at many points between the years 1884 and 1917.

“UNGDOMENS VÄNNER” AND THE AUGUSTANA TRACT SOCIETY

In 1877 a new publication society was started in a modest way at Augustana College. Four teachers and six students met December 14 and formed a group named “Ungdomens Vännen”* with the avowed purpose of “promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the children and youth by publishing a children’s paper in Swedish to begin with.” The four teachers who took the initiative were T. N. Hasselquist, C. O. Granere, O. Olsson, and C. P. Rydholm. *Barnvännen*, a creditable paper, just such as they contemplated, had, however, been published for the Sunday schools of the Synod from the year 1874 by Joseph E. Osborn, a son of L. P. Esbjörn, the pioneer pastor, in conjunction with Anders Hult and J. G. Princell, and later by Hult and C. O. Lindell, pastors of the Synod. The field for that paper was then quite narrow, and rather than divide it with these publishers, “Ungdomens Vännen” abandoned their first project to work for the youth element by means of circulating religious tracts. After six such had been published and sold or distributed gratis, they published their first book in 1878, a small devotional book by Rev. O. Olsson,

* C. A. Swensson, one of its first members, reveals the ideal motives of this group in these words: “The year 1877 was a remarkable one in the history of our Synod. Great spiritual revivals began, especially in Illinois. Doctor Olsson, then in the full vigor of his manhood, preached the gospel of the cross with a fire that kindled thousands of hearts. At our common institution of learning in Rock Island strong spiritual winds were blowing. In that very connection we asked ourselves the question, What can and ought to be done throughout the Synod to save our young people for Christ’s kingdom and the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The members of the first graduating class at Augustana College . . . were vitally interested in this youth problem.” (16, p. 246.)

entitled "Vid Korset." In January, 1879, they started *Ungdomsvännen*, a monthly for young people, and in 1880 took over "Korsbaneret," begun by O. Olsson and C. A. Swensson in 1879 as a Christmas book. This annual, continued for three years by them, is now in its fifty-fifth edition as the Swedish yearbook of the Augustana Synod. The activity of the Society



OLOF OLSSON, D.D.
Author and Educator

was practically limited to the publications named until 1883, when it began publishing a Sunday school paper, *The Olive Leaf*, and put out its most pretentious book, "Luther-Kalender," a memorial of the Luther quadricentennial. That year it sought to establish a book store and to go into publishing work on a larger scale. On Feb. 6 it decided to incorporate under the name Augustana Tract Society and to purchase a half-interest in the printing plant of Thulin and Anderson at Moline. (1, pp. 46-47.) In June those of its members present at the synodical convention resolved to invite the pastors of the Synod and its laity in general to become members of the Society at a fee of ten dollars for three years and with the privilege of receiving six dollars worth of books free. Any

profits exceeding these sixty per cent on the capital invested were to go toward the maintenance of Augustana College and Theological Seminary. Despite its optimism, the plan did not prove attractive, and a reorganization was again decided on at a business meeting held at the commemoration of the Luther anniversary at Augustana College Nov. 7-8, 1883. At this time it was resolved to form a new stock company, but with the proviso that business was to be "so conducted as not to vitiate the principles on which the enterprise had been carried on in the past—it was to continue for the benefit of Augustana College." (4, Reprint, p. 5.)

The accounts of the Tract Society, well kept by Prof. Rydholm as manager, started July 1, 1883, with a "deficit of \$258." Its first fiscal year ended May 31, 1884, with the deficit slightly increased. The business was taken over by the new stock company, known as the Augustana Book Concern, on Aug. 14, 1884, at a purchase price of \$1,500.

II

AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN: A PRIVATE PUBLISHING COMPANY

(1884-1889)

The Augustana Book Concern was organized in June, 1884. It was a private stock company, built squarely on a business foundation, seeking to maintain the benevolent purposes of its predecessors. As a continuation of "Ungdomens Vänner" and of the Augustana Tract Society, its constituency was largely the same, namely, pastors of the Synod and teachers at its school, together with a few active laymen. Aside from this fact, there was no warrant for the adoption of a name implying that the new concern was the book store and publishing house of the Synod, for it came into being without synodical action or sanction and existed as a purely private enterprise until the year 1889. In various sketches this fact has been obscured by writers who have given the Augustana Book Concern an official character from the start, but it needs to be kept clear if we are to understand the action of the Synod that year in forming a new and official Board of Publica-

tion which dealt with it as a private company. Its story as such runs as here set down after a close reading of its own records.

The subscribers to the stock of the Augustana Book Concern were called to hold their organization meeting at Augustana College June 13, 1884, according to a notice in *Augustana och Missionären*, signed by C. P. Rydholm on behalf of the commissioners in charge of the sale of stock. According to Swan (2, p. 142), the Tract Society on that date one year before resolved to sell its business to the company then being organized, and the organization of the Augustana Book Concern took place July 2, 1883, when the commissioners were elected. The historical sketch of 1899 informs us that the stockholders' meeting for the purpose of electing a board of directors was held June 23-25, 1884, at Andover, Ill., where the synod was in session. The printed prospectus bore no date, but the "stock book" (5) shows that the first payments were made from January to June, 1884. Whenever the organization may have been begun, it was completed June 24, 1884, when the first board and officers were elected. The board met for the first time July 16-17, the same year.

The men who served as organizers and incorporators were Joshua Hasselquist, Carl P. Rydholm, Constantinus M. Esbjörn, Anders O. Bersell, Andrew G. Anderson and Josua Lindahl. The three first named were among the original members in "Ungdomens Vänner." The capital stock was fixed at \$15,000, divided into 300 shares of \$50 each. "The object for which the Augustana Book Concern is formed is: Printing and publishing, and selling of books and stationery," the prospectus states. The commissioners agreed on the following principles to be carried out in its organization and government and to be incorporated in its constitution:

1. No stockholder can be the owner, proxy, or representative of more than one-tenth (1-10) of the whole number of share of the Capital Stock.
2. Any number of shares may, however, be owned and represented, *in trust*, for Augustana College and Theological Seminary.



AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN—First Building.
Erected in 1884

3. After all expenses, including interest at the rate of six (6) per cent per annum on the Capital Stock, have been paid, the net profits that may arise shall be divided as follows: One-third to the stockholders, and two-thirds to Augustana College and Theological Seminary.
4. In case of dissolution of the Augustana Book Concern, this apportionment of the net profits shall apply also on the increased value of the property of the Concern over and above the Capital Stock."

About one-half of the signers were students, teachers, and pastors of limited means, and many difficulties were encountered in the attempts made to collect the assessed installments on shares. Complaints on this score are found throughout the reports. Quite a number of signers for stock failed to pay, including four of the six commissioners. In a number of cases, according to the Register of Stock, shares were given in payment for work done and property purchased, such as a printing plant, periodicals, etc., although they had no real value. After five years only \$11,200 of the capital had been paid in. This amount, less stock given in trade, left very little working capital, with the result that the business was seriously hampered throughout. After eliminating the mere signers, we find the real stockholders to have been some fifty in number. Those who acquired three or more shares of stock were: Pastors—C. A. Bäckman, 8 shares; T. N. Hasselquist, 18; S. P. A. Lindahl, 37; Nils Forsander, 5; C. P. Rydholm, 5; C. A. Swensson, 4; laymen—A. G. Anderson, Moline, 10; Gustaf Johnson, Altona, 4; C. G. Thulin, Moline, 12; Prof. A. W. Williamson, 3 shares. Those owned by Thulin and Anderson were obviously acquired through the sale of their printing plant to the new company.

To make the story of the private stock company known as the Augustana Book Concern more complete and accurate in detail than any account of it included in previous historical sketches of the publishing activities of the Augustana Synod, the following summary of the preserved records of the company is given, together with excerpts touching points of peculiar interest.

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE STOCKHOLDERS' MEETINGS.

The stockholders were called to meet for organization at Andover, Ill., June 23, 1884. For lack of adequate attendance, the meeting was adjourned until next day. On the 24th, Prof. Rydholm, as chairman, announced that the 300 shares of stock had been sold, and the meeting organized for business. The number or names of those present the minutes do not record, but a board of directors was elected. Its first members were: For three years—Josua Lindahl, C. G. Thulin, S. P. A. Lindahl; for two years—T. N. Hasselquist, Gustaf Johnson, A. Hult; for one year—C. A. Swensson, A. O. Bersell, J. A. Freeman. Prof. Rydholm was chosen president of the company, Rev. C. A. Swensson, vice president, and Prof. A. O. Bersell, secretary. The meeting was continued June 25, when this action was taken: "Resolved, that the wish of the stockholders is that the Board of Directors buy of the stock of Engberg and Holmberg at Moline as much as they shall deem good and profitable."

At the following annual meeting, held June 12, 1885, in the chapel of Augustana College, 205 shares of stock were represented. Swensson, Rydholm, and N. S. Youngdahl were elected directors, and it was resolved to have the officers of the company serve in their respective capacities also on the board. A motion to the effect that no person owning shares in any other publishing company be eligible to membership on the board was made and tabled. The motive for the proposition is not clear, for stock had been sold to several publishers of newspapers and books, including Hasselquist, Thulin, Swensson, Hult, and G. A. Bohman. At all events, Hasselquist and Thulin at once resigned from membership on the board. The stockholders now authorized the board to purchase the lot and frame building at Seventh Avenue and 38th Street, owned by Lindahl and Hasselquist and rented by the company.

From the annual report of Rev. Lindahl, now president of the company and of the board, at the annual meeting held June 11, 1886, we quote: "At the beginning of the year it was seriously proposed to consolidate with other publishing companies and booksellers within the Synod. . . All thought of so doing was, however, abandoned upon the uncalled-for action

of the E. H. P. Co. [Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company] at Christmas time. We were then fully convinced that the purpose was to kill the A. B. C. at all costs, and we must now see to it that somehow we may be able to stand on our own legs." The president points out that the working capital is insufficient, explaining: "Had the shares subscribed for been paid up, this difficulty would have been avoided, but since only \$8,309.05 of the \$15,000 has come in, it is readily seen that we have been in a financial pinch continually. The board needs an expression from the stockholders as to whether it should try to collect the subscribed stock by legal means or in some other way seek to get around the requirements of the law in this matter." As to dividends he has this to say: "We ought to have paid out something in dividends to the stockholders long before this, but to take anything out of the business just now would seem to be almost too risky."

At the annual meeting June 10, 1887, the president reported that the business was well in hand and developing in greater degree than before, promising a brighter future. At the end of the year the books had been properly balanced and an inventory taken. The grand total of business was "particularly encouraging, and henceforth the work can be carried on with less uneasiness and greater pleasure." Books had been published during the year in editions totaling 34,000 copies. The board had resolved to publish the monthly *Ungdomsvännan* as a weekly under another name [*Hemvännan*] and with a wider program. Augustana College now owned 21 shares in the company, and a dividend of six per cent had been declared. It should be said that at the organization no shares were set aside for the college which was to be primarily benefited, but individuals had later donated a few shares to the institution. In the reports of its treasurer no item appears showed dividends received, which indicates that the decision was not carried out. The accounts for the year showed one item of nine dollars paid out in dividends, which seems to have been the sum total.

The annual report submitted by Lindahl to the stockholders June 11, 1888, contains the information that C. G. Thulin had been engaged as business manager. Books had been published totaling 22,800 copies. Referring to the manager's report, the president says: "It shows a net profit of \$1,332.28 for the year.

But a discovery made during the same year that debts of almost \$3,000 had not been included in that year's accounts had reduced the surplus fund. At this time it stands at \$5,995.80, a figure which may be approximately correct [!]. Since the business was not properly managed from the start, it has been very difficult to get affairs into proper order now, and it may take some time yet before things can be so arranged that one may say with full assurance that they are correct. . . Of the capital stock only \$11,280 has been paid in, scarcely enough to run the printing plant. The bookstore and the business in its entirety we are obliged to carry on credit. This makes things very uncomfortable for both the manager and the board. If the capital stock could be increased, and this is absolutely necessary, the business might be carried on with greater success and security." During the year the board had lost two clerical members, Bäckman having died and Swensson resigned. The business manager's report appeared for the first time. As a document it is valuable for giving concrete and positive information following the many vague and indefinite statements in the foregoing annual reports, and is therefore here reproduced verbatim.

STATEMENT OF RESOURCES AND LIABILITIES OF AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN, 1887

RESOURCES		LIABILITIES	
Bills Receivable	\$ 1,520.59	Bills Payable	\$13,923.68
Accounts Receivable....	18,822.01	Accounts Payable.....	12,062.55
Fixtures	8,984.39	Cash	2,150.46
Printing Office.....	1,890.82	<i>Barnens Tidning</i>	406.29
<i>Augustana</i>	1,076.01	Stock (Capital paid in)	11,280.00
<i>Hem Vännen</i>	737.70	Surplus	5,995.80
<i>Olive Leaf</i>	389.93		
Inventory	12,397.33		
	\$45,818.78		\$45,818.78

LOSS AND GAIN ACCOUNT

	Loss (Debit)	Gain (Credit)
Printing Office	\$.....	\$ 695.53
Book Ac. ....	.....	1,355.97
<i>Augustana</i> .....	.....	205.35
<i>Hem Vännen</i> .....	.....	70.79
Insurance	167.25	.....
Interest	713.50	.....
<i>Olive Leaf</i>	125.13	.....
Dividend	9.00	.....
Bills Payable	1,040.05	.....
Augustana College	870.00	.....

Beyer [Beijer]	194.31	.....
Barnens Tidning	540.60	.....
Surplus		1,332.28
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Amount of sales during the year:	\$3,659.92	\$3,659.92
Cash	\$ 2,843.54	
Account	18,836.04	
	<hr/>	
Total.....	\$21,679.58	

With a debt of \$26,000 and almost \$19,000 outstanding on open accounts, the business was hardly in a flourishing condition. An expert accountant might be dubious about certain items, and the \$1,332 he would certainly call a loss, not a gain, as stated in the president's report. The meeting resolved, in view of this status of affairs, "That the Board be empowered to find ways and means of increasing the capital stock to \$50,000." This decision, which ends the records of the stockholders, needed not to be carried out, as the following year's events showed.

Of the stockholders' meeting announced for June 7, 1889, no records are to be found, but a special meeting is recorded under date of Aug. 8, when 194 shares were represented. The manager then presented a complete statement of the business, which, however, was not entered in the minutes, these containing only this resolution: "Whereas, the Augustana Synod at its recent annual convention elected a Board of Publication to establish a publishing and bookselling business, and whereas said Board, according to synodical decision, makes overtures to the Board of Directors of the Augustana Book Concern to take over its business, therefore be it *resolved*, that the directors be empowered to sell all the property of the Augustana Book Concern to the new Board on the most favorable terms."

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS (1884-1889)

At their first meeting, held July 16-17, 1884, the Board resolved to offer \$3,250 to the Augustana Tract Society for their half-interest in Thulin and Anderson's printery at Moline. An offer from Engberg and Holmberg of Chicago to sell their branch store in Moline to the Augustana Book Concern was declined on the ostensible ground that the present business status of the Concern would not permit such a deal. Rev. S. P. A. Lindahl, who was about to take a trip to Sweden, was au-

thorized to establish connections with publishers "as a start toward a book supply." The new book and printing concern was to open not later than Sept. 1 in rented quarters at Seventh Avenue and 38th Street, Rock Island, the property of Lindahl and Hasselquist. An increase of the capital stock from \$15,000 to \$25,000 was decided upon. The minutes are illegible in part, but the historical sketch of 1899 states that the property of the Tract Society, including a stock of books and three periodicals, *Ungdomsvännan*, *The Olive Leaf*, and *The Augustana Observer*, was purchased for \$1,500, and the remaining half-interest in the plant of Thulin and Anderson for \$6,300. The new quarters were opened for business Aug. 2 with Prof. Rydholm in charge of the bookstore and A. G. Anderson as manager of the printing office.

Later that year the sum of \$2,000 was offered for *Barnvännan*, published by Engberg and Holmberg for the Sunday schools of the Synod. The resolution read further, "That in the event this offer is rejected, immediate steps be taken toward publishing a Sunday school paper." Rev. Anders Hult, founder and editor of *Barnvännan*, was offered \$1,000 per year to take charge of the new competitor from Jan. 1, 1885.

The following officers and directors were recorded as elected June 12, 1885: President—S. P. A. Lindahl; Vice President, C. A. Swensson; Treasurer, C. P. Rydholm; Secretary, J. Moody; Directors: J. Westling, N. S. Youngdahl, G. Johnson; Office Editor, Prof. A. O. Bersell. Representatives were elected July 23 to act for the company at a proposed meeting to be held in Chicago looking toward a consolidation with three other publishing concerns, namely, Enander and Bohman, Engberg and Holmberg, and the Publication Society of the Northwest. They reported Oct. 6, when the proposition was dropped. On that date the Board voted Rev. Lindahl a salary of \$1,000 per year for acting as president. It was then reported also that *Augustana och Missionären*, the official organ of the Synod, had been leased to the new company for the year 1885 by the Board of Directors of Augustana College for a consideration of \$500. At this meeting the same rate of pay was offered for the privilege of publishing the paper for the next three years. The exact terms are given in the record of the Executive Committee for Oct. 3, 1884, when it was resolved: "That *Augustana och Missionären* be leased for \$500 per year;

(a) That the Augustana Book Concern appoint office editor and decide as to size, contents, and price; (b) That the Augustana Book Concern ask to be reimbursed in the sum of \$600 for the office editor." On June 10, it was, however, reported that the contracted terms were \$500 plus \$1,200 for editorial salaries. The college board had not agreed to the first proposal, which would have meant the free use of the Synod's paper and a bonus of one hundred dollars per year besides.

On May 4, 1887, it was resolved to publish the monthly magazine *Ungdomsvännan* after July 1 as a weekly religious and general newspaper to be edited by Lindahl, Bäckman, and Albert Rodell, three pastors of the Augustana Synod. The decision was all the more remarkable for the stipulation that the new paper, which was named *Hemvännan*, "be given together with *Augustana och Missionären* for the latter half of the year to new subscribers for one dollar."

C. G. Thulin was elected business manager June 10 and took charge Aug. 15. Negotiations for the purchase of the Engberg-Holmberg branch in Moline were decided on. On Sept. 4 Rev. Lindahl was elected office editor at an annual salary of \$1,000, and on Nov. 29 the building owned by him conjointly with Rev. Hasselquist was purchased for \$3,600. To the resolution was attached the peculiar condition that one of the owners, but not the other, was to take the stock of the company as part payment. Hasselquist was required to purchase seven shares to consummate the deal.

The interesting items for the year 1888 were the following: On June 8 this private stock company, without previous decision by the Synod, took steps toward publishing its official history by requesting Lindahl to "make arrangements with Norelius about publishing his book, 'Augustana-synodens historia.'" Negotiations for consolidation with the Concordia Publishing Company of Chicago were opened in the fall, and on Nov. 9 the two companies were merged, these being the principal terms of agreement: (1) The Concordia was to trade in its entire stock for shares in the A. B. C., approximately \$3,000. (2) Its weekly paper, *Vårt Land och Folk*, was to be absorbed by *Hemvännan*. (3) Its juvenile paper, *Barnvännan*, was to be continued. (4) The publishers of *Barnens Tidning* [Lindahl and Quist] were asked to turn it over to the A. B. C. so as to merge the two Swedish Sunday school papers. (5) The

English juvenile papers, *The Children's Friend* and *The Olive Leaf*, published respectively by the Concordia and the A. B. C. companies, were to be similarly merged. On Dec. 1, according to the A. B. C. Stock Register, eighteen shares were issued to each of the principal holders of Concordia stock, namely, C. G. Chinlund and R. F. Brink, making the purchasing price nominally \$1,800.

On the same date a new contract for the publishing of the official paper of the Synod was proposed. The company made the College Board an offer to pay \$1,700 for the right to publish *Augustana och Missionären* for 1889 on condition that the said board defray the cost of editing and proofreading. The company further resolved to request that the Synod's own book publications be surrendered to them on the ground that "Augustana College is the largest stockholder in the Augustana Book Concern, and all real profits from the business accrue to Augustana College and Theological Seminary." It should be stated in connection with and explanation of this statement that the institution never received any dividends from the company, and it did not see fit to surrender to it the profitable publications indicated.

At this time Rev. C. O. Lindell was engaged as office editor, and the president and secretary were instructed to carry out a decision by the stockholders to increase the capital stock to \$50,000—an increase which, if made, would have called for new subscriptions to the amount of about \$40,000.

The records of the Board for the last half year of activity, in 1889, show that it was preparing to wind up its affairs, which were obviously getting out of hand. At its meeting March 5 the Board resolved to offer *Hemvännan* for sale and fixed the price at \$2,500 plus a column of advertising space for five years. Rev. Lindahl, who had not surrendered *Barnens Tidning* to the company at its request, now purchased *Barnvännan* and discontinued it, paying \$250 in cash and \$750 in the company's own shares of stock. In April he reported that a plan was on foot to publish *Hemvännan* in Chicago.

On June 11 the secretary reported two important resolutions passed by the stockholders four days before. One politely requested the Board, "in such manner as it may see fit, to make known to the stockholders the state of affairs of the Augustana Book Concern"; the other instructed them to turn

Hemvännan over to the Augustana Synod on condition that its official paper be enlarged. Rev. Lindahl yielded the presidency to Rev. H. O. Lindeblad. While the Synod was in session at Rock Island, June 11-19, the Board held a second meeting, June 14. A plan to liquidate its affairs by inducing the Synod to take over the business was clearly under way, as shown by the wording of this resolution: "That in the event the Augustana Synod should decide to establish a Board of Publication, the Augustana Book Concern's business be offered to the Synod with the proviso that stockholders not disposed to donate their shares be allowed reasonable compensation." This was the last action taken by the Board except for the actual closing of the deal on Aug. 7.

The situation of the stock company was tense at the time of this synodical convention. In *Augustana och Missionären*, Hasselquist, its editor, had consistently maintained that one strong and influential paper ought to be published as the official organ of the Synod and so recognized by all, that paper to be *Augustana* and no other. Against *Hemvännan* as a quasi-official competitor he had protested from the start, although mildly for the reason that the company was publishing both the Synod's paper and their own. His position was supported by leaders in the Synod, who after Hasselquist's resignation as editor saw that the "newspaper question" had to be taken up and settled by the Synod at this time. In the issue of June 13, published during the sessions, Erland Carlsson emphatically stated that from all that he had seen and gathered there was "only one need and one desire, and that was for a single great and powerful mouthpiece of the church." He sketched a plan for making out of the present organ of the Synod just such a paper, and proposed the election of a Board of Publication to carry out the plan and to draw up a constitution for a new synodical corporation, "The Augustana Publishing Company," to assume charge of the synodical paper, which had been published by the private Augustana Book Concern since January, 1885. Those interested in the Book Concern had to act quickly and shrewdly, which they did. When the question of periodicals was actually taken up, they proposed to end the competition by discontinuing their own paper. The Synod adopted an elaborate plan for a bigger and better *Augustana* with many departments and a large staff of editors, and after

five ballots Norelius was chosen editor-in-chief to succeed Haselquist, who had not approved of the later operations of the company which he helped to organize. The proposal to establish a synodical board of publication carried. Rev. Lindahl, President of the Synod and the directing spirit in the stock company, was made one of its members, and Thulin, its manager, another. Lindahl became chairman of this board, which was empowered to buy out the Augustana Book Concern and instructed "to arrange for proper relations with the Engberg-Holmberg Company, to whom the Synod had sold its book business fifteen years ago," as stated by the convention correspondent (*A. o. M.*, June 27, 1889). When the men named were elected to negotiate with themselves about the purchase of their own plant, there was obviously no thought of selecting disinterested persons to carry out the Synod's decisions. Nevertheless the purchase of the Augustana Book Concern was to the distinct advantage of the Synod although the private owners were thereby relieved of heavy obligations, as will be shown in the proper place.

III

CONFLICTING PUBLISHING INTERESTS (1879-1889)

It has seemed desirable that the story of the Augustana Book Concern as a private corporation from 1884 to 1889 be here given as it was written into its own books of record. This makes for greater accuracy in statement and closer adherence to facts than is evident in certain previous accounts of its activities showing personal interest or bias and certainly no direct study of the original records. These serve to rectify former historical sketches in a number of points, as an analysis of the company's relation to the Synod will show.

The company was started for the express purpose of producing revenue for Augustana College and Theological Seminary, "not for private profit." The six per cent dividends to be paid on the shares of stock were apparently not regarded as profit, yet they were a prior claim on any surplus assets. No shares were set aside for the school, yet that did not mat-

ter, as no profits were ever divided. This fact was mentioned with regret in the reports of Rev. Lindahl, first as president of the company and subsequently as president of the college board (Synodical Minutes, 1888, p. 33). In time the school acquired a number of shares donated by individuals, but they had no value, and the college treasurer reported no income derived from them during the five years the company existed. The claim made by the company, and assumed by all its chroniclers so far to be true, namely, that it operated for the pecuniary benefit of the synodical institution, is founded entirely on the good intention stated in its charter, but not carried out. The assumption that the original Augustana Book Concern was a synodical benevolent organization must therefore be abandoned.

It was, on the contrary, a purely private business enterprise. As such, its prospects for success were confined to the amount of business the Synod might give it. For ten years C. G. Thulin had been the virtual publisher of *Augustana och Missionären*, which was edited by Hasselquist and controlled by the college board. When Thulin's printing office was purchased by the A. B. C., the printing of that paper automatically came to it as the most profitable part of the business. By contract with the college authorities it soon assumed control of the official paper of the Synod, as to size, advertising space, and office editor. Control of its contents, though demanded, was probably not granted, yet we find such control transferred by degrees and Hasselquist's editorial stand altered in favor of the new quasi-official publishing house. Only when he found Rev. Lindahl and his other business associates assuming what seemed to him unwarranted authority in publication matters he registered his protest. He had defined his attitude as to the book business as early as 1882. In a letter of Dec. 15 to Engberg & Holmberg he wrote: "As a member of a little private society I have been one of a number to print sundry little things which we have thought suitable for our congregations, and I am likely to continue to do so. But I have been, and will always be, opposed to carrying on this work on so large a scale as to hamper the publishing house in Chicago. . . . I have stated positively that if anything is to be undertaken in opposition to the Chicago house, I for one will withdraw. No reason that I know of could induce me to change my posi-

tion in this matter." (3, p. 83.) The way the official paper of the Synod was handled under private control also met with his disapproval. After the company had for some time been publishing their own paper in direct competition with the Synod's organ, edited by him, but controlled by them, he had good grounds for writing that he "had been of the opinion for some time that two papers with programs so nearly alike as those of *Hemvännen* and *Augustana och Missionären* could not with equal advantage be issued by the same publishers, especially as the one was *owned* and the other so to say *rented* by the firm." *Augustana* had netted an average profit of more than \$600 per year to the school a number of years before the college board leased the paper to the company for \$500 yearly. In 1885 the Engberg-Holmberg people offered \$1,000 for the same privilege, yet the contract was renewed on the same terms for three years. By the end of 1888 *Augustana och Missionären* showed a loss of one-third of its subscribers (1889, p. 119), and it was let at \$200 for the year following. Hasselquist resigned as editor and gave this as his first motive for so doing: "It gave me some concern that the Board of Directors accepted a bid for the publication of the paper which was several hundred dollars less than the former contract price, or rental, if that term is preferred, thereby disregarding a higher bid and cutting off an income for our college which has been needed in the past and doubtless will be needed in the future." Here followed his protest against the unfair competition by *Hemvännen*, and farther on he added: "Since the A. B. C. aims to work for the good of the Synod and its college, I wonder whether that could not be done best by combining the two papers into one which might be made larger and richer in contents and might be published at lesser cost than the two" (*A. o. M.*, Jan. 24, 1889). We have seen that the leasing of the Synod's paper carried with it partial control of its editorial policy and complete control of its business affairs. The income from subscriptions was said to cover more than the publishing cost. The new publishers used as much as four pages of advertising space weekly, largely for their own publications. All this was leased for from \$500 down to \$200 per year. The lessors and the lessees were largely the same persons. About half of the members of the college board were directors or stockholders in the company, Rev. Lindahl

being president of both bodies. As such, they were doubly pledged to look after the interests of the school first, yet the transaction in no sense favored the synodical institution as against the private stock company.

In one other case involving considerable amounts of money it appears equally clearly from the records that the company was in business for its own advantage. The Catechism, one of the few profitable publications included in the sale of the publishing rights of the Publication Society in 1874, had been withdrawn from Engberg and Holmberg in 1879 and reserved as the property of the Synod when a revised edition was adopted.* This book, published by the Synod on its own account, through the college board, had been yielding substantial profits to the school, the treasurer's accounts showing profits as high as \$1,000 and \$1,100 in successive years. In casting about for publications that might prove profitable, the company picked out the Synod's Catechism. So sure was it of this prize that the executive committee on Jan. 19, 1885, resolved, "That Pastor Lindeblad be asked to prepare a draft for Luther's Small Catechism to be printed . . . when publishing rights shall have been granted by the directors of Augustana College." On June 10 the chairman of the same committee said in his report: "If the Board of Directors of Augustana College would give us permission to print Luther's Small Catechism, we ought also to publish such a book with a few suitable brief commentaries." Less than a year after this attempt to deflect the profits of the Catechism from Augustana College to the private printing company, the Engberg-Holmberg company's plea to retain the rights to this book was characterized by Lindahl as "a brazen effort to appropriate it to themselves." (Circular of Jan. 8, 1886; 3, p. 109.)

In this instance, the college authorities, however, did not accede to the wishes of those board members who were interested in the stock company. To yield this source of income would have defeated the very purpose the Synod had in view when resuming the right to publish this book. It would have deprived the college of royalties on it running into many thousands of dollars and still being paid. An arrangement exists to this day between the school and the synodical pub-

*Among other books similarly exempted from time to time were *Concordia Pia*, *Church Manual*, and *Bible History*.

lishing house by which the net proceeds of the Swedish edition of the Catechism go to the school.

The two instances here cited not only lend no support to the prevalent claim that the company worked "in the interest of the Synod and its institution of learning," but removes the basis for any such claim. The evidence, on the contrary, compels the conclusion that the company was drawing from the Synod any profits that were made.

"The Synod favored this new publication house," admits the writer on the publishing interests of the Augustana Synod (15, p. 188). After repeating the fiction that "two-thirds of the net profits were used for the benefit of said institution," he cites the leasing of the Synod's paper as evidence in point, and concludes: "In other respects it was also evident that the Augustana Book Concern tended towards becoming an institution of the Synod, and the company sought in every way . . . to promote the true interests of the Synod." As president of the A. B. C. board, that writer in 1910 adduced all this in support of his statement that "the tacit intention of the promoters of the Augustana Book Concern was to turn the business over to the Synod." If so, they began, oddly enough, by taking business away from the Synod. But we have earlier and better authority for the opposite view. "It is hardly probable that the men who had to do with the sale [of the publishing business] had any direct intention of regaining this activity for the Synod,"—so says the 1899 sketch written under the very eyes of Rev. Lindahl, if not by his hand. By reference to the 1874 roll of delegates we find that of the men who had no such purpose in view the following were active in forming the private publishing company: T. N. Hasselquist, O. Olsson, H. O. Lindeblad, C. O. Granere, C. P. Rydholm, and S. P. A. Lindahl. Further on the same writer asserts: "Certain it is, that the leaders in the Augustana Book Concern from the first had as their goal the eventual surrender to the Synod of the business they were starting." It is rather singular to find such incongruous and diametrically opposed statements of purpose by the two men who as long-time presidents ought to be best informed about the publishing house. Such inconsistencies as these in its story as heretofore told have prompted the present writer to discard propaganda material and instead to examine the records and criticize the sources, to ignore professions of

good intention and look squarely at the actual performance. For the same reasons it was found inadvisable to jumble the story of the private company with that of the synodical publishing house, as has so generally been done. Despite the identity of name, the story of the Augustana Book Concern reads so differently before and after the year 1889 that it was necessary to distinguish sharply between the former and the latter periods.

An analysis of the records shows that the company operated under a peculiar plan, if indeed it was a plan. Its organization was very loose. In the absence of a constitution, it functioned under the few stipulations in its charter as to shares of stock, assessments, and eventual dividends. Not even these were lived up to. Scarcely more than half of the capital stock subscribed was ever paid in. Shares were given in lieu of editorial salaries and wages to workmen, and blocks of them were given in payment for properties purchased. The business was arbitrarily and carelessly conducted, selfish interests had a free hand, and some of its publicity was not scrupulously true. In the Synod's paper the building to be occupied by the new Book Concern was said to be "an addition to our institution of learning," although it was owned by neither the college nor the stock company, but first by Lindahl individually. At its organization the stock company had pledged itself to conduct its business in accordance with the aims of the Tract Society. But when tracts were asked for, the request was curtly declined. "The Augustana Book Concern can do nothing in the matter," wrote A. R. Cervin, the company's own office editor (*A. o. M.*, Apr. 1, 1885); "it is no benevolent institution. It has no funds for such a purpose."

The new private printing concern started by some of the leaders in the Synod naturally led to rivalry with the authorized book publishers. The competition might have been kept within bounds by a reasonable division of the business, but this was not done. Both houses wanted to publish and sell the same books to the people of the Synod, and not always at the same price. A squabble thus started about "The Biblical Treasury," a Swedish devotional work by Ahlberg, is a case in point. Both wanted to supply the Sunday schools of the Synod with juvenile papers, and in both languages. *Barnvännern*, a very creditable children's paper in the Swedish

language, established in January, 1874, had been published by the Chicago firm since 1878. A similar paper, *Barnens Tidning*, was started in 1886 by Rev. Lindahl and published privately by him.* The acute nature of the ensuing competition may be inferred from the offer of the excessive sum of \$1,000 a year in salary to Rev. Anders Hult to induce him to leave *Barnvännan*, which he had edited from its inception, and become editor of its competitor. The Chicago firm repaid in kind by putting out *The Children's Friend* as a rival of *The Olive Leaf* published by the A. B. C.

When the group first known as "Ungdomens Vänner" changed its character from that of a small missionary and tract society to the status of a purely commercial enterprise, which soon engaged in rivalry to the knife with the older publishing concern in the Synod, a number of its leading members no longer took any interest in its activities, but withdrew, one by one. We have noted Hasselquist's attitude of disapproval from the time of his resignation from the board of the stock company until 1889, when he resigned the editorship of the synodical paper in protest against the domination of its lessees. Others dropped out entirely from the publishing society, including Prof. O. Olsson, who had been the heart of the organization. It was he who wrote "Vid Korset," edited *Ungdomsvännan*, jointly with Joh. A. Enander, founded and edited "Korsbaneret" together with Rev. Carl Swensson, and edited the memorial book entitled "Luther-Kalender" in 1883—these being its principal, in fact, its only publications worthy of note. When about New Year's, 1886, the two rival publishing companies exchanged warm compliments in the form of circulars (3, pp. 99-113), the Engberg-Holmberg house defending its rights and Lindahl on behalf of the Augustana Book Concern denying them, the line was sharply drawn between the contending parties and their synodical supporters. Olsson took that occasion to define his position. In a letter to his friend Jonas Engberg (3, p. 130-133) he stated that he was not a member of any publishing company. True to his character, he

* As to this paper the records are obscure and contradictory. Its publication was decided on by the company, which carried it at a loss of \$540 in 1887; yet its net profits, \$200, for the year before, were donated by Lindahl personally to Augustana College, as reported by Erl. Carlsson (*Minutes*, 1887, p. 27). Later donations from the same source indicate that *Barnens Tidning* was his own property. Johnsson (15, p. 186) calls it a private enterprise, started by Rev. Lindahl and Rev. H. P. Quist, and states that the paper was donated to the L. A. B. C. in 1890, together with liabilities of \$1,000, while its profits had been given to the school.

took a conciliatory attitude. "I cannot be unfriendly to either side," he wrote. "It hardly entered my mind that I am editor of *The Olive Leaf*. It would certainly have been better if you had had the Swedish and we the English Sunday school paper. As it is now, a great deal of confusion, friction, jealousy, and enmity is bound to arise. Among Christians this should not be. . . I cannot, of course, appear as an opponent of those with whom I associate daily. Here we must think of our poor school, whose economic future looks so dark to me. . . We certainly had no desire to ruin you. Nor is it right of us to decry one another's acts and put the worst construction on them. . . . Such things corrode the very vitals of our church life. I pray the Lord for grace that I may be spared from taking part in such internal tugging and tearing. . ."

This controversy, which had begun when the Tract Society was formed, culminated in the exchange of broadsides just noted, but it continued to acerbate the relations of the two publishing companies year after year. After the open battle both sides dug themselves in and maintained a sort of armed truce, each side holding its intrenchments and seeking to undermine the works of the other by sapper tactics. This internecine warfare set friend against friend and group against group, and the competition, far from being the life of the book trade within the Synod, added to the chaos in that field. The letters of the chief contestants, if available for reference, would doubtless throw much light on the situation. There were those who took middle ground in the contest. The attitude of the nonpartisan element was probably correctly defined in a letter from Rev. C. O. Lindell to Prof. C. P. Rydholm, manager of the Tract Society, dated Aug. 23, 1883, shortly before it took the form of the Augustana Book Concern. He wrote:

"In your opinion the present publishing house has [failed] to meet the requirements you place upon it, wherefore you people hold yourselves authorized by the existing need to take over this important activity. Ought you not then to have chosen a better way? As I see it, the Board of Directors [of Augustana College] are responsible to the Synod for the proper conduct of the publishing business. If there be cause for complaint on this score, that is, as to the books published, and the prices, such complaint ought to be made before the

Board of Directors. This Board ought to have such matters in charge. If then the publishers refused to be governed by the official will and instructions of the Board, the latter would be warranted in taking the necessary steps for effecting the desired reform. Along that line a new publishing house might be established, or even in another lawful way, namely, by buying out the present proprietors at a satisfactory price. Unless it is done in one of these ways, I fear that the Tract Society has set on foot an ugly public scandal the traces of which will not easily be erased from the history of the Swedish Church in America. . . ." (3, p. 88).

The new publishing house had secured a distinct advantage over the old in leasing the Synod's paper, and the privilege of its columns was used to the full. The advertising space of three or four pages, used largely for its books, represented a legitimate perquisite of considerable value, approximately \$10,000 for the five years, if paid for at the rate then current. It derived benefits not so legitimate by using this paper as well as its own periodicals *Ungdomsvännan* and *Hemvännan* for continued propaganda in its own favor and against its competitor. The idea running through it all was to present the Augustana Book Concern as if it were already the official synodical publishing house and to refer to the authorized one as interfering in its legitimate business and as having grown fat at the Synod's expense. (*Ungdomsvännan*, Aug. 15, 1883; *Augustana och Missionären*, Apr. 5, Oct. 8, Nov. 9, 1884; Jan. 19, Feb. 10, Oct. 6, Nov. 3, Nov. 17, Dec. 8, 1886.) It should be particularly noted that this campaign was carried on chiefly in the paper whose editor had assured Engberg and Holmberg from the start that if anything was to be undertaken in opposition to them he for one would withdraw. (Hasselquist to E. & H., Dec. 15, 1882). The assurance of Lindahl himself may also be recalled and underscored: "The Society does not wish to start opposition to any one. In the usual manner of honest and strict business it intends quite modestly to enter on its new stage of development." (Letter to E. & H., Aug. 13, 1883.)

The prospectus of the Tract Society and the charter of the stock company conveyed no intention of eventually turning the business into a synodical publishing house. Their own records make no mention of it until 1889. The concern made a brave effort to stand on its own feet after consolidation plans

failed and competition grew still more sharp. Hints had been thrown out that it might eventually become the property of the Synod, but not until late in 1886 was the establishment of a new synodical bookstore and printing office urgently advocated. This was done in editorial form, in *Augustana och Missionären*. Dec. 8, the writer offering the A. B. C. to the Synod whenever it might want to take it over. The article, as internal evidences amply prove, could not have been written by the editor, and besides, who but the president of the A. B. C. was in a position to make such a tender? By 1886, as shown by the records, the company was hard pressed financially, a fact which might reasonably have had something to do with this change of attitude. Affairs grew steadily worse the following year, and by June, 1888, about \$40,000 in new capital was stated to be "absolutely necessary." The dividends expected and at one time actually declared had not been forthcoming, and shares of stock of wholly imaginary value were being forfeited or given away. Ten of them, given by Lindahl to endow a professorship in Christianity* at Augustana College, brought the donor a synodical vote of thanks; yet the prospects for sales were not good. Rev. Lindahl had to fight almost single-handed for the survival of the enterprise for which he stood as the chief sponsor for more than five years.

He had not yet abandoned the idea of putting all synodical publications under the exclusive control of his company when as president of the college board he recommended his company to the Synod in 1888 as a special publishing agency. We quote from the Minutes, pp. 33-34: "If the Synod could extend and more effectively prosecute its publication activities, not a little [i. e., income for the school] would doubtless be gained, and furthermore, a more wholesome influence would be exerted through the literature circulated in our congregations. In order better to further this work, the Synod had better establish a special agency interested in the extension of the work and responsible for its proper administration." The action he desired was not taken. Before the Synod met again, voices were raised in favor of the Synod's taking back its official paper and putting it in the hands of a Board of Publication of its own selection. As president of the Synod,

* Later donations made a total of 22 shares given by Lindahl. These had a value of \$880 after the Synod had decided to redeem them. (Minutes, 1891, p. 46.)

he did not touch on that phase of the matter, but in his report on behalf of the college board he astutely stood by the guns of his stock company. Speaking of the Synod's publications, he said: "To keep these publications properly on the book market, it would, we think, be to the advantage of the school if, under specific contract and adequate security, they were turned over to a special agent [agency] which would sell them and render account to the Board of Directors. . ."

A number of good books were published by the Augustana Book Concern in its capacity as a private plant, but the output for the five years was not large. A number of devotional books from Sweden were reprinted here, others were imported to be sold, but few contributions were made to the literature of the Synod. Of the first named group may be mentioned "Kyrkohistoria," a small textbook by Tönder Nissen, and "Den allting förvandlande handen," by Alfred Sandell, printed with a foreword by Olof Olsson, in 1885. Olsson's little book, "Vid Korset," carried over from "Ungdomens Vänner," was probably the best seller among Augustana people at the time, having reached its fifth edition in 1887. The same year "Försök till förklaring af Pauli bref till Efeserna" by T. N. Hasselquist was published. This was the principal new contribution by these publishers. The author's copyright was later sold by his heirs to the synodical A. B. C. The Swedish "Psalmbok" and "Koralbok" published by Enander and Bohman in 1884, without benefit to the Synod, was handled by this house in preference to the Engberg-Holmberg editions of the same book. It planned to publish the history of the Augustana Synod, to be written by Eric Norelius, and made certain preparations, but the printing of the work was left to its successor, the Lutheran Augustana Book Concern. The collected works of Dr. Fjellstedt in three volumes is incorrectly mentioned by Dr. Johnson (15, p. 187) as one of the publications of the A. B. C., for the work was simply imported and sold by them. The error may be due to the misleading titlepages in the three volumes, the first giving as publisher "Pastor C. P. Rydholm, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.," the second, Augustana Tract Society, and the third, Augustana Book Concern. The clue to the enigma is found in a decision passed Oct. 3, 1884, to-wit, "That we print titlepages for 'Fjellstedts samlade skrifter' and insert them in place of those printed in Sweden" (8). The name of

the real publishers does not appear. This method of appropriating publications Lindahl condemned (Circular, 1886) when practiced by his competitors Engberg and Holmberg, but we find it approved by him again, the Lutheran Augustana Book Concern later being given as the publishers of "Samlade skrifter" by C. O. Rosenius, printed in Stockholm. It was just one more phase of the intense rivalry between the two houses.

It is easy to see that a change had to come. The publishing interests of the Augustana Synod were in too many hands. The situation was bewildering, if not chaotic. A church body numbering about sixty thousand adult members in 1885 was expected to support a number of publishing concerns competing not only with one another, but with the Synod itself. We have found that the Synod and two publishing houses sought to print books of the very same kind for its use. Local bookstores and publishing societies were bidding for the same business in various conferences, namely, those of Minnesota, Illinois, New York, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. Pastors in Minnesota had their Swedish Publication Company of the Northwest; those in Iowa sought to build a tract society around their paper, *Bethania*; those in Illinois published a book of sermons on their own account; those in New York started the *Augustana Observer*; a few in Kansas put out a songbook, and so on. As if this were not enough of competition, Enander and Bohman, publishers of *Hemlandet*, engaged in the book business too. Without synodical action, they undertook to publish the official book of worship for the Synod, putting out, in 1884, editions of the Swedish "Psalmbok" and "Koralbok," edited by Enander. The Synod had sponsored and twice recommended the Engberg-Holmberg edition, which was its official book of worship, but in this fight for business everything was considered fair, as Edström shows. Even though he was in the midst of the fight, the smoke of battle did not blind Lindahl to these facts. In his capacity as president of the Synod he deplored the prevailing disorder in plain words. "In regard to textbooks and such books as are required for public worship and in the home," he said, "any private person or firm may by gaining influence undertake to introduce whatever [books] they choose. What influence so loose and arbitrary a handling of an extremely important matter may exert on both polity and life it is not hard to foresee."

(President's annual report, 1889, 17, p. 17.) That precisely summarized the whole absurd situation. "Such an enterprise as the Augustana Book Concern "costs not only labor and patience, but also money — a great deal of it," wrote C. A. Swensson, one of its organizers, in "Jubel-Album" (1893). "With the sharp competition that existed, it would have been impossible to keep the business going in the long run without a closer and official connection with the Synod" (16, p. 246). The same factors operated against the firm of Enander and Bohman, and "the expected crash came," says Edström, "but not until their newspaper had been sold, so that it was their quite considerable book business only which went into bankruptcy."

When it appeared doubtful that the Synod would continue the policy of leaving not only its official periodical but all its publications to a private corporation as its "agency," the A. B. C. quickly reversed its tactics and offered to sell out to the Synod. When the Synod voted to reestablish after fifteen years a Board of Publication, there went with this decision instructions to consider their proposition, and the purchase was subsequently made, whereby the private company known as the Augustana Book Concern was dissolved. "By its action," says Swensson, "the Synod expressed itself on several points. The first, and most important point, was that the church body, after a long, costly, and useless interval, was to engage anew in the publishing activity begun so early, that is, to publish, print, and sell its own books and periodicals. The second point was that the Synod felt in duty bound to settle with Engberg and Holmberg, the purchasers of the Synod's first publishing business. The third, and in this connection decisive, point was that the Synod at least semiofficially approved of the activities of the Augustana Book Concern by resolving to seek possession of its plant." (16, p. 246.) In the discussion on the Synod floor prior to the decisive action taken in 1889, there were those who held that before establishing a new publishing house the Synod ought to square itself with the old authorized firm. Instructions were to that effect. We find no record, however, to show that negotiations were then had with Engberg and Holmberg. It has been asserted again and again that the A. B. C. was instrumental in restoring to the Synod the pub-

lishing rights sold "by mistake" in 1874. It does not appear, however, that these rights could have been in the Book Concern's possession, for the company ceased negotiating for them as early as 1886. (Annual report, June 11.)

"The Synod had now acquired a publishing plant with a net worth of more than \$7,000 to start with, and that without investing one cent in the business," says the 1899 sketch. The statement will not bear close scrutiny. A fair-sized business was turned over, true enough, but it was in no sense a gift. By collating the figures in the synodical reports with those given by Holmgrain, we find that the transaction entailed a total expenditure for the Synod falling just below \$54,000, as will be shown in the account of the transfer. Another statement in the same sketch, to the effect that the stockholders "got back only about half of what they had laid out" (4, p. 9 in reprint), is not in agreement with the Synod's decision to reimburse them with eighty per cent of paid-up capital plus interest at six per cent for five years. A glance at the old building that housed the private Book Concern raises a doubt that the Synod got its money's worth, but by the terms of the deal the owners were fully reimbursed for their outlay.

IV

AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN: THE SYNODICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE

(1889-)

With the establishment of the new synodical publishing house, named the Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, the publication work of the Augustana Synod soon took on a different and much more satisfactory aspect. That part of its eighty years of history dealing with the last forty-five years makes better reading than what went before, inasmuch as it registers true and consistent progress after a long period of disintegrated efforts and conflicting interests. These forty-five years have seen a development not even approximated before, an output doubling and redoubling that of all the diverse societies, firms, and corporations which for almost thirty-five years undertook to provide the people of the Synod with periodicals

and books. The rapid growth of the church was one great factor in this development, but the strict control of its publishing interests now exercised by the Synod for the first time was undoubtedly the most important one.*

TRANSFER AND REORGANIZATION

The decision creating the new publishing house of the Augustana Synod was passed June 19, 1889, while the Synod was in session at Rock Island. It reads: "*Resolved*, That the Synod elect a Board of Publication to bring about greater unity in the use of textbooks in the parochial schools as well as our educational institutions and to publish and offer for sale such books and periodicals as the Synod shall decide on." The resolution carried with it two related decisions: "(a) That this Board of Publication is instructed to buy out the Augustana Book Concern in the interest of the Synod, if possible; (b) That this Board is likewise instructed to arrange affairs in such manner that its activities shall stand in friendly relation to Engberg-Holmberg and other book publishers."

A temporary board was chosen to organize the official publishing business. Its members were: S. P. A. Lindahl, M. C. Ranseen, Victor Setterdahl, C. J. Petri, pastors, and C. G. Thulin, C. G. Chinlund, Nels Nelson, laymen.

Five members, Lindahl, Ranseen, and the three laymen, met in Chicago, July 9, to organize, electing Lindahl president and Nelson secretary *pro tempore*. The Lutheran Augustana Book Concern was the name adopted, and it was decided to locate in Chicago. It was further decided to incorporate the board and to negotiate with the board of the A. B. C. stock company, at a later meeting, for the purchase of its plant.

On August 7th the two boards met at Augustana College, Rock Island. After the company's proposition had been received and its board members had retired, it was resolved to purchase its entire business, as per invoices presented. The statement of accounts was not recorded, but Holmgrain gives the following figures as of Aug. 1, 1889: Resources, \$15,083; debts, \$44,976; gain, none,** net worth, \$6,107. The invoices exhibited did not include capital stock (18, p. 5, Book A, L. A.

* It is a singular fact that heretofore the Synod had required no annual reports on its publishing activities for the official record.

** There was no trace of the \$6,000 in undivided profits mentioned in various prior reports.

B. C.). As to the latter it was agreed to pay forty dollars per share of all shares fully paid up, notes to be issued payable in five years from date, with six per cent interest, making a total of \$52 per share, originally sold at \$50 par value. The 1891 statement gives the item "Augustana Book Concern Stock \$8,808.18," showing that 220 shares were to be taken up. In taking over the Augustana Book Concern, whatever its value, the Synod assumed obligations aggregating \$53,784. The transaction was ratified on Sept. 3, when the board met as a corporate body at Rock Island, the proposed removal to Chicago having been reconsidered. On this date the organization was completed, Rev. Lindahl being elected president, Rev. Ranseen vice president, Mr. Nels Nelson secretary, and Mr. A. G. Anderson manager and treasurer. Two of these men retained their respective offices for life, Rev. Lindahl serving as president until 1908, and Mr. Anderson as general manager until 1927.

On Nov. 19, the Board came to an agreement with the Board of Directors of Augustana College with regard to the publishing of the official church paper, which was to be named *Augustana* and to be enlarged after absorbing the weekly *Hemvännan*. Later *Barnens Tidning* was taken over from Lindahl, who was paid "the sum of \$1,000 for his rights and title in said paper,"* and who was made its editor.

Framåt, a paper published at Lindsborg, Kansas, was offered fore sale, but the offer was declined. Negotiations were opened with Enander and Bohman, looking toward the taking over of their stock of books and eliminating that element of competition.

The 1889 convention adopted an elaborate program for the enlarged *Augustana* and elected Eric Norelius editor-in-chief, together with a large staff of associates, including T. N. Haselquist, A. R. Cervin, A. Rodell, O. V. Holmgrain, and L. G. Abrahamson, the only ones out of twenty-two, who remained with the paper after the experiment of that first year. Norelius himself resigned his position within six months. After having accomplished their work, the members of the temporary Board of Publication yielded to a regularly elected

* It is so stated in the minutes. In Lindahl's first report to the Synod on behalf of the Board of Publication (1890, p. 71) we read: "At New Year's the Board received *Barnens Tidning* from Pastors S. P. A. Lindahl and H. P. Quist as a gift." It was acknowledged as such, no mention being made of the purchase price.



S. P. A. LINDAHL, D.D.
Editor "Augustana" 1890-1908
President of the Board 1889-1908



ANDREW G. ANDERSON
General Manager 1889-1927



A. R. CERVIN, Ph.D.
Office Editor "Hemlandet," "Augustana
och Missionären"



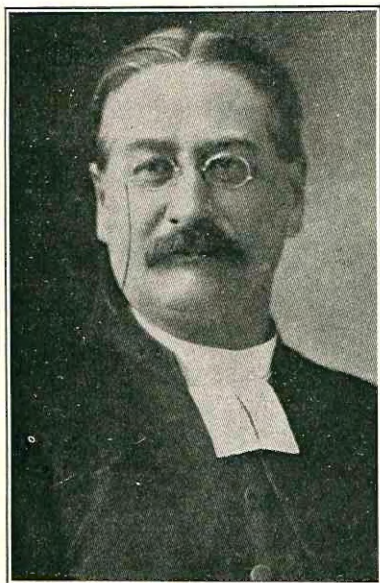
REV. ALBERT RODELL
Associate Editor "Augustana"

Board of Directors of the Lutheran Augustana Book Concern in 1890. Those then chosen were: Lindahl, Thulin, and Nelson, reelected; Pastors L. A. Johnston, P. J. Källström, L. G. Abrahamson, and Mr. Gust. Bengston, new members.

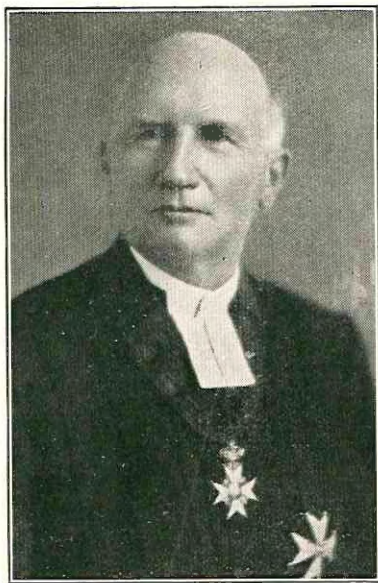
The first year of operation showed a loss, caused by the expensive apparatus set up for the editing of *Augustana*, the paper showing a deficit of \$3,000, but before long it became evident that the new Book Concern was being managed very differently from the old, which had piled up nothing but debts. At the close of the year 1890 resources were \$54,760, an increase of almost three thousand dollars, while the debts, \$43,003, were reduced by an equal amount. A tedious array of figures is not needed to indicate the progress made. In its first five years the synodical house had increased its resources to more than \$81,000 and reduced its indebtedness to about \$25,000. The net profit reached \$10,000 in 1896, and that figure, with certain sharp variations, marked the general average for the next thirty years of progress under Anderson's direction. To this must be added plant development in buildings and machinery, a number of costly publications, large sums in royalties and appropriations to Augustana College and Theological Seminary, and substantial appropriations and donations for other synodical purposes in order to get a fair idea of the earnings for the period. A more accurate summary of these earnings properly belongs in a concluding estimate of the gross worth of this institution as a branch of the Synod's work during forty-five years.

"AUGUSTANA" AND ITS EDITORS

Periodicals had always been a large and essential part of the publication work of the Synod. In 1890 no books of special importance were being published or sold, the Swedish juvenile paper being reported as the principal publication bringing any income. The first concern of the Synod and its new board was to reestablish *Augustana* on a sound footing, the official paper having lost ground and suffered a general setback in the last few years under private control and in competition with the various other so-called "church papers." When Rev. Norelius resigned in June, doomed by his physicians unless he "left Illinois and quit all work," Rev. Lindahl, president of the Synod, succeeded to the editorship of *Augustana*—a fulfilment



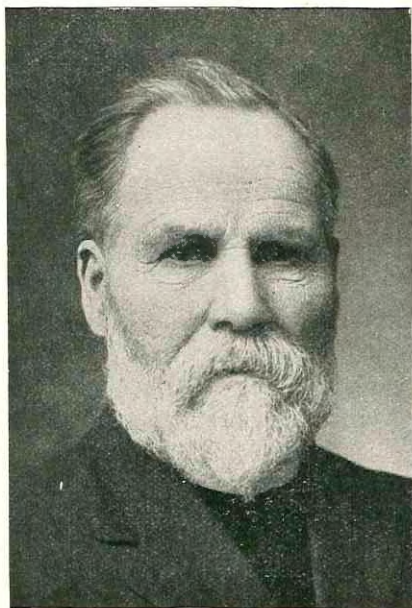
REV. C. O. LINDELL
Associate Editor "Augustana"



L. G. ABRAHAMSON, D.D.
Editor "Augustana" 1908—



REV. M. J. ENGLUND
Associate Editor "Augustana"



ERIC NORELIUS, D.D.
Historian, Editor

of his plans and the goal of a long cherished ambition. Rev. A. R. Cervin, connected with the paper at various periods and in different editorial capacities, was voted a pension. A year later Rev. C. O. Lindell was elected office editor and Rev. L. G. Abrahamson, editor of the department of missions. The broadened program proposed in 1889 by C. M. Esbjörn, L. A. Johnston, and Norelius was again narrowed down. They had proposed, among other things:

“To unite the editorial forces within the Synod in common endeavor for the general good;

“To grant to all special and local interests now represented in the various larger newspaper enterprises within the Synod a voice and full freedom to assert themselves;

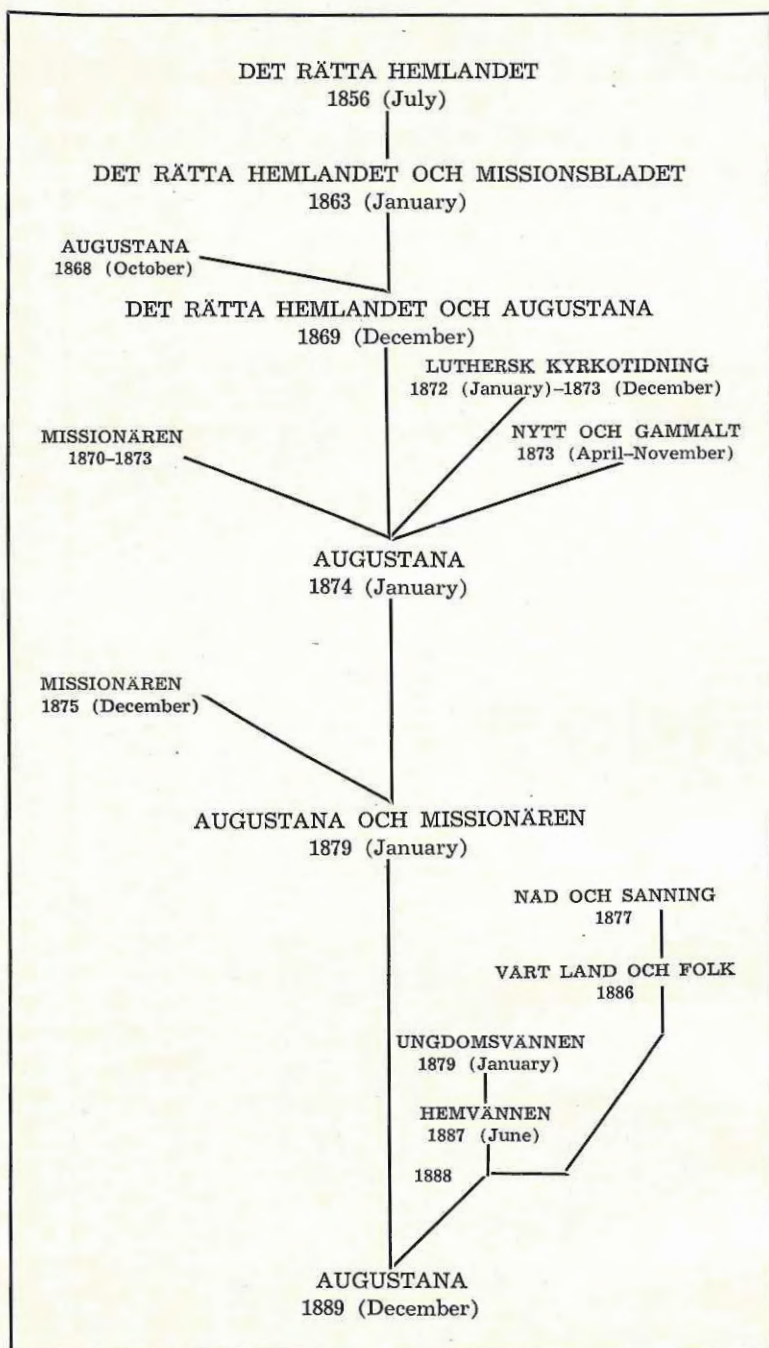
“To produce a paper that would in a worthy manner represent the entire Synod.”

This sounded much like a protest against the policy of centralization favored by Hasselquist, but no revolt followed. Norelius himself, usually an independent, revised his opinion, either by the trial-and-error method, or after consulting with the president of the Board, who held that the paper “could not possibly carry itself under the decisions passed by the Synod.” In his letter of resignation Norelius raised objection to the new plan and sanctioned the old policy. He wrote: “Under this arrangement the editorial staff has no control of the contents of the paper in its entirety. This makes it impossible for the paper to pursue a definite policy and to give ‘no uncertain sound.’ That which doubtless has created the greatest interest in the paper has been the right of free speech, but this privilege may easily be misused. The staff ought to have free hands in order to forestall such abuse.” This has been the policy both before and after Norelius’ occupancy of the editorial chair, except that the control has been exercised, not by a staff, but by the editor-in-chief. Whatever inhibitions may have been applied to persons, synod-wide interests have generally been championed without prejudice to sectional ones. It is a remarkable fact that the Swedish official organ of the Synod has not only maintained but relatively fortified its position during the transition from Swedish to English as the predominant language of the church. From 1890 to 1908, while the Synod almost doubled, growing from 84,000 to 163,000 in round numbers, it maintained an average circula-

tion of 13,000, with almost no variation in eighteen years. From 1909 to 1933, with a synodical growth of less than fifty per cent, totaling 240,000, *Augustana* maintained an average circulation of about 18,000, reaching its highest point, 21,600, in 1914. In 1889 the Synod acknowledged its debt of gratitude to Dr. Hasselquist for important services rendered by him during thirty-four years as editor of this paper, first published by him in 1856. Again, in 1908, at the close of a term of seventeen years of like service, the Synod voted a tribute to the memory of Dr. Lindahl, "a laborer who pursued his calling with dauntless energy and exceptional ability; a churchman who furthered the temporal spiritual interests of his church with keen eye and deep insight." The third in the succession of editors of *Augustana*, now in its seventy-ninth year, is Dr. L. G. Abrahamson, who took charge in 1908 and, although its junior by only one year, still conducts the paper with undiminished powers. As borne out by the facts and figures just given, the result of his work pays equally eloquent tribute to his capacity and to the loyalty inspired in his readers. He served on the first regularly elected board of the Synod's publishing house. After a tenure of the editorial chair for more than a quarter century and eleven years more as contributing editor of *Augustana*, Dr. Abrahamson is a veteran in the service and takes rank as Nestor of the Augustana Synod.

The principal associate editors of *Augustana* after 1890 have been Rev. Albert Rodell, Dr. Carl J. Bengston, Rev. M. J. Englund, and Rev. Carl Kraft, the present office editor. Rodell was called by the Synod in 1892 and served until his death five years later. He maintained a department proposed in 1889, "dealing with events and movements in the course of human progress," writing as a chronicler and commentator under the head "The World We Live In." "For the products of his pen," says Lindahl, "it was usually hard to make the space of *Augustana* reach." Dr. Bengston held the position from 1900 until 1908, when Abrahamson selected Englund as his assistant. He was one of the ablest writers in the Synod, Holmgren, his biographer, states. Incapacitated by illness after less than four years of service, he was succeeded in 1912 by Rev. Kraft.

Two years after the transition, *Augustana* was again on a paying basis, and the two other synodical periodicals, *The*



GRAPH Showing Development of the Old Official Organ of the Synod

Olive Leaf and *Barnens Tidning*, Sunday-school papers, each yielded a handsome profit. But for this revenue, the publishing house would have had difficulty in pulling through the first few years.

NORELIUS AND HIS HISTORICAL WORK

The book business taken over had yet to be put on a sound economic footing. The Synod soon discovered that the bulk of its purchase was in the form of a mass of old and very doubtful accounts. The auditors of its books for 1890, J. E. Gustus and Anders O. Bersell, the latter one of the old stockholders, "called attention to the enormous total of accounts receivable, which in fact is too great for any business of this size to carry without being seriously hindered in its development and defeated in its purpose to serve the church." (17, p. 87.) As a remedy, they proposed limitation of credit, a measure taken some time later.

The first book of importance published was a history of the Swedish Lutheran congregations and of the Swedes in America, by Rev. Eric Norelius. The first volume of this work, printed in 1891, ran to 871 large pages and entailed quite considerable outlay, recovered by sales only in part. Neither the author nor the publishers were encouraged, yet the Board urged completion of the work at fair compensation for the Synod's historian. It was empowered to negotiate with Norelius, but nothing came of it until 1899, when the Synod voted him an annual salary of \$700 as official historian of the Synod. The work was never properly completed. It was planned for three volumes. After twenty-five years, a second volume appeared in 1916. The author had promised this by 1910 so as to have the completion of the work mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Synod, but the plan miscarried. The second part is far below the level of the first, giving the impression of being a hastily compiled appendix to the former volume*—this after the publishing house had paid during seventeen years more than \$12,000 to the historian for his work. What handicapped

* To illustrate, reference need be made only to the section dealing with the publishing activities from 1860 to 1916. Under that head (pp. 294-96) two pages are devoted to the competition back in 1858 (!) between Hasselquist's paper (*Rätta Hemlandet*) and *Minnesota-Posten*, edited by Norelius. All references made to the Synod's publishing work for the fifty-five years may easily be packed into a footnote. The most amazing disproportion, however, is found in the first volume, one-eighth of which is devoted to Rev. O. C. T. Andrén, who labored only four years in America.

Norelius in his later years, besides periods of poor health, we know not, but we do find it recorded that the publishing house had difficulty in getting publishable material from him for the second volume. Nevertheless Norelius at his best was a studious, painstaking writer, with a keen eye for details and accuracy. To him facts were sacrosanct, and he respected truth rather than persons. In the preface to the second volume of "De svenska lutherska församlingarnas och svenskarnas historia i Amerika" he wrote: "My way of writing history probably does not conform to the rules, but this much is clear to me, that it will not do to write history as you would write fiction, or to guess at what one is telling and then call it history, but that what one presents as history must be unalterably true." His work, the author modestly admitted, was merely some material for the history of the Augustana Synod, but even so it was a contribution which earned him the lasting gratitude of that church body.

The papers and letters of Dr. Hasselquist were purchased for the Synod by the Book Concern, as also all papers and documents collected by Norelius in the course of his work. He was engaged, according to the 1893 report, to write the biography of Hasselquist, which was published seven years later. In 1899 the Synod decided to publish a historical quarterly to which Norelius was to contribute material touching events prior to the founding of the Synod. This temporary historical publication was the forerunner of a quarterly theological magazine, *Luthersk Kvartalskrift*, published for a period of seventeen years and subsequently revived after an interval of five years in the form of the present *Augustana Quarterly*, now in its thirteenth year.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLANT

The first step toward expansion of the plant that went with the purchase in 1889 was taken in 1895, when the adjacent Globe Bindery was purchased from Joshua Hasselquist for \$2,000, its owner continuing in the employ of the bindery department of the A. B. C. The development dating from the transfer of the business to synodical control continued along sound lines year after year, due in great measure to prudent management by Andrew G. Anderson under the direction of the synodical board. In him the publishing house had found



AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN—Second Building,
Erected in 1898

a manager who combined a number of essential qualifications; he was a glutton for work, a man of business acumen, and one who was intimately familiar with the needs and interests of the church. To this add his thorough training in the printer's trade, acquired from boyhood and last developed while in charge of the printing office owned first by him and C. G. Thulin, and later by the private Augustana Book Concern, and his success may be readily understood. The history of the publishing house for upwards of forty years was to prove that his selection for the managership was a fortunate choice.

Within five years the business had outgrown its old quarters, and it was cramped for space when in 1896 the board asked for authority to erect a larger building. This was built in 1898, on the site of the frame house at Seventh Avenue and Thirty-eighth Street heretofore occupied. The new building, completed in January, 1899, was a three-story structure, with basement, built of brick, steel, and cut stone, with metal cornices, measuring 90 by 52 feet and costing about \$23,000. The four floors now available allowed for expansion, but only for a short period. Within ten years the second building was outgrown. An annex was built in 1911 forming one structural unit with the existing building. It is a fireproof structure of four stories and basement, 60 by 51 feet, erected at a cost of \$30,500. New grounds were added at a cost of \$3,400, the total outlay approximating \$35,000, exclusive of new machinery and equipment. The plant now had a total floor space of 31,500 square feet, which was thought to be ample for many years to come. In the prosperous twenties store-room space was nevertheless found inadequate and further plant expansion was once more proposed.

After twenty-five years of operation the Synod's publication house was able to show very gratifying results. In the anniversary publication (1) the following figures are of peculiar interest. Augustana College and Theological Seminary, made beneficiary by action of the Synod, had received \$37,000 out of the gross earnings of the Augustana Book Concern. To the Augustana Pension and Aid Fund sums aggregating \$5,000 had been appropriated. Miscellaneous synodical appropriations amounted to \$12,000. The net worth of the publishing house and plant had grown from a probable \$6,000 in 1889 to \$216,000 in 1914. In one sum, this represented a material gain

of \$270,000 for the Synod. Up to Jan. 1 that year the output of books, pamphlets, music, etc., had reached a total of 3,173,800 pieces of printed matter issued from the Augustana press, exclusive of periodicals and printing not for synodical purposes.

LINDAHL AND HIS ADMINISTRATION

As administrative head Dr. Lindahl had everything to do with shaping the policy and directing the activities of the publishing house for almost two decades. His annual reports are revealing in these respects. After having watched the literary output for some time, he saw the need of a secretary of literature as early as 1894, and recommended that a man of recognized ability and sound judgment be put at the head of the book publishing department. In a way he thus anticipated the still further development in that direction which took form thirty years later in the Board of Christian Education and Literature. At the time the Synod did not see its way clear to take his advice. Again in 1906 he presented the urgent need of an individual or a publication committee to act on literary matters with greater deliberation and more promptness than was possible for the board at its business meetings. In his last annual report as president of the board Lindahl again underscored the need of a person "who could devote himself exclusively to procuring material in original or translation suitable for publication, and to watch for new works from Sweden which ought to be kept for sale in this country." One year later a secretary of literature was added to the editorial staff of the Book Concern.

In 1895 Lindahl touched a tender spot in synodical affairs when he spoke out in plain words: "Too many of our friends think it matters little how soon they pay their debts to a concern owned by the Synod. This seems to be the case with the Synod itself, certain Conferences and not a few individual members." At that time the book house was carrying \$40,000 in accounts long overdue. Under a credit system for which there seemed to be no effective remedy the total outstanding on account kept growing to portentous size. At intervals repeated requests were made to have the delinquent list made known publicly, but only to be turned down by the Synod, which ordered the board to collect by legal means wherever neces-

sary. Denied every form of aid or redress, probably by the very votes of the delinquents, the business had to drag its lengthening chain of bad accounts through the years—an onerous handicap to any business and a serious detriment to a house with conscientious scruples against harsh practices. The abuse of credit continued under synodical tolerance until delinquent accounts at one time aggregated about \$85,000. In 1908 the Synod finally limited credit to one year, but made exceptions for the Conferences and the Synod itself, and the rule proved no effectual remedy, as later reports show.

By 1892 the obligations of the publishing house had been reduced to \$36,527. The figures \$19,272, given in the president's annual report that year, was an error, that sum representing the net worth (1, p. 94). The indebtedness was being rapidly reduced, but amortization could not have been as rapid as indicated without seriously hampering the business. In another two years more than eight thousand dollars was paid in settlement with the stockholders of the old concern. No adjustment had as yet been made between the old and the new synodical publishing house. When in 1896 Rev. M. C. Ranssen proposed that the Engberg-Holmberg business be taken over, the Synod declined to discuss the proposition, although it had appeared from official reports that the competition between the two houses was sharper than ever before (9, p. 81). At the same convention permission was refused the older house to use parts of the synodical liturgy and ministerial manual in its editions of "Psalmboken," obviously on competitive grounds. Lindahl championed the idea that no publishing rights had gone with the sale in 1874. Hence the adjustment with Engberg-Holmberg ordered by the Synod was arbitrarily deferred during his administration, and the two houses continued to divide the field.

By synodical decree Augustana College and Theological Seminary was made the beneficiary of the Augustana Book Concern in so far as its earnings could be spared. Having settled with the former owners by 1896, the publishing house was able to make its first appropriation, \$2,000, to the school the following year. When the profits began to be drained off through other channels by synodical action, Lindahl objected. In 1906 he pointed out that the net gain had been reduced by about \$1,000 annually by a decision that the synodical papers

be given free to pastors and professors. Another decision had cut it down by \$700 a year (the Norelius salary). A third decision ordering the A. B. C. to stand the cost of the printed minutes (about 35,000 copies) sliced another \$1,500 from the profit. On behalf of the board Lindahl registered a just protest: "If the Synod goes on in this fashion, the school will find itself deprived of what it has a right to expect, and the business itself will soon suffer a setback. As to the synodical Minutes, it seems to be about time to stop this free distribution. . . . It is not the object of the publishing house to accustom pastors and churches to get publications free of charge—what is gotten so cheaply is usually valued accordingly—but to publish the best we can produce at reasonable prices. The more this activity is encouraged, the more it will be able to accomplish in the way of distributing good, wholesome literature."

His prominent connection with the Augustana Book Concern makes a great part of the life of Rev. S. P. A. Lindahl a component part of its history, hence a sketch of his career is in place here, at least in outline. Born in Kristdala, Sweden, Nov. 8, 1843, Sven Peter August (Nilson) Lindahl emigrated to the United States at the age of twenty-two. After divinity studies in the Ahlberg School in Sweden and at Augustana Seminary at Paxton, Ill., he was ordained to the ministry in 1869. He served churches in the Illinois Conference for twenty years, including those at Woodhull, Galesburg, and Altona, Ill., and the Immanuel church of Chicago. While in Galesburg he organized the Scandinavian Mutual Aid Association, a life insurance company which he headed as president until its reorganization about 1905. In 1870-71 he labored as traveling missionary of the Augustana Synod. In 1890 he was elected editor of *Augustana*, succeeding Hasselquist and Norelius, the latter having served but a few months. This position he retained for life, serving meanwhile as pastor of the church at North Henderson, Ill., some twelve years. In 1889 he was made a member of the synodical Board of Publication then established. Chosen president at its first meeting, he presided in the board of the synodical publishing house for about eighteen years. Lindahl was a most active and energetic churchman, serving the Synod in a great many different capacities. From 1888 to 1891 he was its president, after having served as secretary for eight years. For thirty years he

served on the board of directors of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, eight years as president. He held membership in the Board of Missions eleven years, in the board of the Deaconess Institute seventeen years, in the pension board five years. He was usually placed on important synodical committees, and served on the following: Committee on Education, 1876; on Representation, 1881; on Church Book, 1889-98; on Song Book, 1890-91. Often a delegate to the General Council, he acted on important commissions in that church body.

Lindahl declined to be classed as a literary man, yet as editor and publisher he developed quite a little skill in wielding the pen. Through a paper named *Schibbolet* he carried on a crusade against lodges and all manner of secret orders. Various as author, compiler, or translator, he had the following books published under his name: "Hvad vet du om de hemliga sällskapen?" — "Herren vårt fäste" — "Mathilda" — "August Herman Francke" — "Katarina von Bora," and a series of story books entitled "Blommor vid vägen." Several volumes of the annual "Korsbaneret" were edited by him. In 1894 Rev. Lindahl was made honorary Doctor of Divinity by action of the board of Augustana College and Theological Seminary. His death occurred March 27, 1908, at Rock Island.

Lindahl's biographers, P. M. Lindberg in "Korsbaneret" (1908), and C. J. Bengtson in "Prärieblomman" (1909), have more minutely traced his career. The former terms him a church diplomatist, a characterization more precisely stated by the latter thus: "In Lindahl there was not a little initiative, great independence, and much energy. These were doubtless the qualities which, combined with more than ordinary shrewdness, made him unusually successful in getting what he wanted and enabled him to put his stamp on the church he loved and whose welfare he faithfully sought. . . . Few, if any, knew him through and through. He was not easy of approach. A man of reticence, he knew how to conceal his true inwardness from the public gaze. . . . Owing to his position and his knowledge of the leading men of the Synod, he was probably more feared than loved by many. Yet he did not lack true friends. . . . As an opponent he was not to be taken lightly. Lindahl stood firmly by his principles, and was, as someone said, 'uncannily shrewd.' He saw farther ahead than most men, a faculty which Doctor Carl Swensson acknowledged by telling

him, 'Who do you suppose can see as far as you do?'" Bengston quotes Lindahl's own words, "I have always sought to speak and write so as to have my back protected," to show that he preferred to take the defensive, but adds: "If at any time he attacked, he usually had good reasons for so doing, and generally came out victorious." Lindahl was, according to the same biographer, "one of our Synod's most powerful presidents. He was a man of clear intellect, and he conducted its proceedings with coolness and tact. However the battle raged about him, he remained calm and never lost self-control. . . . He did much for the Augustana Synod, which has ample cause, therefore, long to cherish him in grateful memory." Bengston closes his sketch of Lindahl by quoting these words, uttered by him shortly before his death: "I have the feeling, if I rightly understand it, that my work in the Augustana Synod has been unselfish."

After having attained one high position after another in the Synod, Lindahl, while its president and editor-in-chief of its official paper, aspired also to the third high position within its gift—the presidency of its principal institution of learning. It was a legitimate ambition; only the means used in the effort to attain it have been questioned. A plan on foot at the Jamestown convention in 1890 to retire Hasselquist on full salary to make room for an "acting president" was promoted by him in a way to draw criticism at the time and long after. (*Fosterlandet*, October, and *Augustana*, Nov., 1902.) At the next Synod, Hasselquist having died in the interval, Olof Olsson was overwhelmingly elected as his successor in the face of the bitterest opposition from the adherents of Lindahl, who had charged Olsson with heresy in 1888 (20, p. 347) and now repeated the charge. The zeal of the president had led him farther than the Synod would go, and it cost him the office.

Only a short paragraph is given to the life of Dr. Lindahl by Norelius. As historian of the Synod, he says: "It was not easy to gain his confidence, but once you learned to know him, you found in him an upright spirit, a childish trust in God, and an earnest zeal for the welfare of the church according to his conception."

As president of the Synod at the time of Lindahl's death, Norelius gave this balanced estimate of him: "The place occupied by Dr. Lindahl in our church body, not only as editor of

our church paper, but in many other capacities, gives cause for a deep sense of loss at his departure. Not all thought as he did; on the contrary many, I am sure, differed with him in a number of matters, but both sides are now bound to admit that he sought to serve the interests of his church as he saw them and according to the gifts with which God had endowed him. Special recognition is due him for his services to the Synod rendered through the part he had in establishing the Lutheran Augustana Book Concern."

THE LANGUAGE TRANSITION.—ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS

In 1883 the first all-English congregation in the Augustana Synod was organized, followed by similar ones at steadily shortening intervals. Within twenty years the need of an English Conference was talked of, and in 1908 these congregations formed an Association of English Churches. This movement, added to the gradual transition to English as the language of worship which was going on in the Swedish-speaking congregations, soon confronted the publishing house with new problems and increased demands. First came the need of an English hymnal and book of worship and a synodical mouthpiece for its English-speaking members, followed in turn by a rapidly growing demand for Sunday-school textbooks and juvenile literature in the same language in addition to *The Olive Leaf*. The English organ of the Synod, now the weekly *Lutheran Companion*, was gradually evolved from two monthlies, the *Alumnus*, published by the Alumni Association of Augustana College, and the *Observer*, by the Augustana University Association, both started in 1892. The former, renamed *The Augustana Journal*, was taken over in 1895 by the Book Concern, as was the *Observer*, and the two were combined under the name of the former. The paper was published as a semimonthly until 1906 and as a weekly from that time on. In January, 1907, it appeared under a new name, *The Young Lutheran's Companion*. From being exclusively a young people's paper it gradually developed and eventually made a place for itself as the English official organ of the Synod.

Rev. G. A. Brandelle, while pastor in Denver, Colo., served as its editor for eight years (1897-1905); Rev. Holmgren for three years, until 1908, with Revs. Adolf Hult and Carl J. Södergren as associates. The paper was conducted by a num-

ber of temporary editors up to 1915, when Dr. Carl J. Bengtson assumed permanent editorial charge. He served for a period of eighteen years, resigning his position in 1933. Since 1911 the paper bears the simplified name *The Lutheran Companion*. In 1906, after ten years as the English spokesman for the Synod, the paper had attained a circulation of only 2,000



GUSTAV ALBERT BRANDELLE, D.D.
Editor "Augustana Journal" 1897-1905

copies. The demand for it as a semi-monthly being disappointingly small, it was made a weekly in 1907, and from that time on it made slow but steady gains under the stimulus of a more rapid pace in the language transition. In January, 1929, its circulation reached its highest point, exceeding 19,000.

Commissioned by the Synod, the faculty of Augustana Theological Seminary, aided by college teachers and other volunteers, worked at intervals in the nineties on a collection of songs and hymns for an English hymnal. The proposed hymnal was submitted to the Synod in 1899 as a temporary collection, it was explained, for use until a more complete book could be compiled. This collection of hymns, 355 in number, quite a few rendered from the Swedish, was accepted and recommended for use in churches and Sunday schools for the

time being. In 1901 "Hymnal and Order of Service" with music was published under the redaction of Prof. C. W. Foss. A more satisfactory book was soon asked for, by the all-English churches in particular. The appointment of a hymnal committee by the English Association in 1910 prompted the Synod to elect its own committee three years later. This committee



CARL J. BENGSTON, D.D.
Editor "Lutheran Companion" 1915-1933

marked time until 1919, then went to work in earnest, and in 1925 submitted its draft for a new hymnal which was adopted. This work entailed an outlay which made it the costliest single publication by this house so far. To exemplify to anyone not familiar with the publisher's business what it costs to produce a work of this character, it may be stated that before the first copy of "The Hymnal and Order of Service" could be printed, the publishing house had expended on this book almost exactly twenty-five thousand dollars. With its 682 hymns and tunes, together with liturgies, introits, prayers, and lectionary, a total of 946 pages, it compares favorably with books in its class, according to competent reviewers, who gave it high

rank as a book of worship. The men who carried the work through to completion were: Drs. C. W. Foss, I. O. Nothstein, E. W. Olson, E. E. Ryden, C. J. Södergren, and C. A. Wendell. In line with this development a Luther League Hymnal had been compiled and published, which was superseded in 1929 by the "Junior Hymnal," adapted also for use in the Sunday schools.

English work in the Augustana Synod dates back to its organization, having originated in the teaching and preaching done by both Esbjörn and Hasselquist almost a decade earlier. Yet for very practical reasons the Synod's work had to be carried on almost exclusively in the language native to its members, the Swedish immigrants, for the better part of two generations. The first all-English congregation to affiliate with the Synod was not organized until 1883, and the second was Grace, now St. John's church of Rock Island, organized in 1888 and the oldest in the group of English churches, the first having gone over to another synod. In 1895 the two languages were given equal recognition on the floor of the Synod; it was decided to translate the order of service into English, but the synodical recommendation was that the English work be done mainly in connection with the Swedish churches as before. About that time certain English churches of the Minnesota Conference when asking leave to join the newly formed Synod of the Northwest were dissuaded on the ground that an English Conference within the Augustana Synod was contemplated. The first move in that direction came thirteen years later, when in 1908 the Association of English Churches was organized, numbering eleven congregations and pastors. That year also four English-speaking Augustana churches were founded, all of which makes 1908 a convenient vantage point from which to survey the progress of the Synod in the direction of English church publication work (21).

Prior to this time the bulk of literary production had been in the Swedish language, with an occasional book or two in English. By now the proportion of English books to Swedish began to range from one-fifth to one-third. An English annual, "My Church," was started in 1915 as a serial record of events in the Synod and in the Lutheran Church in general. The *Companion* had adopted a Synod-wide program in 1911. But the language transition kept a normal pace up to the year

1918. The artificially fomented opposition to foreign languages during American participation in the World War registered at once in the literary output of the Augustana Book Concern. In 1919 the slow upward curve of English crossed the abrupt downward curve of Swedish output, the ratio being reversed from 10 to 5 to 3 to 9 in a single year. That is to say, while ten Swedish and five English books were put out in 1918, nine English and only three Swedish marked the new production of the year 1919. *Ungdomsvännan*, a monthly magazine which never had prospered, was discontinued after 1918, being no longer able to hold its ground. During the next ten years the English publications averaged thirteen per year as against three in Swedish. In 1929 the printing of Swedish books for the Synod ceased except for a single item, "Korsbaneret," a synodical annual, first published privately as a Christmas book in 1879 and dated 1880. The volume for 1934 is the fifty-fifth of the series, the publication having set a record for popularity and its readers one for loyalty.

The Sunday schools had made the transition a long time before, the great majority using English as the medium of instruction. The principal textbooks, Luther's Catechism and a brief Bible History, were supplied in English directly by the Book Concern, while the college board by mutual arrangement continued to provide the Swedish editions of the same books. A demand for a systematic series of textbooks conforming to newer and more generally approved educational practice making itself felt now more than ever before, a graded system was worked out by Dr. G. A. Fahlund, Sunday-school Secretary, in a series of eight books, and published complete by 1924. Other courses have been added later by his successor, Rev. J. Vincent Nordgren, while a series of five primary courses worked out by Mrs. Rubye Patton Nordgren have been published as part of the graded system. A series of courses for vacation Bible schools and week-day schools of religion, corresponding to the Sunday-school series, is being prepared, three junior textbooks by Nordgren and three primary courses by Julia Violet Gabrielson having been completed so far. A complete new system for the Sunday school, to be known as the Word-of-Life Series, is now being worked out by the Sunday-school secretary. While retaining many features of the old series, it conforms more fully to present edu-

cational standards. This system, when complete, will extend from the kindergarten through the standard grades and on through the high-school age. An entire new body of literature for the Synod is thus being created under the direction of the literary board which calls for a very large increase in the output of books of this type. Established in 1924 for this specific purpose, the Board of Christian Education and Literature was subsequently charged with initiating and directing all synodical publication work.—The proceedings of the synodical conventions have been published in English since the year last named, making 1924 another turning point in the road leading to complete language transition.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Augustana Synod in 1910 was the occasion for an impressive celebration at Rock Island, Augustana College and Seminary sharing in the commemoration. To mark the event, two memorials were published, one in each language. "Minnesskrift med anledning av Augustanasynodens femtioåriga tillvaro," a volume of 486 pages, was the most comprehensive. The history of the same period was told more compactly in an English volume of 267 pages, "The Augustana Synod, A Brief Review of Its History, 1860-1910." The latter is the first attempt by the Synod itself at telling its story to English readers.

A PERIOD OF READJUSTMENT

A readjustment of the publishing work was going on by slow stages. After thirteen volumes of "Prärieblomman," a literary annual in Swedish, had been published, it was discontinued in 1913, the English church annual, "My Church," being started two years later. In 1913, too, the Synod authorized the publication of an English summary of the Swedish Minutes. Interest in Swedish literature was on the wane, and little support was given an illustrated Christmas paper, *God Jul*, published in 1915 and 1916. *Teologisk Tidskrift* ceased publishing with the 1917 volume. The celebration of the 400th anniversary of Luther's birth was conducted by the Synod almost exclusively in the Swedish language, but after 1917 English soon took the lead, as reflected in the published output. The demand for Swedish books slumped suddenly after the World War, and the stock on hand had to be disposed of largely at

a sacrifice. The Synod had spoken English for some time past, and now required its reading matter chiefly in that language. It remained for the publishing house to take due notice of the change.

Twenty-eight years of needless friction was finally ended in 1917 by the purchase of what remained of the business of the Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company by the Augustana Book Concern. The property was offered for sale successively in 1912, 1913, and 1914, the Synod suggesting to its board that the offer be considered. The price first asked was about \$55,000, and when \$18,000 was offered in July, 1914, it was declined. Again in 1917 the Augustana Book Concern was approached with a similar proposition, when on June 26 the Chicago house offered its property for \$30,000 and it was purchased for the Synod on August 21 at \$21,200, the deal being closed definitely Oct. 2. The negotiations were opened with a statement made by Rev. C. E. Hoffsten on behalf of the Engberg-Holmberg interests. He pointed out, says the record briefly, that, owing to the turn of events in the past and the similarity of the business carried on by the two houses, they found it no longer possible to compete with the Augustana Book Concern.

For more reasons than one this transaction was highly desirable. Although much belated—the proper time was in 1889, or in 1896, after the A. B. C. stockholders had been paid—it was still economically advantageous to the Synod while it satisfied a long-felt sense of justice and fair play. The best interests of the Synod could not have been served by its maintenance of a competitive publishing house at a cost which in the twenty-eight years far exceeded the price it asked for withdrawing. In common fairness an arrangement was due the old firm which was at one time the authorized publication house and whose mandate had never been revoked in due form. This fact makes Oct. 2, 1917, an important date, not only in the history of the Augustana Book Concern, but in that of the Augustana Synod as well, for on that date the rights of the old synodical Publication Society, which had never been in dispute, were fully redeemed, and from that day there was no one to contest the field with the Augustana Book Concern. No other conclusions can be drawn from the proceedings of the Synod and the records of the two publishing houses. Differ-



HASSEL-
QUIST

CONFER-
ENCES

1859

AUGUSTANA SYNOD

SWEDISH LUTHERAN
PUBLICATION SOCIETY

AUGUSTANA SYNOD

1874

UNGDOMENS VÄNNER

AUGUSTANA
TRACT SOCIETY

AUGUSTANA
BOOK CONCERN
(Stock Company)

1889

1877

1883

1884

LUTH. AUGUSTANA
BOOK CONCERN

1903

AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN

AUGUSTANA

SYNOD

1917

ENGBERG-HOLMBERG PUBLISHING COMPANY

GRAPH VISUALIZING THE STORY OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD

ences dating back to the eighteen-sixties had now been composed for the first time, and the Synod stood united about its publishing interests. By the next synodical convention this act of the Book Concern board was pronounced "satisfactory," but it was more than that. Thereby a correction was made which sets the record right. The credit belongs to Dr. F. A. Johns-



F. A. JOHNSSON, D.D.
President 1908-1924

son, the president, Mr. A. G. Anderson, the manager, and Mr. Grant Hultberg, his assistant, and the members of the Board of Directors. Those who then served were: Doctors P. A. Mattson, Alfred Bergin, Adolf Hult, T. A. Conrad, Mr. G. N. Swan, and Professors I. M. Anderson and A. A. Stomberg.

Almost from the start the Augustana Book Concern has maintained branch book stores in cities where the Synod has a large membership. The first of these was established in St. Paul, Minn., in 1891. It was removed to Minneapolis in 1908 and continues to serve the large constituency of the Minnesota Conference. For a long term of years Otto Leonardson was in active charge of this branch. A branch was started in New York City in 1903, with Carl Bohman in charge, and a

third in 1906 at Chicago, under the management of Rev. Alfred Nelson. The measure of success did not warrant the maintenance of these two branches, which were discontinued in 1914. For a number of years book depositories were maintained in the store of the Bodin-Sundberg Company of St. Paul and at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn. The Chicago branch was reopened, and is now maintained as a branch and salesroom. After the purchase of the Engberg-Holmberg plant and bookstore, it was kept open for business for a number of months while the stock of books was being sold out. The affairs of the old book house were wound up and its doors closed in May, 1918, after a business career of forty-four years.

The post-war economic changes demanded readjustments in salaries, wages, and prices. During 1920 the salary account was increased by \$25,671, book sales increased by \$25,000, and the total income was more than \$44,000 larger than the year before. "The use of Swedish is decreasing rapidly; English is increasing equally fast," said the annual report in 1922. The trend was shown in the circulation of *The Olive Leaf* more clearly than in any other publication. It showed a gain of no less than 17,700, increasing the total to almost 41,000, while the Swedish *Barnens Tidning* lost more than 2,000. The demand for English devotional literature was stressed by the Synod that year, while it sought to conserve the Swedish branch of the publishing work. This phase was evidenced by a resolution passed the following year, reading thus: "While the energetic work of the board for meeting the growing demand for sound Lutheran literature in the English language among our people merits the highest commendation, the Synod would nevertheless underscore the fact that even though the demand for similar literature in Swedish is growing less, yet this demand cannot be overlooked for many years to come without putting weighty synodical interests in jeopardy."

A RETROSPECT

The chief aim of the Augustana Book Concern is, not to earn money for itself, for Augustana College, or for any other branch of church activity, but to propagate religious truth through the circulation of Lutheran literature for home and church devotion and for instruction in the parochial and Sunday schools. Although purely spiritual culture is the primary

object, intellectual and esthetic requirements have not been overlooked. The idea was early expressed by Hasselquist that the Synod should aim to circulate such literature as will "make for true culture and prove useful in the promotion of private and public welfare." In the past the Augustana Book Concern has sought to attain this object in a twofold way, first, by importing and offering for sale all the standard works in all branches of Swedish literature, besides the best current literature in its various branches; in the second place by encouraging Swedish-American endeavor through the publication of works by writers, musicians, and painters of Swedish extraction. After the language transition it now seeks to render all these services through the English medium while still continuing to supply Swedish books, chiefly publications by the Church of Sweden, by importation. Its production of Swedish books having almost ceased about 1918, except for juveniles and school texts, a review of the Book Concern's own production up to that time may here be taken.

The list of more than five hundred different books and pamphlets published comprises quite a number of original works by Swedish-American writers. In the field of poetry we find A. A. Swärd, Ludvig Holmes, Jacob Bonggren, C. A. Lönnquist, and John A. Enander. The collected works of Dr. Enander and Dr. Olof Olsson have been published, besides books of stories, essays, reminiscences, and travel, by Birger Sandzén, C. W. Foss, Johan Person, Ernst A. Zetterstrand, C. A. Hemborg, Wilhelm Berger, K. N. Rabenius, Carl W. Andeer, Anna Olsson, S. J. Kronberg, O. A. Linder, and others. Of historical and biographical works there is the compendious work in two volumes by Eric Norelius on the history of the Swedish Lutheran churches and of the Swedes of America. Other historical and biographical works are the two compilations of the history of the Augustana Synod published in Swedish and English at its fiftieth anniversary in 1910; the "Luther-Kalender" of 1883; a biography of T. N. Hasselquist by Norelius, and two little volumes of "Life Pictures" from the Church of Sweden and from the Augustana Synod, by Dr. Nils Forsander. A collection of translations, "Masterpieces from Swedish Literature," was published in two volumes, and an annual devoted to history, literature, and art entitled "Prärieblomman," in thirteen volumes. In recent years the

house sought to meet the demand for textbooks and annotated texts for the study of Swedish in the general schools by the publication of such books compiled, edited, and annotated by Edw. J. Vickner, A. Louis Elmquist, Joseph Alexis, A. A. Stomberg, Jules Mauritzson and Ernst W. Olson. The principal original works in music in a long list of musical publications are a number of compositions by Gustav Stolpe, a cantata for the fiftieth anniversary of the Synod with libretto by Ernst W. Olson and music by R. Lagerstrom, "Golgotha," an oratorio by J. Victor Bergquist, Christmas cantatas by Bergquist, with text by Alfred Bergin, and by Frank J. Johnson; Reformation cantata (Swedish and English), written by Ernst W. Olson and composed by J. Victor Bergquist for the Luther commemoration in 1917 by special commission from the Synod. (22, p. 187f.) To the list of composers whose work has been published by this house have more recently been added Gerhard T. Alexis, Carl S. Malmstrom, Adolf Hult, Hugo Bedinger, J. G. Lundholm, and Otto H. Bostrom.

After readjustments had been made to new conditions and demands partly created in the natural course of language transition and partly forced by abnormal circumstances, business took an upward swing, and for a time the concern enjoyed a measure of prosperity unequaled in former years. In 1924 it showed the largest net profit for any year, or \$15,760. The figure grew to \$17,977 the next year. But the year 1927 showed a net gain of no less than \$22,967, a result accounted for in part by large sales of the new editions of *The Hymnal and Order of Service* and in part by realization on Swedish books closed out.

Broken in health, after almost thirty-five years of uninterrupted service as general manager, Mr. A. G. Anderson was incapacitated, but resumed his duties after a few months. The recovery was only partial, and in January, 1926, he was granted a longer leave of absence. In July, 1926, he was elected Manager Emeritus, it being apparent that he could no longer shoulder the responsibility and the work connected with his position. He continued to engage in such work as his health would permit, since idleness would have been unbearable to a man of his stamp. He was generally found at his desk during the year following, his mature judgment and thorough knowledge of the details of the business being of signal value

to the new management. But his strength continued to decline, and he died July 9, 1927, at the age of sixty-nine. Born in Värmland, Sweden, Dec. 4, 1857, he was brought to America by his parents, who settled in Red Wing, Minn., in 1870. There he learned the printer's trade with Å. C. F. de Remeé, and came with him to Rock Island in 1874, his employer having obtained a contract to print *Augustana*. When De Remeé sold out, Anderson continued with his successors and became a member of the firm of Wistrand, Thulin and Anderson of Moline. Their business was absorbed by the private Augustana Book Concern in Rock Island, Anderson remaining in charge of its printing office. The new synodical publishing board made him general manager when that plant was taken over in 1889. Under the supervision of Mr. Anderson, the Augustana Book Concern attained to its present proportions and efficiency in the service of the Synod. He had to build from the ground up, according to Dr. L. G. Abrahamson, the only surviving member of the organizing board. "We recall," says he in his life sketch of Anderson, "that the members of that board were obliged to invest personally sums that to them were considerable under the circumstances, and besides they had to borrow to the limit of their credit in order to get the business started." He adds, and his estimate is doubtless just, that for the development of the synodical publishing house from its insignificant beginnings to its present dimensions credit went to A. G. Anderson in greater measure than to any other man.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

During the disability of A. G. Anderson, the veteran manager of the publishing house, Otto Leonardson was called in from the Minneapolis branch to serve as assistant manager ad interim, and took charge in February, 1926. In July he was elected manager and treasurer for one year. He declined the position, but agreed to serve for the time being, with J. G. Youngquist as his assistant. At its October meeting the following year, the Board of Directors, convinced of his eminent qualifications by actual test, elected Mr. Youngquist manager. He accepted the position and has served as head of the institution since Oct. 12, 1927.

With the beginning of that year, upon recommendation of

the new management, a cost system and interlocking system of accounting was installed. This made necessary, first a complete survey of the Book Concern by an efficiency engineer and cost expert, and then an appraisal of equipment and material.



J. G. YOUNGQUIST
General Manager 1927—

In 1928 the Synod took action by which the responsibility for the direction and supervision of the publishing work was divided between two boards. "Since the business of the Augustana Book Concern has increased to such an extent that it is impracticable for the Book Concern board to develop both the literary and the financial interests of the institution," it relieved that board of the duty of supervising the literary and editorial work and constituted the Board of Christian Education and Literature the literary board of the Augustana Synod. The two boards are functioning side by side, each under its own constitution, revised and finally sanctioned in 1933. Since 1927 the business board has been presided over by Dr. A. T. Lundholm, while the literary board is headed by Dr. G. A. Fahlund, who as Sunday School Secretary of the Synod at the

time was made chairman of the Board of Christian Education and Literature when it was constituted in 1924.

In the present crisis the Augustana Book Concern together with all lines of business has suffered a serious setback. In 1931, for the first time since the house was firmly established, its ledger showed a loss. This was not large, and after meas-



A. T. LUNDHOLM, D.D.
President of the Board 1927—

ures of retrenchment were taken, it has carried on the publishing business of the Synod unimpeded, though on a reduced scale.

PERSONNEL—PAST AND PRESENT

Normally the institution employs an average of one hundred persons. At the peak of production the number has reached one hundred and thirty. The average time of service is unusually long, many having been connected with the concern throughout the active part of their life. The careers of two of the makers of its history, Lindahl and Anderson, run through the larger part of this account. Others have equally honorable records for long and faithful service. C. A. Larson was fore-

man of its typographical force from 1886 till his death in 1934. Having had prior connection with the private printing concerns which preceded the synodical house since 1883, he had been employed in the same plant for a full half century. C. L. Ackerlind, foreman of the pressroom, was employed in this plant from 1886 until shortly before his death in 1931. G. A. Gustafson, engaged as typographer in 1889, has been employed by this house almost without interruption ever since, and succeeded to the foremanship of the composing rooms in 1934. Joshua Hasselquist, proprietor of the Globe Bindery sold to the Book Concern in 1896, was employed in its bookbindery for a long time, working in that department until shortly before his death in 1931. In the pressroom John Gilbert, now foreman, has been working since 1902. Rudolph Lindstrom, foreman of the bindery since 1916, began work in that department in 1898. D. W. Dahlsten, head of the bookstore, is completing his thirty-third year of service. Clarke L. Swanson, chief accountant and cashier, first employed in 1908, is serving his twenty-sixth year.

In 1924 the various mechanical departments were combined into one, the manufacturing department, and placed under one head. Its superintendent is Oscar G. Ericson, now in his tenth year of service. The position of assistant manager, mainly in charge of the circulation department, was created in 1907, when the business office was reorganized. The first incumbent was Grant Hultberg, who served twelve years, resigning in January, 1919. Two years later Rev. E. F. Bergren took the position and served for six years. His successor is Birger Swenson, who has had charge of the circulation department since 1927.

A number of men indirectly connected with the publishing house during past years have done yeoman service which cannot pass unnoticed. Dr. F. A. Johnsson, who succeeded Lindahl as president of the board in 1908, served in that capacity for sixteen years, with much of his predecessor's perspicacity and at one with his policy on the whole. Long and valuable service on the board was rendered by two laymen, Professors Claude W. Foss and Isaac M. Anderson. Besides acting as secretary during his long term of service, Dr. Anderson was engaged for editorial work on books and periodicals at various times. Dr. Foss is an accomplished translator, whose rendi-

tions of juvenile stories from Topelius were published in an extensive series. He edited *The Olive Leaf* for many years. Reference has been made to his book of travel, entitled "Glimpses of Two Continents," to his service on the hymnal commission, and to "Masterpieces from Swedish Literature," compiled and in part translated by him. A number of the ren-



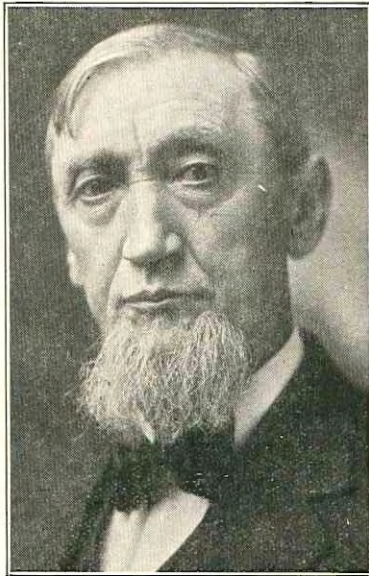
CLAUDE W. FOSS, Ph.D.
Editor, Author

derings of favorite Swedish hymns contained in "The Hymnal" are his work. Dr. Foss presided in the board from 1924 to 1927.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE

Up to 1908 all matters of book publication were handled directly by the general board on its own initiative or that of the manager and the executive committee. After repeated suggestions made in the reports from the board in that direction, the Synod in 1907 finally empowered it to engage a literary editor at the earliest time practicable. The following year a secretary of literature was chosen in the person of Dr. Carl J. Bengston, who had served as associate editor of *Augustana* under Lindahl for eight years. After two years of service in

his new capacity, he resigned, and was succeeded by Dr. O. V. Holmgrain, who had served as associate editor of periodicals and office editor of publications since 1900. He died in May, 1930, after almost thirty years in the service of this house. Dr. Carl Kraft, called as office editor in 1910, was made associate editor of *Augustana* the following year. Dr. Ernst W.



O. V. HOLMGRAIN, D.D.

Olson was engaged as assistant in 1911 and has served as office editor since 1912. Called as literary editor in 1925, Dr. Oscar N. Olson was for a short time (1925-1928) in the service of the Book Concern. To succeed Holmgrain, Rev. Daniel Nyström was called in 1930 and now occupies the position of secretary of literature.

In connection with the reorganization of the Sunday school system, elsewhere noted, the literary board has also systematized the periodicals serving the Sunday schools, establishing a series graded according to the age and mentality of their readers. Thus *Little Folks*, a leaflet for the youngest readers, was started six years ago. The next step up is *The Olive Leaf*, now in its fifty-second year. For readers in the upper classes there is *The Young People*, started eleven years ago as a

weekly and reaching a circulation of 35,000 in January, 1933. It drew somewhat from the field of *The Olive Leaf*, which had reached its highest circulation, 44,500, in December, 1922. *Barnens Tidning* was continued for readers of the same relative age until the close of the year 1932, when, after having been published for forty-seven years, it bade its readers farewell with the explanation that there was no field left for a juvenile paper in the Swedish language. Two years ago the weekly *Church School Teacher* was added to this series, and the *Bible Study Quarterly*, now in its fifteenth year, is serving the adult Bible classes of the Sunday school. In January, 1931, it attained to a circulation of 7,400.

The new constitutions place the two official church papers, *Augustana* and the *Companion*, under the joint control of the two boards instead of the direct jurisdiction of the Synod. When Dr. Bengston resigned the editorship of the *Companion* in 1933, he had more than twenty-eight years of service at the Book Concern to his credit. His retirement leaves Dr. Abrahamson, editor of *Augustana*, the sole surviving veteran in the editorial department of the publishing house. Dr. E. E. Ryden is now serving as acting editor of the *Companion*, while C. E. Nelson, in the service of the Book Concern since 1910, continues as assistant editor.

AFTER FIFTY YEARS

June 24, 1934, marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Augustana Book Concern as an incorporated printing house and June 19, the forty-fifth anniversary of the decision to establish a synodical publishing house for which it provided the physical plant. At its last convention the Synod suggested that due attention be given to this anniversary. As a part of the observance, the present review of the history of the Augustana Book Concern is being published. A summary of the tangible results achieved by the synodical publication house during its forty-five years of fruitful activity may well conclude this account.

Its chief function, namely, to maintain a publishing house, a book and supply store for the Augustana Synod, and to publish and sell books, periodicals, and papers of Christian, moral, literary, and scientific tenor, the Augustana Book Concern has exercised to the full extent of its facilities and resources. In

addition, it has produced substantial revenues, which have been appropriated to various branches of the work of the Church. Augustana College is the principal beneficiary of the institution. Up to January 1, 1934, no less than \$43,000 in donations had gone to the synodical school. To this should be added \$65,183 earned by the Book Concern on publications controlled by the college board and paid over to them in the



AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN
Building Unit Completed in 1912

form of royalties, payments to Augustana College and Theological Seminary thus totaling \$108,183. A subscription of \$10,000 to its endowment fund was made a few years ago, payments on which are included in the total stated. Into the Augustana Pension and Aid Fund a total of \$23,000 has been paid during a term of years. Appropriations for other synodical activities have aggregated \$14,013 in sundry amounts. Direct contributions for all synodical purposes so far make a grand total of \$145,196. This added to the present net worth, \$308,939, represents a concrete gain for the Synod through its publishing house exceeding \$450,000. The production and distribution of sound Christian literature and other books serviceable to the Synod during the past half century represent spiritual values beyond computation.

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Christina Nilsson's Visit to Brockton, Mass., in November, 1870

Pages from the Early History of the Oldest Swedish
Lutheran Church in New England

BY EVALD B. LAWSON

Bradford Kingman in his "History of North Bridgewater, Plymouth County, Massachusetts,"¹ published in 1866, gives an interesting description of the four sections of that old township, which at a later date were to be consolidated to form the present city of Brockton. The second of these, "a neat and pleasantly located village," was called Campello. Earlier it had been known as "Plain Village," but with the establishment of the Post Office in 1850 the name Campello, proposed by the Rev. Mr. Daniel Huntington, who at that time was serving the lone church of the village, was adopted. Kingman states that it was "unanimously adopted by the people as a proper one,—it signifying a "a small plain," and he adds the following by way of description: "It has always been noted for its extensive manufacturing establishments . . . and the thrift and industry of her citizens may be clearly seen in the neat and tidy appearance of the small cottages through the limits of the same. . . . There are three schools in the place and one church (Orthodox Congregational, now South Congregational)."²

Within a very few years after Kingman wrote his chronicle the spire of another church was to be seen along the Main Street of the village. The Bethesda Lutheran Church³ (now First Lutheran Church), the oldest religious institution of Swedish origin in the New England states and therefore the "mother church" of the New England Conference of the Augustana Synod, began the erection of its temple of worship in 1870.

It is of more than passing interest to note that Norelius lists Brockton as the destination of the first "group immigration" (utvandringshoparna) since the days of the well-known Delaware colonization.⁴ This took place in 1844 when Daniel F.

Lawson (Larson) settled there.⁵ He remained for seven years, working as a shoemaker, returned to Sweden in 1851, and upon returning to the States was accompanied by sixty persons. Some of them journeyed to other regions, but many remained with Lawson to form the nucleus of the Swedish colony of Brockton.⁶

The Methodist minister O. G. Hedström was the first to conduct a Swedish religious service in North Bridgewater, journeying there from New York in the autumn of 1853,⁷ and preaching in the kitchen of the home of the late Mrs. Andrew M. Johnson, who lived at the corner of Main and Grove Streets.⁸ One A. V. Holmgren, who seems to have been a rather questionable character (Norelius calls him "den bekante äventyraren"),⁹ is said to have made visits to Brockton in 1856,¹⁰ having previously attempted some form of church organization in Boston. At Drake's Hall, also called the Old Tavern, a service was held some time during the year 1865¹¹ with J. G[ustav] Pehrsson in charge. Pehrsson labored several years in trying to gather the Swedish Lutheran people in New York, but without much success.¹²

The Augustana Synod, meeting in Princeton, Illinois, in June, 1865, heard the report of the Home Missions Committee voicing sorrow over the state of affairs in the metropolis, and also recommending to the Synod that the Rev. A. Andreen be called to be missionary in New York during such a period as the Synod may decide.¹³ In his day-book Andreen tells his own story of his work in New York.¹⁴ But Andreen's labors were not confined to New York. Hasselquist reported concerning Home Missions when the Augustana Synod met at Swedona, Illinois, in June, 1867, that the most important work had been that in connection with the Gustavus Adolphus Church in New York. But he also added: "One fruit of the mission in New York is the visit by the pastor [Rev. Andreen] made to Campello, Massachusetts, to gather our countrymen into a congregation. We already have its request to be a member of our Synod. Other congregations in the East follow their example."¹⁵

The excerpt from Andreen's day-book¹⁶ telling of his visit to Brockton is as follows:

August 22.—Visited N. Bridgewater, where I safely arrived on Aug. 23; all went well on the journey.

August 24.—Visited families in North Bridgewater; services in the evening, text: chapter 1 and 2 of the prophet Jonah.¹⁷

August 26, Sunday.—The 13th Sunday after Trinity. Communion¹⁸ at the forenoon services, and a sermon in the afternoon. Lord, let Thy Spirit make the word bear fruit!

August 27.—In the evening we again assembled to hear the Word of God. May it not be proclaimed in vain.

August 28.—Traveled from North Bridgewater to Boston and looked up some of our countrymen. A. F. Jacobson, No. 39 Elliot St., Boston, took me around in his carriage.¹⁹

A further entry is made on September 13, to the effect that Andreen had "ordered Wallin's 'Postilla' from Chicago for C. P. Bolin in Campello."

But it took time before a regular pastor was stationed on the field at old North Bridgewater. In a letter²⁰ which certainly throbs with the pioneer spirit, reflecting the difficulties in the work and also the happy successes, Dr. T. N. Hasselquist under date of January 10, 1867, wrote to the Evangeliska Fosterlandstiftelsen in Stockholm asking its coöperation in behalf of the church endeavors in the land of the West. And what home mission reports this and other letters of the period give us! It was the dawn of the work on our eastern fields. New York, the great gateway through which most of the immigrants entered the New World, was considered the most strategic point. Hasselquist wrote: "New York is the center of our activity in the East. If the Lord would fight through the battle for us there, then it would be half won in other places also." But this is not all. "They are crying to us from Massachusetts, both from Boston and another city in the same state; but thus far we have been able to do nothing for them."²¹ It is certain that "another city" refers to North Bridgewater, for the growth of the Swedish colony there was contemporaneous with that in the capital of the old Bay State.²²

A congregation was finally formed at North Bridgewater. The constitution of the new congregation, signed by F. Blomstrand, chairman, and J. C. Lagergren, secretary, was accepted on April 30, 1867,²³ and incorporation followed March 15, 1870.²⁴ The Rev. C. O. Hultgren, who gave long and distinguished service as pastor of the First Lutheran Church of

Jamestown, New York, visited Campello some time before the synodical meeting held at Moline, Illinois, in 1869.²⁵ The report of President Hasselquist at the same convention contained the following: "Among other congregations, which deserve mention and which should be remembered, is the little group in Campello, Mass. Year after year they have knocked at our door and asked for help, but to date they have received none. If there is any possibility of so doing, someone should be sent to the dear brethren, and also for the added reason that thousands of our countrymen living in near-by Boston are without a spiritual home."²⁶ Action followed. The ministerium of the Synod decided that the Rev. Henry Oliver Lindeblad, who that year had been ordained to the ministry, should be stationed at Campello, and the call was issued by the Rev. Jonas Swensson.²⁷

Lindeblad had arrived in America in 1866²⁸ carrying with him a letter of recommendation²⁹ from Peter Wieselgren, Dean of the Cathedral of Gothenburg. The letter, dated January 18, 1866, was addressed to Dr. Erland Carlsson. In it Wieselgren states that his acquaintance with Lindeblad was very limited since he had met him only a few days before he was ready to sail. But he did not hesitate to recommend him to the leaders of the Augustana Synod for Lindeblad "has had a *venia* signed by Bishop Björck, who does not hand out such promiscuously, and he has himself declared that it is the zeal to work for evangelization among the diaspora in North America which has led him to this decision. . . . I take it for granted that, since Bishop Björck has given him a *venia*, he preaches in true orthodox fashion."³⁰ And Wieselgren adds the following: "May now the Lord completely win this youth, and there is certainly not lacking among you places and opportunities for him to serve, since you must be ready to receive such large masses which every month leave our harbor with their eyes turned toward North America."

The young church failed to gain much notice during the earliest years. Neither pastor nor congregation received mention in the Directory of North Bridgewater, 1869-1870,³¹ though it may be unfair to expect such mention inasmuch as the church was not built and the pastor had but recently come to the field. A search of the columns of the North Bridgewater *Gazette* reveals that the work of the congregation was in ob-

scurity as far as the general public was concerned, for no word is found concerning organization, incorporation, or corner-stone laying. It had been a brave step by the Brockton Swedes to pass a motion at a meeting of the church society in January, the first day of the year 1870, to build a church, and to name a committee of seven to be in charge.³² The problem of finances—at all times a major one to immigrant groups—was the chief concern. A happy thought possessed the pastor, the Rev. Mr. Lindeblad. Mlle. Christina Nilsson, the world-famous Swedish soprano and one of the greatest singers of all time, was just then touring the United States. Why not secure her for a benefit concert? Were the dreamt-of concert a success, a splendid sum would be guaranteed the building fund, and it would further mean certain recognition from the ranks of the older and more established citizenry. The fact that the dream came true meant that a most important milestone in the history of the congregation was reached.

Lindeblad's dream received the sanction of the congregation in a very official manner. A motion was passed, at a special congregational meeting called for the purpose, that a petition be sent to Mlle. Nilsson urging her assistance, and the pastor together with Mr. J. C. Lagergren were named the committee to wait upon the far-famed cantatrice with the same.³³ The resolution, translated, is as follows: "Inasmuch as we have been led to see the great and absolute necessity of having a Lutheran Church even on this side of the ocean where we might be established in our most holy faith, and having decided upon, begun and continued with the erection of a church, and whereas this is the first Swedish Church in New England, and whereas we in our straitened circumstances have done our very best to get said church built, but that notwithstanding we find ourselves in difficulties and in deep concern for its completion, and whereas we from many directions and especially from our American brethren have received promptings to turn to the most noble and honored Mlle. Christina Nilsson, and whereas we have seen accounts in nearly all the newspapers of New England, therefore be it resolved, having heard that the world-renowned and especially by us Swedes so beloved Mlle. Christina Nilsson is to make a visit to Boston, that we humbly and respectfully turn to Mlle. Christina Nilsson, humbly requesting that, if possible during her stay in Boston,



CHRISTINA NILSSON

she pay a visit here some evening to sing, allowing a portion of the proceeds to be used for our church building project."

Christina Nilsson made her first tour in America when she was at the very height of her powers.³⁴ The continent had acclaimed her, and London critics had stated that she occupied "the highest pinnacle of her reputation" and that "a wider or more solid popularity can scarcely be attained."³⁵ Superlatives were indeed taxed by newspaper correspondents who reviewed her first American concert³⁶ held at the old Steinway Hall in New York City, September 19, 1870. The *Evening Mail* paid particular attention to her charming appearance;³⁷ the *Herald* named the event an "unexampled triumph" in an impressive headline, and continued to say that Steinway Hall had never presented such a brilliant and inspiring sight. Nilsson's singing, it was said—in language a bit too poetic to belong to our country—"added fresh lustre to her fame and a new chaplet of laurels to her genius."³⁸ In her troupe were also Mlle. Cary, contralto, Signor Brignoli, tenor, Signor Verger, baritone, and Monsieur Vieuxtemps, violinist. Signor Bosoni served as the accompanist. The well-known Max Strakosch was the impresario.

In the old and cultured city of Boston Christina Nilsson scored some of her greatest triumphs. Such an ovation as given her at her first concert had been accorded no singer since Jenny Lind.³⁹ It is a real delight to read the reviews⁴⁰ of her Boston appearances, made more numerous because Boston was not content to have her only for four evening concerts and one matinee as originally planned.⁴¹

It was when Christina Nilsson was visiting Boston that the young pastor of the Swedish Lutheran congregation at North Bridgewater ventured to place before her the request of his congregation. Just how the pastor secured a personal interview with the distinguished singer is not known. But an audience was granted. Could she and would she consent to arrange for this church benefit concert?⁴² She would—but she couldn't—for she was bound by contract⁴³ (and Max Strakosch had twentieth-century ability in the managerial profession). This answer meant that Lindeblad had to seek an interview with Strakosch. Lindeblad impressed upon him the publicity value that would result when it was learned that Christina Nilsson

had donated her services for such a worthy project. It would mean ticket sales in the middle west. The manager was won over. And willingness to appear on the program of this "kyrkofest" was not limited to Christina Nilsson alone; Miss Cary, Brignoli, Verger, Vieuxtemps, and Bosoni showed the same kindness, "each imitating the generous example of the fair nightingale of Sweden."⁴⁴

But there was the added problem of transportation. To be sure the Old Colony Railroad covered this section—but there were no trains on Sundays! And Sunday, November 13, was the day set for the concert. The traffic manager, however, promised to run an extra train at a cost of \$75. Perhaps with others he believed that it was all a hoax that Christina Nilsson was to appear in concert in the shoe-town. It may be added parenthetically that when, on the day following the concert, Lindeblad went to Boston to pay for the special train he was pleasantly surprised to find that the manager considered the whole affair such good advertising for the road that no charges were made.⁴⁵

Three weeks before the time of the concert the North Bridgewater *Gazette* announced, "It is reported that Mlle. Nilsson, the distinguished Swedish cantatrice, whose visit to this country is creating so much of a sensation in New York and other large cities, will give one of her concerts in this town in aid of the Lutheran church enterprise in which her countrymen are engaging."⁴⁶ The same journal, on the Thursday before the concert, carried a longer story, stating proudly that "for once our town may felicitate itself on the exquisite pleasure of sharing in a musical feast with the prominent cities of the land." For "it is usually reserved for our larger cities alone to enjoy whatever is rare in genius or art." That North Bridgewater of the seventies was pretty much under the reign of the Puritanical spirit is attested both by the bald statement in the advertisement that "No tickets will be sold on Sunday" and by the following sentences in the advance write-up: "Many of our readers will share with us in the regret that she could not appear on some other day than the Sabbath. The nature of her engagements, however, renders it impossible for her to do this, and as her selections will be entirely of sacred music, and the concert wholly in aid of a religious enterprise in which her countrymen are deeply interested, it is

GRAND
SACRED CONCERT I

In Aid of the Swedish Lutheran Church,

— AT THE —

Church of the Disciples (Universalist,) North Bridgewater,

ON SUNDAY-EVENING, NOV. 13, 1870,

BY M'LE.

CHRISTINA NILSSON,

— ACCOMPANIED BY —

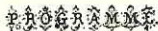
M'LE. CARY, the eminent Contralto.

SIGNOR BRIGNOLI, the favorite Tenor.

SIGNOR VERGER, the distinguished Baritone.

MONS. VIEUXTEMPS, the world renowned Violinist.

SIGNOR BOSONI, Pianist.



- 1.—TRIO. "Messe Solennelle." - - - - - *Rossini*
MISS CARY, SIGNOR BRIGNOLI AND SIGNOR VERGER.
- 2.—AVE MARIE. - - - - - *Gounod.*
M'LE. NILSSON.
With Violin obligato, by MONS. VIEUXTEMPS.
- 3.—ROMANCE. - - - - - *Donizetti.*
SIGNOR BRIGNOLI.
- 4.—ARIA. "Ah, non fide." - - - - - *Meyerbeer.*
MISS CARY.
- 5.—REVERIE. Violin. - - - - - *Vieuxtemps.*
MONS. VIEUXTEMPS.
- 6.—CANTIQUE. "Le Lambeau." - - - - - *Faure.*
SIGNOR VERGER.
- 7.—SWEDISH MELODIES.
M'LE. NILSSON.

Doors open at 6 o'clock.

Concert to commence at 6 o'clock.

Gazette Steam Job Printing Establishment, North Bridgewater.

FACSIMILE OF PROGRAM RENDERED BY CHRISTINA NILSSON IN AID OF
THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH AT NORTH BRIDGEWATER,
NOW BROCKTON, MASS., NOVEMBER 13, 1870

believed that our community will not only acquiesce in the decision made, but award it their hearty approval."⁴⁷ In fact it seems that the writers were so preoccupied with their legalism that they forgot to state in which church the concert was to be held; the program and ticket tell us that it took place in the Church of the Disciples (Universalist), then on East Elm Street.

The prices of the tickets were \$2.00 and \$2.50, which certainly can be considered no small sums for those days. But these prices did not seem to deter people from attending. More than \$1700 had been taken in for tickets at Bizby's Drug Store, the place of sale, on one day alone.⁴⁸ The whole city seemed to hail the coming event with "satisfaction and enthusiasm."⁴⁹ Mr. Horace A. Keith, in giving his reminiscences of the event at a much later date, recalls that the concert was "looked upon as an important event in the history of Brockton."⁵⁰ There is even a record of a young couple, married on the day of Christina Nilsson's visit, electing to attend the concert in place of taking a wedding trip.⁵¹

The concert troupe was given an enthusiastic reception upon arrival at North Bridgewater, "the natives vieing with her countrymen and women in their show of eager interest, despite the mistake made by a portion of the waiting crowd in selecting Miss Cary for the object of their admiration, as she walked to her carriage."⁵² Horace Keith recalls that there was a reception tendered Christina Nilsson at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Ford, North Main Street, at which an opportunity was given to many of the citizens of Brockton to meet her.⁵³

In commenting on the setting of the concert, the North Bridgewater *Gazette* had the following to say: "The scene on Sunday evening was one not often witnessed in our town. Not only was every seat in the spacious church filled, both floor and galleries, but a large number of chairs were brought in to accommodate the multitude. The entrance of the distinguished cantatrice was the signal for a grand ovation for which she returned her smiling acknowledgments, entirely captivating the audience with her modest yet winsome manners. She was accompanied by her manager, and the members of her troupe, together with a number of prominent Swedes from the city,

all of whom came in for a share of the greeting so cordially extended by the audience."⁵⁴

The facsimile copy of the program⁵⁵ gives the story of the musical fare for the day. Christina Nilsson was of course the star. Her rendering of "Ave Maria" was "most effective, and fully attested the wonderful powers of the great vocalist."⁵⁶ " 'Home, Sweet Home,' . . . the familiar and pathetic song," was the encore.⁵⁷ The other artists also seem to have been exceedingly well received—except Vieuxtemps, when he offered an encore following the playing of his own "Reverie," in response to loud calls. His choice did not greatly impress the audience. He rendered his version of "Yankee Doodle" with variations. The day was Sunday and the more staid among the North Brigewater people were not a little shocked.⁵⁸ Perhaps the incident only served to strengthen the belief in the minds of some that Old Nick himself had his official abode in the fiddle! Well, perhaps it was too sprightly a tune for the aging French virtuoso to offer on his final concert tour in America. After "Swedish Melodies" Christina Nilsson rendered as an encore "Old Folks at Home," during which her emotion seemed to threaten a breakdown, home thoughts and affections overcoming her.⁵⁹

In the typical way of things which has always, seemingly, characterized the church festivals in the Augustana Synod, an informal gathering was held in the church vestry, where the congregation united in a song of praise in their native tongue, and she joined with the rest with great feeling. The Rev. Mr. Lindeblad voiced (in Swedish) the gratitude of the people, and Christina made a brief but tender response. The return trip to Boston—exactly twenty miles—was made in something more than that number of minutes.⁶⁰ That was great for the early days of railroading.

The following week a brief announcement was made in the columns of the village journal concerning the financial returns from the concert. The gross receipts were \$2,169, which meant that more than \$2,000 were turned over to the treasurer of the church after all the bills had been paid,⁶¹ and this amount surely went far toward financing the erection of the new church.⁶²

The concert at Brockton was by no means the only one given by Christina Nilsson and her troupe for benevolent pur-

poses. The great pioneer pastor in Chicago, Dr. Erland Carlsson, upon learning that Christina Nilsson was expected to visit Chicago, dispatched a letter to Peter Wieselgren at Gothenburg, asking him for a letter of introduction that he might interview the prima donna and solicit her aid in behalf of the newly-erected Immanuel Church.⁶³ His plans did not ripen, however, and he even encountered opposition from the pietists ("smålandsläsare") of his own parish, who deemed the pro-



THE BIRTHPLACE OF CHRISTINA NILSSON AT VEDERSLÖF, IN THE PROVINCE OF SMÅLAND, SWEDEN

posed event a yielding to the spirit of worldliness.⁶⁴ There seem to have been no such voices raised in Brockton. The "national festival" finally arranged in Chicago in her honor for the twenty-second of December must have presented its curious sides, and it has come in for a good share of comment. The following summer the great artist returned to Chicago to give two concerts in the proceeds of which all the Swedish churches in the city, "universitetet i Paxton" (Augustana College and Theological Seminary, then located at Paxton, Illinois), and the Svea Society (which declined its portion) were to have a share.⁶⁵

The Swedish Lutheran Church at Sycamore, Illinois, entertained the renowned singer on Christmas Day, 1870. The desire to hear Christina Nilsson in this community was strengthened by the fact that she had relatives living there, as well as others who remembered "Stina i Snugge" from the time she

traveled around in Småland singing at country fairs. Two concerts were given the same day, the first in the Methodist Church of the village, with an admission price of two dollars, and the second, at Wilkins Hall, for the "ordinary folk," when one dollar admission was charged. A substantial sum was realized for the new church, and the Swedes there were so well pleased that they even considered giving the edifice the name Christina Church.⁶⁶

The people of the First Lutheran Church in Brockton have not forgotten the kind visit of their famous countrywoman, fulfilling the prophecy in the *Boston Post* at the time of the concert that this splendid contribution of genius to charity "will be remembered when even some of Christina Nilsson's greatest merely artistic achievements fade from memory." The cathedral-like structure, the spiritual home of the oldest Swedish religious organization in New England, stands at Main and *Nilsson* Street (and care has been taken to spell the name of the street with two *s*'s.) At all the major anniversaries of the congregation the visit of Christina has been recalled, and at the latest one, the sixty-fifth, celebrated in 1832, a concert was given featuring much the same program as that presented November 13, 1870.

Nor has the city of Brockton forgotten this distinguished visit in its early days. On the occasion of the centennial of the city the "Visit of Christina Nilsson" was depicted in a great open-air pageant in an episode in charge of the Lutheran Male Chorus of the First Lutheran Church.⁶⁷ Mr. Emil Lagergren was the director.⁶⁸

Fru Sophie Bergfors of Lund, Sweden, preserved an enormous number of clippings and notices pertaining to Christina Nilsson, which formed the basis for the biography by Beyron Carlsson (1922), personally examined by Christina Nilsson a short time before she passed away. The present account constitutes an added paragraph in honor of the Swedish nightingale, who together with Jenny Lind and Fredrika Bremer, made the name of their native land favorably known in the America of long ago.

NOTES

¹ Bradford Kingman, *History of North Bridgewater, Plymouth County, Massachusetts*, Published by the Author, Boston, 1866, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

³ At first the congregation went merely under the name of the Swedish Lutheran Church. Bethesda, I am informed, was added later.

⁴ Norelius, *De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnas Historia i Amerika*, Rock Island, Ill., 1890, pp. 26-27. The destination of this group of immigrants was not Brockton, only Larson.

⁵ The date is given as 1844 by Norelius, but as 1843 in an article published in the *Brockton Daily Enterprise*, April 18, 1933. I am inclined to favor the former date. See also address by Rev. Dr. S. G. Youngert given at First Lutheran Church on the occasion of the sixty-fifth anniversary, published in the *Brockton Enterprise*, May 2, 1932.

⁶ Norelius, op. cit., p. 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 772.

⁸ *Brockton Enterprise*, April 18, 1933.

⁹ Norelius, op. cit., p. 772.

¹⁰ A. V. Holmgren to T. N. Hasselquist, July 24, 1871, and K. W. Almquist to T. N. Hasselquist, August 13, 1872, letters published by Gunnar Westin, *Emigranterna och Kyrkan*, Stockholm, 1932, pp. 307-308 and 339-341, giving a sidelight on the character of Holmgren. Also, Minutes of the Augustana Synod, 1876, pp. 17-21.

¹¹ *Herderösten* (published by First Lutheran Church, Brockton, Mass.), April 30, 1927, p. 6.

¹² Norelius, op. cit., p. 770. See also letter, T. N. Hasselquist to Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, February 17, 1866, Westin, op. cit., pp. 128-130.

¹³ *Minutes*, 1865, p. 10.

¹⁴ I am indebted to Rev. Dr. Gustav A. Andreen for sending me excerpts from the daybook of his father, Rev. A. Andreen, also notations from his "Prästerliga Förrättningar" and his "Text-bok," in addition to copies of his letters in which North Bridgewater is mentioned. See, also, Gustav Andreen, "The Early Missionary Work of the Augustana Synod in New York City, 1865-1866," in *Augustana Historical Society Publications* (Number 2), Rock Island, Ill., 1932, pp. 1-26.

¹⁵ *Minutes*, 1867, p. 16. The congregation was admitted to the Augustana Synod at this meeting; *Minutes*, 1867, p. 11.

¹⁶ Also letters, Andreen to Mrs. Andreen, New York, N. Y., August 16, 1866; Andreen to Jonas Swensson, New York, August 20, 1866; Andreen to Mrs. Andreen, August 31, 1866. Also, *Prästerliga Förrättningar*, p. 78.

¹⁷ References to the sermons preached at North Bridgewater are all given in *Andreen's Text-Bok*.

¹⁸ It is exceedingly probable that the communion service at which Andreen officiated was the very first to take place in the Swedish colony. His text was Exodus 12. 48, with Colossians 2. 11 as "Ingång." The theme as given by Andreen was "Hvilka böra icke—och hvilka få gå till d. Hel. Nattvarden?" The first communion record preserved in the Archives of the First Lutheran Church is of September 5, 1869; *Herderösten*, April 30, 1927, p. 6.

¹⁹ *Andreen, Dagbok*, pp. 39-41. Also, Gustav Andreen op. cit., pp. 19-20.

²⁰ Westin, op. cit., pp. 140-143.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²² The Emanuel Lutheran Church of Boston was organized in 1874.

²³ First Lutheran Church Archives.

²⁴ First Lutheran Church Archives. A "Notice for Incorporation" is reproduced in *Herderösten*, April 30, 1927, p. 11.

²⁵ Address by Rev. H. O. Lindeblad given at the thirty-fifth anniversary, MS in Archives; excerpts published in *Herderösten*, April 30, 1927, pp. 6-9.

²⁶ *Minutes*, 1869, p. 9.

²⁷ The decision of the Ministerium was that Rev. P. Ericson and H. O. Lindeblad should visit Campello and stay there at least three months. The historical address by H. O. Lindeblad refers to this temporary arrangement but mentions nothing about Rev. P. Ericson. The latter had been ordained in 1866 and stationed at Chicago as an assistant. Rev. Jonas Swensson, who according to Lindeblad issued the call, was at that time serving as the secretary of the Synod. At the close of the three-months period Lindeblad, whose real call was to Oxbow, Illinois (*Minutes*, 1869, p. 43), took farewell of his congregation, and made his way to Chicago, where an extra meeting of the Ministerium was to take place November 6 and 7. Lindeblad's address tells us that at this meeting a decision was passed that he should return to Campello, though no record of such a move is found in the proceedings (published in *Minutes*, 1870, pp. 48-49.) He returned to Campello to remain a short while longer until he was called to Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania.

²⁸ *Korsbaneret*, Rock Island, Ill., 1914, pp. 129-138.

²⁹ Westin, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

³⁰ The expression used is the classic Lutheran phrase "rent och klart."

³¹ *Directory of North Bridgewater for 1869 and 1870*, Symonds, Chase & Co., Boston.

³² Minutes of meeting held January 1, 1870, in Protokäll Bok för Sv. Evang. Luth. Församlingen i Campello, 1868-1886. Also, historical account printed in the *Brockton Enterprise*, April 30, 1902, on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the church.

³³ Protokäll Bok, pp. 26-28. The resolution in the original is as follows: "Då wi, efter att hafva insett det stora och absolut nödvändiga behovet av att äfven på denna sidan Oceanen få oss en Luthersk kyrka hvest vi kunna uppbygga oss på vår aldra heligaste trosgrund, hafva beslutadt begynt och förtgått med uppbyggandet af en kyrka och då detta är den första Svenska kyrkan i New England och då wi nu alla i våra små omständigheter gjort wårt aldra bästa för att få samma kyrka uppbyggt, men det oaktat äro i särdeles svåra omständigheter och bekymmer för dess fullbordande, och wi från flera håll och i all synnerhet för dess fullbordande, och wi från flera håll och i all synnerhet från våra Amerikanska medbröder fått uppmaningar att hänvända oss till Högädele och Högaktade Mlle Christina Nilsson, och då wi tillika sett detsamma i nästan alla New Englands tidningar, derföre beslutadt, att alldenstund wi hört att den werldsberömda och i all synnerhet för oss Svenskar så kära och dyra Mlle Nilsson kommer att besöka Boston att wi ödmjukligen och med största högaktning wända oss till Mlle, Christina Nilsson med en underdånig begäran att om möjligt under vistandet i Boston göra ett besök hit och sjunga en afton och låta en del af behållningen tillfalla vår kyrkobyggnad." It was further resolved that a copy of these resolutions, signed by the secretary, the chairman, and the deacons, should be sent to Mlle. Nilsson. The date of the meeting was October 26, 1870.

³⁴ A second tour was made in 1873-1874, and a third in 1883-1884.

³⁵ *Memoir of Mlle. Christina Nilsson*, Swift & Co., London (no date; presumably 1869.)

³⁶ Thirteen years later, October 22, 1883, Nilsson was to sing the role of Marguerite in Gounod's "Faust" at the opening of the Metropolitan Opera Company.

³⁷ *Evening Mail*, New York, September 20, 1870.

³⁸ *New York Herald*, September 20, 1870.

³⁹ *Morning Post*, Boston, November 5, 1870.

⁴⁰ E. g., *Boston Post*, November 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 1870, and others. Also, *Boston Transcript*, same issues.

⁴¹ *Boston Post*, November 5, 1870.

⁴² I am indebted to the Rev. J. Alfred Anderson for the details at this point. Dr. Anderson was serving as pastor of the Brockton parish at the time when the thirty-fifth anniversary was observed, and on that occasion conversed with Rev. Lindeblad, the guest at the anniversary, on the subject of Christina Nilsson's visit.

⁴³ This, I judge, is nearer the truth than that she "volunteered with alacrity to give her services" (*Boston Post*, November 14, 1870).

⁴⁴ *Boston Post*, November 14, 1870.

⁴⁵ Notes from Dr. Anderson.

⁴⁶ *North Bridgewater Gazette*, October 20, 1870.

⁴⁷ *North Bridgewater Gazette*, November 10, 1870.

⁴⁸ *North Bridgewater Gazette*, November 17, 1870.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Horace A. Keith, "Christina Nilsson in Brockton," brief paragraphs in *Herderösten*, April 30, 1927, pp. 17-18.

⁵¹ Letter (April 30, 1917) from David W. Battles to Rev. Dr. Julius Hulteen, in First Lutheran Church Archives. With this letter, Dr. Hulteen, who was serving the congregation at the time of the fiftieth anniversary, 1917, received a copy of the ticket used at the concert.

⁵² *Transcript*, Boston, November 14, 1870.

⁵³ Horace A. Keith, op. cit.

⁵⁴ *North Bridgewater Gazette*, November 17, 1870.

⁵⁵ Original in First Lutheran Church Archives.

⁵⁶ *North Bridgewater Gazette*, November 17, 1870.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ An article in the *Brockton Enterprise*, June 6, 1921, called forth by "one of Brockton's older residents," noting the episode to depict "The Visit of Mlle. Christina Nilsson" in the centennial pageant of the city.—It is of passing interest to note here that Vieuxtemps at his concert in Sycamore, Illinois, on Christmas Day, mentioned at the close of this article, played "Saint Patrick's Day" as an encore (*Svenska Amerikanaren*, December 27, 1870). I have been told by Mr. Emil Lagergren (see footnote 63) that Vieuxtemps rendered "Yankee Doodle" thinking it was the American National Anthem.

⁵⁰ *North Bridgewater Gazette*, November 14, 1870; *Brockton Enterprise*, June 6, 1921.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Also, *Transcript*, Boston, November 14, 1870, and Horace A. Keith, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ *North Bridgewater Gazette*, November 24, 1870.

⁶² At the meeting of the Augustana Synod held at Chisago Lake, Minnesota, in 1871, the president, Dr. Jonas Swensson, reported that the new church edifice in Campello had been dedicated in February of that year by Rev. C. O. Hultgren. *Minutes*, 1871, p. 5.

⁶³ Carlsson to Wieselgren, Chicago, Ill., October 31, 1870; Westin, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-285.

⁶⁴ Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1932, pp. 204-205.

⁶⁵ For the "national festival" episode in Chicago see article: "Då Christina Nilsson Kom till Chicago," by Joh. A. Enander in *Prärieblomman*, 1900, pp. 50-61; Stephenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205; Stephenson, "The Stormy Years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago Before the Great Fire," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Publication No. 36, pp. 10-11; *Gamla och Nya Hemlandet*, December 13, 20, 27; *Svenska Amerikanaren*, December 6, 20, 27; Ernst W. Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, I, pp. 891-892. For the concerts in the summer of 1871 see above-mentioned references in Stephenson and Olson; also *Svenska Amerikanaren*, May 23, 1871, and Beyron Carlsson, *Kristina Nilsson*, pp. 165-166. I am indebted to the librarian of the Denkmann Memorial Library at Augustana College for assistance in collecting the references in the Swedish-American periodicals.

⁶⁶ For notes on the Sycamore concert see *Svenska Amerikanaren*, December 27, 1870, and Olson, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-353.

⁶⁷ Warren P. Landers, *Brockton and Its Centennial*, pp. 146-148. Also *Brockton Times* and *Brockton Enterprise*, June 16, 1921.

⁶⁸ Mr. Emil Lagergren, son of the J. C. Lagergren mentioned earlier in this paper, though a mere lad at the time, was present at the concert and in an interview (August 30, 1933) he gave me the story of the event as he remembered it. He has lectured at First Lutheran Church, Brockton, on the Christina Nilsson visit, and it was at his suggestion that the episode was enacted at the centennial pageant in 1921. Mr. Lagergren has one of the finest private collections of concert programs to be found in the New England states.

