

REDISCOVERING A SWEDISH ETHNIC PAST: THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND BAILLYTOWN, INDIANA*

DAVID MCMAHON

The Carlsons, Samuelsons, Johnsons and Petersons, whose names abound in atlases and platbooks from 1876 to the 1970s, are of Swedish descent. The area around the Bailly homestead became a busy Scandinavian agricultural settlement.

Sarah Gibbard and Robert S. Jackson, 1978

Baillytown: An Overview

Around 1850 Swedes began to settle parts of Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana, near the sand dunes along the shores of Lake Michigan. This rural settlement was known to Swedish-Americans as Baillytown; it became the nucleus of an expanding ethnic community that later included the Swedish immigrants who settled in Chesterton and Porter, Indiana.¹ The Swedes established denominational churches and societies that maintained their ethnicity well into the 1920s. They expressed love for their homeland at picnics and celebrations that mixed Swedish and American themes. Swedes, furthermore, contributed to the social and economic history of the area as farmers, railroad workers, common laborers, and prominent citizens.

At its founding, Baillytown was intimately linked with the development of nearby Chicago, where the largest Swedish-American community in the nation developed. Baillytown did not have ethnic institutions as highly developed as "Swede Town" in Chicago, but its proximity to that metropolis kept it connected to Swedish-American cultural life, especially as existed around the turn of the century.² Baillytown's close association with the Augustana Synod enabled it to maintain its Swedishness and resist overt Americanization. Baillytown's first church was founded by early organizers of the synod from Chicago, and it was the birthplace of Gustav Albert

Andreen, later president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary at Rock Island, Illinois.³

In the 1960s and 1970s, Baillytown was once again active as an ethnic community after years of seeming quiescence, as former residents began to restore old landmarks and preserve their heritage. The purpose of this article is to explain how this happened and why it is significant. It will also argue that old Baillytown deserves more attention than it has gotten from historians whose job it is to interpret the Swedish-American past. The Baillytown area has enormous potential as a historic site that, so far, has gone unrealized. This is despite being located in the midst of a national park which maintains the Chellberg Farm, the former home of Swedish immigrants, Anders and Johanna Kjellberg. This article offers a reinterpretation of the history of Baillytown and the surrounding communities, one that emphasizes Swedish cultural life, the acculturation process, and the ethnic activity that occurred in the area. This reinterpretation is important because it theorizes about the persistence of ethnicity through time, and speculates on how interpretations of the past are constructed, mediated, and presented to the public by the National Park Service (NPS).⁴

Baillytown: One Descendant's View

Like other once thriving immigrant communities, demographic forces and economic events have overtaken Baillytown. Few traces remain of a once vibrant past. But if one looks hard enough, one is sure to find an interesting story waiting to be told, although you will not learn much from the official histories of the region, according to one former resident, William Ahrendt (now deceased).

In a speech before the Duneland Historical Society in 1980, Ahrendt made it known that he did not think too much of what some chroniclers had said about his Swedish forebears.⁵ Ahrendt, a descendant of Swedish-immigrant farmers from Baillytown, served as historian and archivist for the Augsburg Lutheran Church in Porter, Indiana. Voicing his dissatisfaction that no mention was made of his Swedish ancestors in George Brennan's *The Wonders of the Dunes*, a popular history and study of the natural features of the Dunes region, he did his best to demythologize the growing legend of Joseph Bailly, a French-Canadian fur trader and, purportedly, the first white settler of the area (now immortalized in an impressive historic site at Indiana Dunes).⁶ Ahrendt said, "Perhaps some of you might not like it, but it is in my opinion that his [Bailly's] son-in-law,

Joel Wicker, . . . had more to do with settling Baillytown.⁷ If his listeners wanted proof, he suggested they go examine the graves of Swedes buried on a nearby hill. They may not have been famous, or numerous, but they had made important contributions, or so he thought.

Here we have a case where official or published histories conflicted with the folk memory of events. Ahrendt believed Wicker was more important because he attracted Swedish immigrants to the area. Although the Swedish settlement of Baillytown took its name from Joseph Bailly, he played only a minor role in its settlement. He platted the "Town of Bailly" in the 1830s, but died before it could take hold; like other short-lived towns platted nearby, it was probably doomed to fail given the panic of 1837. Baillytown, however, lived on in name if not in fact. Wicker acquired some of Bailly's property after his death, and for a time ran a saw mill in the 1850s. He employed Swedish immigrants to clear the land and work at his mill. Many Swedes bought property from Wicker, and farmed and raised families nearby. These immigrants gave Baillytown its distinctive Swedish character. Swedish farms, inherited by their descendants, continued to dot the area for many years.⁸

As Ahrendt probably learned in his studies, Baillytown was an unlikely place for Swedes to settle. The land in that area was not particularly productive, nor did its location fit the pattern of most Swedish settlements. Sture Lindmark wrote that, to a large extent, Swedes "settled in the large woodland and prairie areas west of the Great Lakes, first and foremost in Minnesota and Illinois, and then in Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas and Nebraska."⁹ Generally speaking, Indiana was not one of the foremost destinations of Swedish immigrants. A number of settlements, however, were founded in the northwestern part of the state in counties that bordered Lake Michigan—among them, Lake, Porter and LaPorte counties.¹⁰ Baillytown's proximity to Chicago, and its location in an area that was settled relatively late in Indiana's history, accounted for its distinctiveness.

The development of the railroad in the region in the 1850s, and the use of lumber along the lake shore, brought Swedes to the area. Legend has it that an earlier Swedish immigrant, Jonas Asp, aided Wicker in recruiting Swedes from Chicago to work his lands.¹¹ Chicago acted as the gateway for Swedes heading to the Middle West. The immigrants arriving in Baillytown encouraged their friends and families to join them, and thus diverted them from other possible (or more promising) destinations. One descendant of Swedish immigrants, C. W. Nelson, wrote with a bit of hyperbole, "Baillytown

became quite well-known in various parts of Sweden."¹² Combining with the Swedish immigrants in the growing towns of Chesterton and Porter, Baillytown Swedes created a Swedish-American community with its own special history.

Ahrendt thus spoke irreverently about the area's most notable historical figure, Joseph Bailly, because he wanted to make Swedes a more prominent part of the history of the region. His statement pointed out an important gap in the history of the dunes region of northwestern Indiana. Despite the myriad studies of the Bailly family, little had been written about their Swedish neighbors. Martha Miller's short history of an immigrant family, the Chellbergs, failed to document the extent to which ethnic activity thrived in Baillytown, and on other matters it is unreliable.¹³ Judging from the lack of published materials, it was almost as if the Swedish immigrants had made no contribution to the region at all; they had merely abandoned their homeland, purchased farms, and quickly "Americanized" or melted into the dominant Anglo-American group.

Powell A. Moore's *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier*, the classic regional history of the northern part of the state, proffers this view.¹⁴ Moore's treatment of Swedish immigration is quite typical of an earlier view that was once in vogue but has now been discredited: the "melting-pot" theory. In his book, Moore chronicles when the Swedish churches were founded, but he does not elaborate on the ethnic life they fostered, presuming, of course, that the identities of Swedes would inevitably melt away. It is not surprising that he wrote: "The Swedes were noted for their adaptability to American conditions and for their willingness to work and save money. They came to the country to stay, and a study showed that no immigrant group so quickly Americanized." Moore echoes Carl Wittke's portrayal of Swedes in *We Who Built America*. As one of the few major studies of the region, this view of Swedish immigration has stood largely unchallenged in published sources until now.¹⁵

At one time scholars and other Americans viewed Swedes as the best kind of immigrants. They were Northern-European, Protestant, and adapted quickly to American ways. Often the pride Swedes expressed for their adopted homeland was taken to mean they had abandoned the customs and traditions that marked them as a people. In the case of Baillytown, as in other ethnic communities, a more complex process in fact occurred. Swedes constructed new identities by associating with others like them in mutual benefit societies, churches, and clubs. They preserved and maintained their Swedish heritage, while they became Americans. In Baillytown, this process worked unevenly in the first couple generations of settlement, so that

as the older generation passed away, a period of consolidation occurred which made it appear that Americanization had won the day. But by the mid-twentieth century, the first signs of an ethnic revival occurred which became full blown in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁶

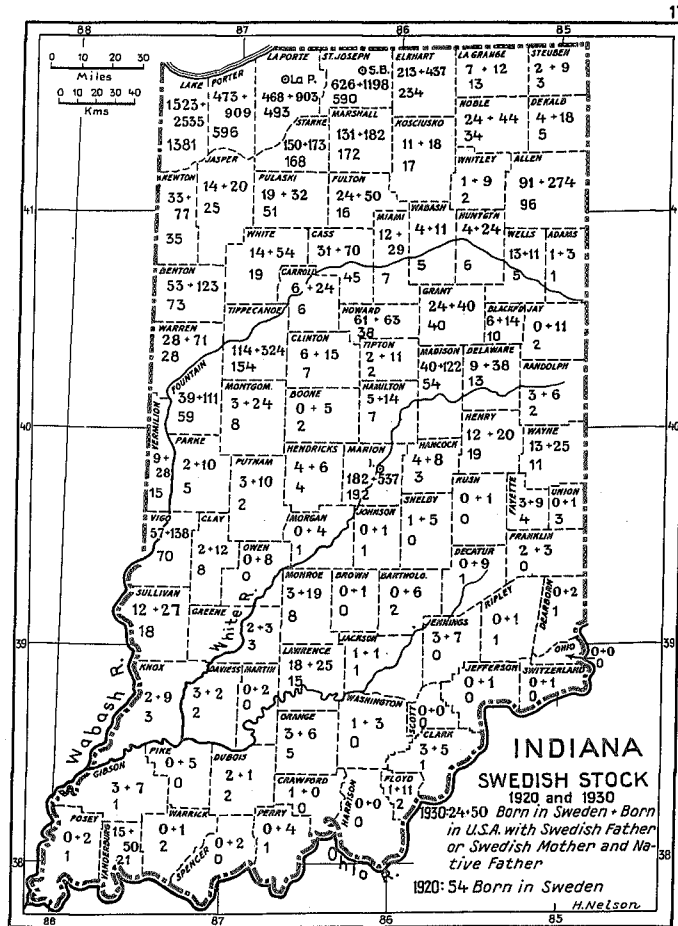
In the United States at that time, ethnicity had become a choice, a choice that some Swedish-Americans opted for enthusiastically. Although we have not completely come to terms with the workings of ethnicity or the phenomenon of ethnic revival, we do know much more than we once did. Given the new ways we think about immigration and ethnicity, Baillytown merits another look. Just 40 miles from Chicago, it developed its own institutions that preserved the culture of the homeland as well as eased the transition into a new way of life. Later, when it seemed that all traces of Swedish-American culture were lost, Baillytown Swedes demonstrated the persistence of a remarkably "Swedish" trait: they established archives and restored landmarks to preserve their heritage. In Baillytown, Swedes have continually reconstructed an identity—part Swedish and part American—for nearly 150 years.¹⁷

Swedish Immigration: A History of Baillytown

The first Swedes in the area were allegedly "penniless workers who came from Chicago and found work in the woods and in tree cutting" around Joel Wicker's saw mill in Baillytown. No exact date has been established to mark their arrival, but there were some Swedes in the area as early as the 1840s, according to one of their descendants. If there were any Swedes in the area at all, they were probably few in number until the coming of the railroad in the early 1850s. Baillytown included Wicker's saw mill, a store, and a few other houses. At first they called Baillytown "Slab City," the name derived from the rough shelters built for the workers at the saw mill.¹⁸ The immigrants and others who comprised his logging crews lived in shelters made out of slabs, or "the waste product resulting from squaring the logs."¹⁹ Later, Swedish immigrants acquired small plots of land from Wicker on which to build their homes.

The settlement of Baillytown came into being and Slab City passed away when Wicker sold his store to Swedish immigrants to use as a church. The church became the center of Swedish community life in Baillytown. But things did not always run smoothly, particularly for early church leaders. Eric Norelius, an early pastor who traveled the area, wrote that "there was a good deal of apathy among Bailey-town's [sic] Swedes and not a small number loved the bottle."²⁰

Despite this slow start, one historian correctly stated that the "most reliable evidence as to when the Swedes arrived in the area and where they settled in the largest numbers may be found in the history of their churches."²¹ The Augustana Lutheran Church, under the guiding influence of pastor T. N. Hasselquist, opposed the dispersal of Swedes and constantly encouraged them to establish rural, Swedish-Lutheran communities away from the corrupting influence of the cities.²² The settlement of Baillytown followed this pattern.



Indiana Swedish Stock, 1920, 1930.
(From Helge Nelson, The Swedes and Swedish Settlements in North America.)

The first concentration of Swedes in the region was in the Baillytown community, but soon other settlements bloomed. In 1857, probably the first Swedish Lutheran church in the region was founded there. In 1879, Swedes in Chesterton organized the Evangelical Bethlehem Church with the help of Baillytown Swedes. (A Swedish Methodist church was also founded in Chesterton that same year.) In 1862, another Swedish Lutheran church was founded in nearby Hobart. In 1874, the Bethel Evangelical Church was organized in Miller, now part of modern Gary, Indiana. Portage township in Porter County was also heavily settled by Swedish immigrants. At that time, one historian wrote, Swedes preferred Porter County to Lake County: "In 1870 the former had 561 Swedish and Norwegian residents while there were only 224 in Lake County. Porter County Swedes numbered 974 in 1890 and Lake's total was 641."²³ This trend changed in the following decades, however, as more immigrants settled Lake County; many finding work in the steel mills around Gary. By 1920, the number of Swedish-born in Lake County more than doubled to 1381; meanwhile, Porter's total declined to 596.²⁴ (See Map 2 and Map 3)

The formation of the Swedish Lutheran congregation in Baillytown, and the founding of others nearby, was part of the larger historical development of the Augustana Synod, which presided over many fledgling churches among the immigrants in the area.²⁵ At this time, a majority of Swedish immigrants wanted Lutheran churches with exclusively Swedish membership. The earliest description of Baillytown was written by Pastor T. N. Hasselquist after he passed through the Swedish settlements in LaPorte and Baillytown on his way back from Attica, Indiana in September 1856. He gave a brief report of these places in an issue of *Hemlandet*.

About 40 miles east of Chicago in Indiana lies a small Swedish settlement which may prove to be the most enduring. As a rule the land is covered by a forest, in part, with large old trees Surprisingly one could find himself in a wild forest in America and there come upon Swedish families cultivating the earth around their small houses. Undoubtedly, they have difficulties to contend with, but seemingly the satisfaction of seeing their plots emerging bit by bit and their fields expanding makes everything easy, especially since they can call it their own.²⁶

The Swedish Lutheran Church at Baillytown was organized by Dr. Erland Carlson of Chicago in 1858; it came under the jurisdiction of

the Augustana Synod in 1860.²⁷ The importance of religion to these Swedish immigrants can hardly be overemphasized.

Religion has always played an important role within ethnic groups, establishing community and sustaining values and symbols. In many instances, religion has functioned as the glue that has held the group (or parts of it) together. Because of the importance of identity formation and maintenance in a new land, many churches became bastions of Swedishness, helping to promote an ethnicity that would not be construed as nationalism.²⁸ The recently organized churches became the most important Swedish-American cultural centers in the early days of settlement.

In Baillytown, a store building purchased from Joel Wicker served as the community's first church for five years, until a new church was erected in 1864. Dr. Carlson's assistant, Dr. A. Andreen, served as its first resident pastor. Andreen was born in Sweden in 1827 and came to America in 1853. He served in Attica, Indiana in 1860, and moved on to take charge of the congregations in Baillytown and La Porte from 1862-1866. His son, Gustav Albert Andreen, was born in Baillytown in 1864, although he lived there for only two years. Andreen, a brilliant student, received a Ph.D. from Yale University, and was appointed professor. His claim to fame in the annals of Swedish America began when he became president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, at Rock Island Illinois, in 1900.²⁹

During his father's ministry, the Swedes erected a new church at Porter Station. Some church members in Baillytown argued that a new church should be built at a different location—near the present headquarters of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, in Porter, Indiana; but because more Swedes lived south of the Little Calumet River than north, their cause was defeated.³⁰ For many years it continued to be referred to as the Baillytown Swedish Lutheran Church. It was surrounded by Swedish farms and was the center of Swedish-American activity. Samuelson's grove nearby served as the location for annual celebrations and picnics. As the town of Chesterton grew, more Swedish people moved into the area. In 1879, members of the Augsburg Church requested permission to withdraw to form their own church in Chesterton at a more convenient location. This church became Bethlehem Lutheran Church. Some Swedes also settled around Flint Lake, about eight miles southeast of Chesterton. Pastors from Bethlehem traveled to Flint Lake to hold Sunday service about once a month well into the 1920s.³¹

By the time the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran churches were established in Chesterton and Porter, Swedish immigrants were contributing to the social, economic, and political life of these

growing communities. Of course, not all Swedish immigrants were Swedish Lutheran. Some were Methodists, and there were others who were not affiliated with any church.

By 1880, many local Swedes were leaders in their community. Weston A. Goodspeed and Charles Blanchard's *History of Porter and Lake Counties, Indiana*, published in 1882, contained eleven biographical sketches of prominent Swedish farmers, merchants, and clergymen.³² Modern readers will likely be critical of the methods used by such authors, but the sketches they wrote provide us access to the lives of former residents obtainable in no other way.

One entry tells about the life of John D. Lundberg, for example. Born in Sweden in 1840, he came to the United States, settling first in Chicago at about the age of twelve. He then moved to Chesterton in 1866. He worked as a cabinet-maker and later owned a furniture store and a broom-handle business. He shipped timber for a time, but after 1875, he "confined himself to undertaking and dealing in furniture."³³ According to Goodspeed and Blanchard, Lundberg was active in community life.

He belonged to a Chicago Swedish society for the promotion of education, charity, etc. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, having taken all the Blue Lodge Degrees. He has been Township Trustee for six years, also Township Assessor for four years. He has been a Republican, but is now a member of the National Party.³⁴

According to Goodspeed and Blanchard, another prominent Swede, Frederick Burstrom, was among Westchester Township's first settlers. He was born in Sweden in 1826, received a college education, but stayed home to run his father's tannery business before coming to America. He, too, settled in Chicago, but "soon came to Bailly Town [sic] and lumbered for about two years."³⁵ Like many Swedes he was quite active in politics.

He is a member of the Swedish Lutheran Church [Baillytown], and has been an active worker in temperance. He was trustee for two years, and is now County Commissioner. He has always been a Republican.³⁶

Another entry informs us how some immigrants traveled around before settling down. Gustus Johnson, born 4 November 1836 in Sweden, was once a soldier, laborer, and finally, an independent businessman. Goodspeed and Blanchard noted that Johnson "came to

the United States and settled in Porter County, and after teaming for about two years in Westchester Township, he came to Chesterton." After joining various outfits from Indiana during the Civil War, he "was sent to North Carolina, where he served for a year, after the close of the war, on garrison duty." Living in Chesterton, and then Kansas, and going back to Chesterton, he "engaged in different things until June 1881, when he bought the 'Indiana House' (now Johnson Hotel)." A member of the Swedish Lutheran Church, Johnson married Christina Swanson, "a native of Sweden." In politics, he was "always a Democrat, but voted a few times for the Greenback ticket."³⁷

Besides Lundberg, Burstrom, and Johnson, there were other Swedes who contributed to the growing communities in Westchester Township. Swedes worked on the first two railroads in Porter County, the Michigan Central and the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana. Swedish immigrants also found work in the Porter brickyards.³⁸ The first brickyards were established as early as 1872, and by 1883 three yards produced bricks that were known for their quality throughout the region, including Chicago. In December 1884, the *Chesterton Tribune* reported a fatal accident involving a Swedish laborer at a local brickyard: "The 'crusher' machine was the deadly contrivance which ushered the unfortunate man into eternity," the paper read.³⁹ Besides working in the brickyards, Swedes came to Chesterton to work in the Hillstrom Organ factory—Chesterton's Swedish-American success story.

An acquaintance from the old country persuaded Charles Hillstrom to relocate his organ factory from Chicago to Chesterton. In 1880, the factory was moved, and within twelve years it employed over 125 men, most of whom were skilled craftsmen of Swedish descent. In 1890, Chesterton's total population was only 931. Hillstrom built several houses in Chesterton to accommodate his Swedish employees and a mansion for himself. The factory produced over 40,000 organs which were sent to all parts of the world, including one given as a gift to the King of Sweden. Hillstrom also displayed his famous instruments at the Colombian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. The Hillstroms were active in church affairs; Charles' brother, John August Hillstrom, played the organ at the Swedish Bethlehem Church in Chesterton. C. O. Hillstrom's death in 1896 ended the most productive years of the factory. The administrators of his estate attempted to operate the factory, but it was soon sold to local interests. The loss of the factory hurt the local economy; for a time, it was Chesterton's most important and interesting industry.⁴⁰

Although Baillytown cannot compare to the Swedish-American

community in Chicago, it did exhibit some of the same features of the larger ethnic community. The local newspaper, the *Chesterton Tribune* reported the activities of various church groups, clubs, and societies from the 1880s to the 1920s. In the 1880s, the Rev. Augustus G. Olson of Bethlehem Church wrote news in Swedish in a special column in the local newspaper. As early as 1882, Swedish men formed a society to debate questions of the day in Swedish.

A number of Swedish young men in town meet in a [?] debating society. They discuss in Swedish questions which are [?] cooking [?] in other debating societies. Their question Tuesday [?] was: "Resolved". That the Indian has been used worse by the government of the United States than the negro. The decision was in the affirmative and the question will be discussed again next Tuesday night. We are glad to know that they are so earnest in improving their knowledge of government [?]. The young men will soon organize an evening session at which to learn the English language. They will employ some competent instructor.⁴¹

For the women, a "Young Ladies Sewing Society" was formed in 1885. In 1897, the local newspaper reported a singing society had been reorganized in Chesterton.⁴² Conrad Bergendoff wrote that almost every Swedish community "had its singing society where music of Sweden was rehearsed and concertized."⁴³ Even as late as 1917, Swedes formed a Swedish Choral Club and looked forward to giving a concert "some time in the spring."⁴⁴

In the local community, traditional Swedish holidays, like Midsummer's Day, were celebrated along with traditional American holidays, such as Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July.⁴⁵ These events mixed Swedish and American themes, and our accounts of them are perhaps the most eloquent proof remaining of a once active ethnic community in Baillytown. Swedes also actively solicited and received support from the larger community, but they obviously felt somewhat apart from it. In 1882, the Swedish Lutheran Church in Chesterton held a dinner attended by both Swedes and non-Swedes. They enjoyed eating oysters, chicken and turkey and bought and sold items at a fair which opened in the afternoon. When it had ended, the pastor and congregation thanked "the American people who have been so generous to our society since the church was organized."⁴⁶ This was probably one of many Thanksgiving bazaars held over the years. The event provided an excellent opportunity to meet people outside the smaller, insular ethnic community. It gave Swedes a

chance to celebrate their heritage as well.

More than any other kind of celebration, the annual Swedish Lutheran church picnics held on the 4th of July represented this local variation of Swedish-Americanism. One can see the fusion of Swedish and American cultures mostly clearly by looking at these events. Swedes played baseball, raced bicycles, drank lemonade, ate ice cream, and watched a fireworks display. They engaged in typical American obsessions, simultaneously demonstrating the Swedish penchant for athletic competition. Often the events attracted huge crowds; many came to participate or just to listen to speeches in Swedish and English that accompanied the gatherings. The Swedish Lutheran Church in Chesterton typically held its picnic at Railroad Park in the center of town. In 1901, the Independence Day picnic was highlighted by a baseball game in which a team from Chesterton soundly defeated its opponent from Michigan City, 11-2. On the same page the newspaper reported an annual picnic sponsored by the Swedish "Baillytown" Lutheran Church in Porter.

Porter and vicinity turned out en masse last Thursday to attend the exercises at Samuelson's grove given under the auspices of the Swedish Lutheran Church congregation. It is estimated that over three thousand persons were in attendance at the picnic. The ladies of the church served a bounteous dinner and supper at the grove, their tables fairly groaning under home delicacies. During the afternoon a literary and music programme, consisting of orations and addresses in both the Swedish and English tongue, readings and recitations and singing by the church choir, was rendered which proved highly interesting.⁴⁷

Over 1500 people attended the annual picnic sponsored by the Baillytown Swedish Lutheran Church in 1904, "many of whom were visitors from Chicago and neighboring towns who come to see the old home every year [and] to spend the day." Also, the day "was spent in the usual amusements on such occasions and the festive small boy was in evidence firing his salute to his uncle Samuel." The congregation took in about \$175.00 for its trouble.⁴⁸

These summer picnics represent the turn-of-the-century Swedish-American culture at its best. They show a co-mingling of heritages—a combination of American and Swedish cultural activities acting together to form a unique identity. Each event demonstrated how Swedes reached out to the larger "American" community, while, at the same time, they gathered in their own. In short, it shows how

truly complex the acculturation process is.

Although the church picnics combined Swedish and American themes in nearly equal measures, within the churches themselves activities tended to resist Americanization more resolutely. The extent to which church life was valued is evident in an item that appeared in the newspaper in 1901. Between 260-270 delegates and over 300 members of the Baillytown congregation attended an annual meeting of the La Porte District Swedish Luther League held in Porter. All of the nearby Swedish settlements sent delegates. They came from Miller, Hobart, Chesterton, Michigan City, South Bend, Elkhart, Lake Station, and Chicago. The Luther League was composed of "young members of the Lutheran congregations of the District, the object being to promote the doctrines of the Lutheran faith and the welfare of the church."⁴⁹ Most significantly, speeches in Swedish were heard, and Swedes from other communities gathered to discuss items meaningful to all those who attended.

In Baillytown, the Swedish language was heard and spoken long after the first immigrants arrived. Sture Lindmark stated that the language transition from Swedish to English proceeded more rapidly in areas with fewer immigrants and formal institutions such as schools, organizations, and newspapers.⁵⁰ But many Swedes "simply felt that they could not worship without it." During this time Swedes rejected the assumption that speaking Swedish was un-American and developed "their own views on Americanization and debated the importance of maintaining the language and assimilating into American life."⁵¹

Wendy Ann Buckley, in her study of the language transition, hypothesized that the experience of the old Baillytown Lutheran Church in Porter, or Augsburg as it was also called, was atypical of churches in the Augustana Synod in general.

The length of time needed for the [language] transition was almost fifteen years (1915-1929), which was longer than most Swedish speaking Augustana churches needed. The reaction of the congregation was more severe and the violence in the church, fights, throwing the hymnals [sic] was simply beyond what was happening in most churches facing the language transition.⁵²

When English was introduced in Sunday school in 1908, protests from parents erupted, and it was discontinued—although it was recommended that children learn English. Swedes confirmed before 1915 were publicly examined in Swedish. The principal Sunday

service was given in Swedish until 1929, although Swedish was dropped from the official name of the church in 1923.⁵³

The Burstrom Chapel, now restored, served as a school for the children of Swedish immigrants for many years. It was founded in 1880 as the *Augsburg Svenska Skola*. For a time, it served as a public school until another school was built a mile west in 1885. Swedish Americans were anxious to keep the Swedish language alive, however, and so a summer school was established. Its founders hoped that it would become a model institution of higher learning, but their hopes were never realized. Students from Augustana College and Theological Seminary often taught Swedish School at congregations throughout the synod. At Baillytown, three weeks of study gave students knowledge of Sweden's language, geography, and history. Bible lessons were also taught in Swedish. The school remained in existence until the 1920s; its cessation of activities apparently coincided with the transition from Swedish to English at Augsburg.⁵⁴

Despite their best efforts, Swedish Americans could not stem the tide of complex forces that transformed the region—forces which served to weaken the bonds of community as they had formed by the turn of the century. By the late 1920s, the era of mass Swedish immigration ended nationally, and new arrivals from the old country to Baillytown had stopped coming even before then. The 1920s witnessed the phenomenon of the automobile; and, with the completion of Federal Highway 12, more tourists and developers were attracted to the region. Already by 1910 it was not unheard of for the sons of Swedish immigrants to commute by train to Gary or Chicago for a day's work. Occasionally, real estate and economic booms hit the area, so that by the 1950s, most of the old farmers had abandoned land that was never well suited to agricultural production anyway.⁵⁵ Under these pressures, the ethnic affiliations and distinctively Swedish character of this small area of the south shore of Lake Michigan diminished. The forces of Americanization, modernization, and conformity had triumphed over the Swedes of old Baillytown, and the nearby communities of Chesterton and Porter, or so it seemed.

The Legacy of the Pioneers Endures

Already by the early 1960s, however, something unexpected was happening in America: ethnic revivals were taking place in small towns and cities across the land. At one time social theorists and

super-patriots cried it was "un-American" to retain ethnic affiliations. These were the years of "100% Americanism," the "melting-pot" theory, World War II, and the silent 1950s. Increasingly in the 1960s and 1970s, ethnicity became more fashionable as some third- and fourth-generation white Americans began to realize the costs associated with jettisoning their past.⁵⁶ For most people, ethnicity was a choice. One could, if one wanted to, claim an ethnic identity. For some former residents of old Baillytown, there was no hesitation: they would do what they could to recover their Swedish past and restore its remnants. Once again Swedish Americans actively reconstructed an identity peculiar to their time and place. The local effort was led by many, but the most lasting contributions were made by William Ahrendt, Elmer Vedell, and Anna-Maud Tranberg. They piqued the ethnic consciousness of area residents with their writings, speeches, and translations of local Swedish lore. In general, the churches were vital players in the effort to rediscover and commemorate the Swedish ethnic past. The Augsburg Evangelical Lutheran Church in Porter and Bethlehem Lutheran Church in Chesterton established archives to preserve their heritage. These churches were founded by Swedish immigrants in the late 1800s but had since dropped Swedish from their names.⁵⁷ Although it is now defunct, the Baillytown Community Club began efforts to restore Swedish landmarks and celebrate the Swedish past in the 1970s. The club organized in the old Baillytown schoolhouse and was in the process of restoring that building when it was lost. Members later placed a memorial in honor of the schoolhouse in the Burstrom Cemetery, the final resting place of many local Swedish pioneers. They also pushed for the restoration of the Burstrom Chapel, another local Swedish landmark.⁵⁸

Although not everyone was interested in preserving or identifying with their ethnic past, the activities of a few probably spoke for many people with similar inclinations. Once again a strong Swedish-American identity was evident in the environs of old Baillytown, one informed by folk tales and a serious (albeit by professional standards, amateur) study of the past. A new appreciation of the Swedish heritage of the Baillytown area once again connected local Swedes to the larger Swedish-American community. Important Swedish-American journals could be found in the archives of the former Swedish churches, and three articles about Baillytown by Anna-Maud Tranberg appeared in the *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* between 1966 to 1971.⁵⁹ As an institution, the National Park Service stood to benefit most from these efforts, since it had recently been charged with preserving the heritage of the area. Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore was established in the vicinity of old Baillytown in the

1960s. An important site of historical knowledge production, one might have expected the park's personnel to take the lead in local preservation efforts. What actually happened is another story, a final chapter in the Baillytown saga that is not over yet.

Interpreting the Past: The Chellberg Farm

One can argue that the Chellberg Farm is the most significant Swedish-American landmark in the area because of its strategic location in the heart of Indiana Dunes, the national park on the south shore of Lake Michigan, that occupies land once part of old Baillytown. When the National Park Service acquired the property in the 1970s, it was probably unaware of the ethnic revival that was going on around it, and that officials did not have the perspective to comprehend the full significance of these events is understandable. But it is hard to account for the slow pace of change in the interpretive program. Like other national parks whose natural surroundings overshadow its local historic sites, Indiana Dunes represents a case study in what can happen when historical education, training, and interpretation are not given the emphasis and resources they deserve.

Everything we know about the Chellbergs suggests the same forces that shaped the Baillytown community played out in their lives as well. The same process, the fusion of disparate cultures, affected their mentalities as much as it did other immigrants. The story of Anders and Johanna Chellberg fits nicely into the larger narrative. They left Sweden in 1863 and settled on their own farm in Baillytown in the 1870s. Like other Swedes in the area, the Chellbergs helped clear the land; they even acquired their title from the legendary Joel Wicker. A tailor and farmer, Anders also served as deacon and lay preacher for the (Baillytown) Augsburg Lutheran Church. He was the Swedish school's superintendent in 1891 and 1892. Religion, the vessel that so often preserved Swedish culture, was very important to the Chellbergs, resonating through each of the three generations that made the farm their home. Documents held by Indiana Dunes show that Anders and Johanna Chellberg's son, Carl Levin, was married to another descendant of Swedes, Minnie Peterson, at Augsburg in 1901. Their son, Carl Louis, was baptized by E. H. Carlson at Augsburg in 1914, and confirmed at that same church in 1928.⁶⁰

Although it is impossible to rediscover exactly in what esteem this family was held by the larger community, two articles published in the local paper might be cited as evidence on their behalf. In December 1884, a fire consumed their property. The headline read:

"The Fire Fiend Selects Coldest Night of the Year, and Totally Destroys the Home of Andrew Schellberg." The paper asked the community to lend a hand: "Mr. Schellberg is highly respected by all who know him, being temperate, honest and industrious, and deserves the assistance and sympathy of the community, now that by misfortune he is left in almost destitute condition."⁶¹ An obituary written for Johanna Chellberg is illustrative of her place in the community. The *Chesteron Tribune* reported she died "at her home in the Baillytown settlement" on 7 February 1899. The paper continued: "Mrs. Chellberg is one of the old pioneers of Westchester township, having resided here for the past 40 years, and was well known throughout the township."⁶²

A complete history of the Chellberg family is beyond the scope of this article, but it must be emphasized how Swedish the Chellbergs were. Like other Swedish Americans, Anders and Johanna did not completely forsake their past when they left Sweden; they brought their Swedish identities with them to America. The Chellbergs, furthermore, were connected, at least by association, with the larger world of Swedish America. As members of the Augsburg Lutheran church, they participated in the social and ethnic life of the community. Carl L. Chellberg's marriage to Minnie Peterson in 1901 fit the pattern of unmixed marriages that prevailed at the time. Carl's naturalization record, moreover, showed that he became a citizen of the United States relatively late (he was born in Sweden in 1859).⁶³ Clearly, remnants of Swedish and American culture resonated in the construction of the Chellbergs' unique identity as a family and as individuals. Each generation of Chellbergs obtained a perspective and world view from their past. The interpretive program at Indiana Dunes tells us little of this.

To be fair, the park service had a great number of interpretive and administrative puzzles to solve after Congress authorized the establishment of Indiana Dunes in 1966; but in retrospect, it appears hardly anyone suspected the potential the Chellberg Farm had as a Swedish-American landmark in the early days of the park's development. Nor does it appear that they sought out authorities on Swedish-American life to direct their efforts. There is also little evidence to suggest that Swedish America took notice either. Thus, attention was directed in other ways, so that today the interpretive program emphasizes living history themes related to farming operations of the period, 1895-1905, and focuses on environmental education. As Alan Winqvist writes, with no apparent sense of the error that has been committed, the farm "has been used by the Solar Energy Research Institute for a renewable energy demonstration."⁶⁴

In retrospect, there are perhaps more appropriate locations in the Midwest for living history farms and renewable energy demonstrations. But because experts in these fields provided expertise, and in the case of the energy demonstration, money, the path of the interpretive program was set. The Chellberg Farm, furthermore, demonstrates that the NPS's expertise in building nature trails and interpreting the natural features of a region does not always translate into adequate attention to historical accuracy, or result in sound historical interpretation. It also provides a lesson in the dangers of not doing so. The evidence presented here offers further justification for professional historians and park service personnel to bridge the gap between them. Now that tentative efforts have been made to bring together professionals affiliated with the national historical organizations and the park service, perhaps a local effort can be sparked to re-evaluate and to improve the interpretive program at Indiana Dunes.

Although no comprehensive history of the interpretive program of the Chellberg Farm exists (nor can we easily calculate what the interpretive program has cost the taxpayers), one might reconstruct some of the various twists and turns in its development by consulting the documents and holdings housed at Indiana Dunes. One of the most important experts to be summoned by the park service was Robert Benz, author of *Agricultural Overview of the Calumet Region of Porter County*, which he wrote for the park. The following represents what he envisioned the Chellberg Farm to be:

It represents the invasion of the natural environment, the desires and needs of immigrant America as people forced by circumstances to dare all to attempt a better life. It is a lifeline of understanding our nation in the nineteenth century as it leaves its agricultural past to become mechanized and industrialized. Its location and the strong influences of Chicago, with its grain and cattle markets, implement manufacturers, and urban population, can be uniquely told through the farmstead. The economic supply systems of farmer to city and back are documented herein [in his report]. The Chellberg Farm is a unique opportunity which deserves the best.¹⁶⁵

Benz had an excellent grasp of the history of agriculture (at the time he worked for the Living History Farms in Iowa), but he does not have much to say about ethnicity. In the years following the report, the park went ahead with its interpretive program, often stressing agricultural themes the Benz report suggested, rather than the

immigrant heritage of the Chellbergs themselves. If any doubts about this course of action were raised, they were obviously rejected.

A poster about the farm, perhaps available for purchase by visitors to the park, neatly summarizes the thrust of the interpretive program for much of the time it has been in existence. The poster was printed by the GPO in 1981, and demonstrates how the environmental concerns of the 1970s came to dominate the interpretive program of Chellberg Farm in the 1980s and 1990s. It says in part:

Welcome to the Chellberg Farm, a typical turn-of-the-century family farm that achieved self-sufficiency through renewable energy resources (sun, wind, biomass, horse and people power). . . . From the early 1930s on, America began relying on non-renewable energy sources (electricity and gasoline produced from fossil fuels). In time these old methods and small farms gave way to highly-mechanized operations. Now that fossil fuels are more expensive, farming with renewable energy is attractive once again.

The passage ends with this advice: "We can't turn the clock back, but we can learn from our past as we re-examine the way of life on the Chellberg Farm. Perhaps we shall see the return of the self-sufficient farm that combines the best of the old and the new."⁶⁶ It is true that we learn a lot about our past by taking another look at the Chellberg Farm, but it is doubtful that the Chellberg Farm was as self-sufficient as this poster, and demonstrations at the farm, purported it to be. That it is not meant as a slight to the Chellbergs, but rather a statement of the economic realities of a market economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This notion, of course, contrasts with the myths and misconceptions about independent farming that so often pollute the public debate, myths this poster seems to perpetuate. Another passage on the poster emphasizes neighbors helping build the barn, but nothing is said about who these neighbors were. Doubtless they were the Chellberg's Swedish neighbors.

The location of the farm, furthermore, in northwestern Indiana, also suggests that its operation never became "highly mechanized." Or at least the Chellberg Farm is a poor example of this theme. Mechanization occurred elsewhere, and on a grand scale, but it is not so important to stress that it happened here. One of the best studies of the area, conducted by Sarah Gibbard Cook and Robert S. Jackson, provides a different perspective from which to view the significance of the Chellberg Farm. Their report emphasizes over and over how

the settlement of immigrants to the area was contingent on unique historical circumstances. Although many people came as farmers, the marginal quality of the soil kept them from being extremely productive. "From the 1830s to the 1950s the Bailly area on the south of the Calumet Beach ridge was a rural area of small family farms. The settlers of the 1830s to [18]50s came here to farm, and their descendants still lived here a century later. The land was fertile enough to cultivate, although it was not outstandingly productive." Later in the work they emphasize again "the marginal productivity of the soil." "The small farms of the Bailly area never yielded to agriculture on a large scale. The land was not productive enough to attract large agricultural investment. . . . By the late 1950s, few commercial farms or orchards remained in operation."⁶⁷

This analysis apparently did not deter the park from focusing on agricultural aspects of the Chellberg home rather than teasing out the ethnicity of the family or the area more forcefully. Decisions were made so that in effect "[t]he major interpretive theme is that the farm represents aspects of a farming operation, circa 1900 adapted to the soils and climate of Northwestern Indiana." This snippet, taken from the *Chellberg Farm Management Plan*, was followed, however, by a brief statement that acknowledges that the Chellbergs were "immigrants from Sweden," who "encountered and absorbed a new culture," and that "[t]his mix of cultures is evident in the development and operation of their farm."⁶⁸ Unfortunately, it did not mention exactly where this was evident. More importantly, the furnishing plan stipulated that "[t]he [Chellberg] house is to be furnished as a typical northwest Indiana farm house of the period, from 1895-1905, rather than as a historically accurate depiction of the Chellberg Farm."⁶⁹ One has to ask, what is a typical northwest Indiana farm? One would suspect that a farm's layout and design, and the activity that went on there depended a great deal on whether the owner was a Yankee, an Irishman, a German, or a Swede. Obviously, some of this was determined by regional patterns, reflecting the dominant society's influence, but would not some evidence of ethnicity remain?

It has never been firmly established whether the property exhibits specifically Swedish characteristics, or not. In his studies of the Chellberg property, A. Berle Clemensen, a worker from the Denver Service Center, valued for the expertise he lent out to other national parks, concluded that the barn contained elements of Swedish design. "Anders Kjellberg built his barn about 1880 with timber obtained from the property. It exemplified the construction skill carried by this Swedish immigrant to his new homeland, since he used mortise and tenon secured with wooden pegs to hold the barn frame together."

The poster provides a different story: "Built in 1890, the barn is American styled with four 'bents' or sections, enclosing three open areas, or 'bays' and a hay loft. . . . A 'master framer' designed the frame, made the mortise and tenon joints and supervised the barn raising." The Chellberg home, the second one they built because the first was lost in a fire, was made of brick from the famous Porter brickyards—its design was copied by the Borg and Nelson family farms nearby. Over the years many alterations were made to the home, and by the time Clemensen examined the property, little was left of the Borg and Nelson homes, so that he declared the Chellberg house the best preserved of what remained, despite its many alterations.⁷⁰

No matter what an expert in vernacular architecture might determine, it is hard to imagine that it would undercut the argument made in this essay. Evidence suggests that the significance of the Chellberg Farm lies in what it might tell us about Swedish-American life at the turn of the century, and coincidentally some of the typical farming practices and customs of their farm. The Chellberg's heritage, moreover, must be honored and respected. There was little that was typical about them, except that they were Swedish, and that they were probably diverted from more hospitable locations because of unique historical circumstances. Instead of emphasizing "[t]he energy story of Chellberg Farm," park service personnel and volunteers should tell visitors more about patterns of immigration, explain concepts such as ethnicity, and inform people about the history of the area once known as Baillytown.

Obviously, one can go too far in criticizing the park service for the Chellberg interpretive program. The NPS has done more good than harm by restoring and interpreting the property over the years. On balance we must be thankful for the park's efforts to stabilize and restore the property (including the other historic sites in the park's domain not mentioned in this study). Also, for years the park's staff has studied the region thoroughly and collected valuable historical evidence, even if interpreters have not always put it to good use. We must recognize that the NPS as an institution is not always well suited to doing what is best for history. Its bureaucratic structures, training procedures, and funding requirements place important conditions on any interpretive program. Thus, those who are professionally trained to interpret the past must lend their services to the NPS; and, the park service would be wise to ask for such help. The final component in a successful partnership would be an active and well informed public that takes an avid interest in what both groups are doing.

Indiana Dunes had its origins in a conservation movement that began in the 1920s, which finally succeeded in the 1960s in achieving the goal of establishing a national park to conserve what remained of the scenic dunes region. That the park throughout its history has been more in tune with the wishes of conservationists than historians is understandable. In a time of budget cutting and reorganization, it is likely that fewer resources will be available for historical preservation and interpretation, not more. The regional staff which in the past has tried to lend its resources will be less able to do so in the future. Historians, therefore, must get involved so that the best interests of historical interpretation are served. It is not exactly clear how we arrived at the current situation, one in which ethnicity and the Chellbergs themselves have been minimized in the interpretive program, but we should not let it continue. What interpreters might strive to do in the future, with the help of historians, is to focus more attention on the development of Swedish-American life, nationally and locally, at the turn of the century. The Chellberg Farm can be used to tell visitors about the Swedish-American community that once thrived in Baillytown, and how it was related to the Swedish communities in Chicago and elsewhere. An emphasis on such themes as immigrant heritage and ethnic diversity would be appropriate for a site so much in the shadow of one of America's great multi-ethnic metropolises.⁷¹

The site might also reflect a changed view of history, one that considers the different accounts we write of it. Interpreters should, as Edward T. Linenthal states in a different context, "present not only the history of the event that set apart these places—the kind of descriptive history that has traditionally been done—but to present the interpretive history of the site itself."⁷² By explaining how the environmental concerns of the 1970s came to dominate an interpretive program—one that might have developed along different lines—visitors can learn a valuable lesson about historical production. They will realize how current concerns and historical scholarship often combine to challenge and overturn once-accepted versions of our past. Visitors will thus get an added benefit: a deeper understanding of the dynamic process of history.

Conclusion

Alan Winqvist, in his *Swedish-American Landmarks: What to See and Where to Go*, identified several sites in the vicinity of Porter. In his valuable book, he briefly explained to the prospective tourist the

history and significance of these sites. Those he mentioned include Augsburg Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly Baillytown), Burstrom Chapel and *Svenska Skola* (Swedish School), the Swedish (Burstrom) Cemetery, and the Chellberg Farm. One might also add that while in Chesterton, the prospective tourist should also look for the houses C. O. Hillstrom built for his former employees. (And, there are other structures similar to the Chellberg's distinctive brick-L design.) The Porter County Interim Report suggested that in its extreme, a historic district would include the sites mentioned by Winquist (excepting Augsburg). Although the nomination process has now stalled, there is some reason to suggest that farmsteads once owned by Anders Chellberg, Pete Larson, C. W. Nelson, Irene Nelson, John Borg, and Robert Wohl will one day be part of a historic district interpreted by the NPS. For this to happen, however, more research will have to be done. It is doubtful that it will be done without greater effort and cooperation by the public, the park, and professional historians.⁷³

The only appropriate way to end this essay (and re-emphasize its purpose) is to refer to Thomas Flanagan's description of Patrick Prentiss, the young historian in *The Tenants of Time*: "By the time he knew he might never finish, and so put the pieces back into the box of the past, he had come to believe what had happened . . . had a shape, a design, a theme that worked itself out in the variations of a dozen lives. But there was nothing that he could do with his knowledge. He had fallen in love with the past, a profitless love."⁷⁴ The theme working itself out "in the variations of a dozen lives," in this essay is ethnicity, and the fusion of cultures it implies. Although the concept can be elusive, ever evolving and changing, one could hardly argue that it was not present there in the history of Baillytown all along. Like the character in the novel, I too have fallen in love with the past—in this case an old Swedish community which probably has not yet gotten its due from historians and the National Park Service. I have found it impossible to "put the pieces back into the box of the past" until I had told the story—William Ahrendt's story—as best I could. Those who care about Swedish-American history and/or historical propriety will follow up on this story and see for themselves why Joel Wicker and not Joseph Bailly "had more to do with settling Baillytown."⁷⁵

NOTES

* Much of the original research for this paper was conducted over a two-month period in the summer of 1993. I submitted a paper, "The Ethnic Heritage of Baillytown,

Indiana," to Dori Partsch, Indiana Dunes Park Historian on 18 August 1993. Later I revised the paper for a graduate seminar at the University of Iowa. More research and revisions followed, resulting in a paper which I presented at the Thirtieth Annual Northern Great Plains History Conference, in Brandon, Manitoba, Canada, on 28 September 1995. I am especially grateful for the comments given by Judith Boyce De Mark, Stella Hryniuk, and Terrence J. Lindahl.

¹ The sources contained various spellings of Baillytown. I have adopted the dominant form. Also, Chesterton was originally Calumet, and Porter was once Porter Station.

² For Swedish-American life in Chicago, see Philip Anderson and Dag Blanck, ed., *Swedish-American Life in Chicago: Cultural and Urban Aspects of an Immigrant People, 1850-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), and Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1846-1880 Immigration* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1971).

³ For sources on the life of Dr. Gustav Andreen see the materials contained in the special collections room at the library on the campus of Augustana College, in Rock Island, Illinois.

⁴ The historical profession is taking a stronger interest in the interpretive programs at our national parks, judging from some recent articles in the *OAH Newsletter*. The May 1995 issue reported a visit by professional historians to the Antietam National Battlefield in Sharpsburg, Maryland. It was "the first of a series of visits conducted by OAH teams under a Memorandum of Agreement with the National Park Service (NPS), designed to bring historians to NPS sites to review interpretive programs and make suggestions about exhibits, presentations, films, brochures, and handbooks" (1). In May, a conference designed "to develop a vision for the role of NPS in research, identification, and communication of the contributions of American women" was hosted by the NPS (August 1995, 1).

⁵ William J. Ahrendt, "Reminiscences of the Baillytown Area: A Lecture to the Duneland Historical Society," in *Duneland Notes* (April 1980), Norris Combs, ed., Duneland Historical Society, Chesterton, Indiana.

⁶ See George A. Brennan, *The Wonders of the Dunes* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1923).

⁷ Ahrendt, "Reminiscences," 7.

⁸ C.W. Nelson, "Baillytown," in *Chesteron Tribune* Part I, 29 March 1951, 5; Part II, 5 April 1951, 3. See also Sarah Gibbard Cook and Robert S. Jackson, *The Bailly Area of Porter County, Indiana: The Final Report of a Geohistorical Study Undertaken on Behalf of the Indian Dunes National Lakeshore* (Evanston, Illinois: Robert Jackson and Associates, 1978), 36, Figure 6. Both sources comment on the Yankee, German, and Irish neighbors. More could be written on the interaction between them.

⁹ Sture Lindmark, *Swedish-America, 1914-1932: Studies in Ethnicity with Emphasis on Illinois and Minnesota* (Chicago, Illinois: Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, 1971), 21.

¹⁰ Helge Nelson, *The Swedes and Swedish Settlements of North America*, vol. I (Lund, 1943), 122.

¹¹ Ahrendt, "Reminiscences," 7.

¹² C. W. Nelson, "Baillytown," Part I: 5.

¹³ Martha Miller, *The Chellberg Family. The Chellberg Farm* (Chesterton, Indiana: Miller Publications, 1982).

¹⁴ Powell A. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1959; reprint 1977).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 352-353. See Carl F. Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1964).

¹⁶ Much of the work on immigration and ethnicity has been done on the nineteenth century. More must be done on the twentieth century, and in particular, on ethnic

revival and ethnic commemoration.

¹⁷ Several scholars have observed that the Swedes are among the best documented immigrant groups in America. As readers of this journal know, for years the latest word on Swedish-American historiography has been published in *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, formerly *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* (henceforward the journal will be cited as the SAHQ or the SPHQ depending on the date of publication of the article). Please consult the appropriate index for a complete listing of relevant articles.

¹⁸ Eric Norelius, *The Pioneer Swedish Settlements and Swedish Lutheran Churches in America, 1845-1860*, trans. Conrad Bergendoff (Rock Island: Augustana Historical Society, 1984), 232.

¹⁹ C.W. Nelson, "Baillytown," Part 1, 5. Joseph Bailly's granddaughter, Francis R. Howe, was indignant about the way Wicker used the land. She wrote, "He made no history either for himself, or the family." However, she did mention that he "was the one who first induced Swedish immigrants to settle in Westchester Township." See *The Story of a French Homestead in the Old Northwest* (Columbus, Ohio: Press of Nitschke Bros., 1907; reproduction, Evansville, Indiana: Unigraphic Inc., 1975), 139.

²⁰ Norelius, 232.

²¹ Moore, 352.

²² H. Arnold Barton, "Stage Migration and Ethnic Maintenance," *SPHQ* 30 (October 1979), 232.

²³ Moore, 352-353.

²⁴ Helge Nelson, *The Swedish Settlements...* vol. I (Lund, 1943), 16-17.

²⁵ Beijbom, "The Historiography of Swedish-America," *SPHQ* 31 (October 1980), 261.

²⁶ Norelius, 227.

²⁷ See I. O. Nothstein, ed., *Selected Documents Dealing with the Organization of the First Congregations and the First Conferences of the Augustana Synod and Their Growth until 1860*, vol I, (Rock Island, Illinois, Augustana Historical Society Publications, vol. X, 1944), 181.

²⁸ Anderson and Blanck, 6.

²⁹ Conrad Bergendoff to Elmer Vedell, 1 January 1970, Bethlehem Lutheran Church Archives, Chesterton, Indiana. See also, Bergendoff, *The Augustana Ministerium: A Study of the Careers of 2,504 Pastors of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod/Church, 1850-1962* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, 1980), 14-15; 74. A collection of essays was published by "Associates, Family, and Friends," entitled *Andreen of Augustana, 1864-1940* (Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 1942). See also note 3.

³⁰ The present church is the third church built in Porter (and the fourth associated with the Baillytown settlement). A log church was replaced by a new church of Scandinavian design in 1901, but it was lost in a fire in 1933. The current Augsburg Evangelical Lutheran church, of American design, is located on the foundation of the second sanctuary. It was completed in 1938.

³¹ "After Fifty Years: Bethlehem Lutheran Church, 1879-1929" (Chesterton, Indiana: Chesterton Tribune Press, 1929) 9-10.

³² See Weston A. Goodspeed and Charles Blanchard, *History of Porter and Lake Counties, Indiana* (Chicago, Illinois: F. A. Battey and Co., Publishers, 1882; reproduction, Evansville, Indiana: Unigraphic Inc., 1979), 290-312.

³³ *Ibid.*, 304.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 293.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 301. For more on early families, see C. W. Nelson's "Baillytown," Parts I and II, and Norelius, 232. The Wistrands were another important Swedish pioneer family.

There is a file on them in the Westchester Public Library in Chesterton, Indiana.

³⁸ "Beginnings of Bethlehem Recalled," *Chesterton Tribune*, 6 October 1949, news clipping, Bethlehem Lutheran Church Archives, Chesterton, Indiana.

³⁹ *Chesterton Tribune*, 10 December 1884, 5.

⁴⁰ See the vertical file on Hillstrom Organ Factory in Westchester Public Library, Chesterton, Indiana. Hillstrom is also discussed in Moore, 126, 130. Charles Hillstrom is listed in the Chicago city directory in 1875. Apparently the factory was located at a number of addresses over the years. In 1880 it was called "Hillstrom and Bredshall Organ Company," of 329 W. Ohio in Chicago. Neal J. Ney, Assistant Reference Librarian, Chicago Historical Society, to Elmer Vedell, 11 May 1973, Bethlehem Lutheran Church Archives, Chesterton, Indiana. ⁴¹ *Chesterton Tribune*, 28 October 1882, 5.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 31 December 1885, 4.

⁴³ Bergendoff, "The Role of Augustana in the Transplanting of a Culture Across the Atlantic," in *The Immigration of Ideas*, eds., J. Iverne Dowie and J. Thomas Tredway (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, 1968), 81.

⁴⁴ *Chesterton Tribune*, 1 February 1917, 1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 28 June 1901, 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 10 December 1882, 1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 12 July 1901, 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8 July 1904, 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 23 August 1901, 4.

⁵⁰ Sture Lindmark, "The Language Question and its Resolution," *SPHQ* 23 (April 1972): 71-95. For more on the language question see the July 1995 edition of the SAHQ which contains articles by Barton, "Conrad Bergendoff and the Swedish-American Church Language Controversy of the 1920s," 206-216; and Elmer M. Lindahl, "The Troublesome Language Question," 217-236.

⁵¹ Lindmark, "The Language Question and its Resolution," 73, 75.

⁵² Wendy Ann Buckley, "The Language Transition in Augustana Synod: One Church's Experience. An Analysis of the Language Transition at Augsburg Evangelical Lutheran Church of Porter, Indiana" (Typewritten manuscript, 21 May 1984. Augsburg Evangelical Lutheran Church Archives, Porter, Indiana), 23.

⁵³ Buckley, 12-20.

⁵⁴ See Anna-Maud Tranberg, "The Burstrom Chapel-An Indiana Swedish Landmark," *SPHQ*, 17 (April 1966), 96-100; Ahrendt, "A Swedish Heritage: History of Burstrom Chapel" (Porter, Indiana: Augsburg Lutheran Church, 1975), 1-3; Buckley, 11-12; and the vertical file, "Baillytown," Westchester Public Library, Chesterton, Indiana.

⁵⁵ Cook and Jackson, 27-28; 43. See also A. Berle Clemensen, *Historic Resources Study, Indiana, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana*, (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, 1975).

⁵⁶ For a sampling of literature on the "new ethnicity," see Michael Novak, *Unmeltable Ethnics: Politics and Culture in American Life* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1995). This is the new, enlarged edition of *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, published in 1972.

⁵⁷ Ahrendt, "A Swedish Heritage," 160. See also Elmer Vedell, ed. and trans., "The Beginnings: Bethlehem Lutheran Church," (Chesterton, Indiana, 1969). Besides her article on the Burstrom Chapel in 1966, Tranberg wrote two other articles for the *SPHQ*. See "The Carlson Planetarium in Porter, Indiana," 28 (July 1967), 123-127; and "John Thorell and Old Baillytown, Indiana," 32 (July 1971), 153-161.

⁵⁸ *Chesterton Tribune*, "Baillytown club has its quarterly meeting," 22 July 1974, news clipping file, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Porter, Indiana. The article also noted that a Memorial Day service was held annually at Burstrom cemetery. On this occasion

William Ahrendt, Pastor Swanson, Boy Scout Troop 68, and about 100 people attended in all. Congressmen Landgrebe presented the Baillytown Community Club with a flag to use at the flag pole they had recently erected at the site. It was a modern Swedish-American celebration of heritage reminiscent of the turn-of-the-century picnics held on the Fourth of July.

⁵⁹ See note 54 and 57.

⁶⁰ This information comes from the author's notes and journal taken during his stay at the park during the summer of 1993. The documents are contained in the curator's storage area at Indiana Dunes. The first small section of land was transferred from Joel Wicker to Andrew Kyllburg [sic] in 1872.

⁶¹ *Chesterton Tribune Weekly*, 17 December 1884, printed from microfilm on file at Westchester Library, clipping contained in files at Indiana Dunes.

⁶² *Chesterton Tribune*, 11 February 1899, 1.

⁶³ See note 60.

⁶⁴ Alan Winquist, *Swedish-American Landmarks: Where to Go, What to See* (Minneapolis, MN: Swedish Council of America, 1995), 103.

⁶⁵ Robert Benz, *Agricultural Overview of the Calumet Region and Porter County and Preservation Guide and Restoration Guide Lines for the Chellberg Farm* (Indiana Dunes, n.d.), 5.

⁶⁶ The poster cited is in the possession of the author. Its only markings are "GPO: 1981—576-316." The front of the poster is a rather handsome stylized collage of pictures of the Chellberg family. The back consists of quotes from Naomi (Chellberg) Studebaker combined with drawings and interpretive comments on agricultural themes.

⁶⁷ Cook and Jackson, 41; 43.

⁶⁸ Warren Snyder, *Chellberg Farm Management Plan* (Indiana Dunes, 1990).

⁶⁹ See *The Chellberg Farmhouse Furnishing Plan* (Indiana Dunes, n.d.), 1.

⁷⁰ Clemensen, 18.

⁷¹ Although I have focused on ethnicity, I welcome labor historians, womens' historians, and other specialists to examine the site and tell other stories. This project has made me realize how problematic historical interpretation can be. For one thing, the significance of religion is often undeveloped at historic sites.

⁷² Edward T. Linenthal, "Committing History in Public," *Journal of American History* (December 1994), 989. See also his perceptive commentary on our most famous historic sites, *Sacred Grounds: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

⁷³ Winquist, 102-102; *Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Porter County Interim Report: Indiana Historical Sites and Structures Inventory* (Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana, 1991), 12.

⁷⁴ Thomas Flanagan, *The Tenants of Time* (New York: Warner Books, 1989), 3.

⁷⁵ Ahrendt, "Reminiscences," 7.