



9-1-2007

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Recommended Citation

The BYU Family Historian, Vol. 6 (Fall 2007) p. 59-82

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THE FOX RIVER SETTLEMENT REVISITED: THE ILLINOIS MILIEU OF THE FIRST NORWEGIAN CONVERTS TO MORMONISM IN THE EARLY 1840S

GERALD M. HASLAM

The first Norwegian converts to Mormonism joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, not in Norway, but in the rather isolated Fox River Settlement in the extreme east central portion of La Salle County, Illinois, in 1842. There they heard the good news of the Mormon gospel preached in Yankee English by a colorful extemporizer named George Parker Dykes (b. 1814), a fire-and-damnation preacher who centered his message of redemption around the Old Testament scripture in Micah 4:2: “And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.” One of the leaders in the Norwegian settlement at Fox River, described by Dykes in 1842 as “a man of strong mind, and well skilled in the scriptures,”¹ was Goodman Hougas (Gudmund Danielsen Haugaas), born in 1808 on the southeast coast of Norway in Tysvær, Rogaland. As a young man in about 1820, he traveled to nearby Stavanger and worked as a servant and learned the craft of a wheelwright. He was one of the so-called “Sloopers” who emigrated in 1825, journeyed to Kendall Colony, New York, and from there, with his wife and young family in 1834, settled in La Salle County, Illinois (in what is now Rutland Township) with the first Norwegian settlers to that region.²

In Illinois, Hougas served as a frontier doctor, although he had no medical training of a professional nature, and in 1846 he established the first Norwegian-language newspaper in America, called *Nordlyset* (The Northern Light), to promote “Liberty and Equality without regard to rank or nationality” and to “in every respect befriend, and so far as possible, assist the oppressed.” By that time he had been a Mormon four years. Soon after Hougas converted, Dykes ordained him an elder in the Mormon priesthood and called him as president of the La Salle Branch (congregation) of the Church. By January 1843, he had spent three weeks proselyting in Sugar Creek Settlement, Lee County, Iowa, where he baptized ten Norwegians into the Mormon fold; he later accompanied Ole Heier on a missionary journey to Wisconsin Territory and met with some success among Norwegians in the area southwest of Milwaukee (now Rock County, Wisconsin). After the death of his first wife, Julia (Guri Thormodsatter Foss-Eigeland Madland), whom he had married 15 June 1826 in New York and who had borne him seven children, he married Kari Christophersdatter Hervik on 26 June 1847 in La Salle County and fathered one child by her.

In June 1844, assassins gunned down the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum in Carthage, Illinois, where they had been imprisoned. In October of that

¹ As quoted in Keith A. Erekson and Lloyd D. Newell, “‘A Gathering Place for the Scandinavian People’: Conversion, Retention, and Gathering in Norway, Illinois (1842–1849),” *Mormon Historical Studies*, n.d, 23; online (http://www.mormonhistoricsitesfoundation.org/publications/studies_spring2000/mhs1.1EreksonNewellSpring2000.pdf).

² *History of La Salle County, Illinois*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Inter-State, 1886) 1:454.

year, Hougas and other Norwegian converts, numbering about eighty persons, hosted chief Mormon Apostle Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders who, having purchased a hundred acres of land from Hougas and Jacob Andersen Slogvig, laid out a city called Norway about “three miles southwest of the present town of Norway which it preceded by many years.” The two main streets were named Young and Hougas, and here the Mormons planned to build a temple and establish a gathering place for the Scandinavian Saints. Hougas, by that time a Mormon High Priest, was to be sent to Scandinavia to gather converts to the new Zion. Thereafter, Hougas and other Norwegians toyed briefly with doctrines of the Strangites (a Mormon sect) before returning to the orthodox fold in 1846. The following year, Hougas expressed a desire to join with the main company of westward-migrating Saints, but he tarried too long and grew ill with cholera while serving as a community doctor, dying on his farm between Ottawa and Norway, La Salle County, on 28 July 1849. His oldest son, Thomas, would later serve as a pastor in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the Fox River vicinity for fifty years, from 1868 to 1918.³

Hougas’s probate file affords fascinating glimpses into the man and his community. The front page of the inventory notes “no real estate” in documents filed 21 December 1849, and we are left to ask if he indeed died without any real property on hand or whether the inventory was for chattels only. We do know that the Norwegian Sondra Sanders (a possible sibling of Austin, Harriet and Alice Sanders who joined with the Mormons and left for Utah after their parents died of the cholera in nearby Prairie Creek Settlement about thirty miles further south of Fox River Settlement) was owed \$44.50 by Hougas’s estate for “6 Days work in Harvest at 1.00 per day” and “mowing 8 Acres Grass & Oats at 50 [cents]” in 1848, and “15 days work in Harvest at [\$]1.00... 13 days work mowing & Hauling at 75 [cents]...3 days work putting in wheat at 75 [cents]...[and] 15 days Ploughing of 30 Acres at 50 [cents],” all in 1849.⁴ So Hougas did work the land, although he may have rented the property he farmed after selling out earlier to the Church, preparatory to moving west with

³ Gerald M. Haslam, *Clash of Cultures: The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism* (New York and Berne: Peter Lang, 1984), 4–5, 129–30; William Mulder, “Norway Forerunners Among the Early Mormons,” *Norwegian-American Historical Society (NAHA) Transactions* 19:1–9 <www.stolaf.edu/naha/pubs/nas/volume19/vol19_3.htm>.

⁴ Also due H. Thompson & Co. was a total amount of \$5.29 for a pound of plums; pound apples; candy; gallon of molasses and 5 lbs. sugar; also for buttons, shirting and box of mustard; 5 yards sheeting and 6 yards calico; 5 sheets wadding; 1/2 pound tobacco; 2 nutmegs; 1/2 pound tea; and pint of wine; of which five sheets of wadding had been returned.

Many of the chattels of Hougas were sold at auction 8 Dec. 1849; Ole Hayer bought two old irons, box of old iron, horseshoes, old iron, horseshoes, flatiron, old iron, old iron; Oliver Hayer a plow; Ole Hayer, a buggy; Oliver Hayer, drawers, pair of pants, vest, 2nd pair of pants; Christopher Nilson, old iron; E. Anderson, old iron; L. Larson, one old ax; Ener Anderson, drawknife; Andrew Anderson, box of old iron, wagon; other buyers were Osmund Tuttle, martingales, cultivator; Nils Nilson, file; Ole Person, saw and plane, harness, shovel plow, 81 bush. oats; Lars Nilson, one plow; Jonas Jacobes, 2 hogs; L. Larson, 2 hogs; Jense Jacobes, 2 sheep; Ole Hayer, 7 sheep; Knud Richeson, 40 bush. corn; Lars Larson, 28 bush. corn, heifer; Rasmus Rasmussen, curry comb; ?T. Ellingson, cupboard; Ole M. Hanson, heifer; Enoch Thomsen, steer; John Whing, 3 calves; Osmund Tuttle, calf; E. Askewig, saddle; Hans Hayer, colt; Rasmus Rasmussen, 2 horses; Vital Vernat, pair of harnesses; ?Caroline Hougou, vest; Geo. Nichles, vest; Jonas Rasmuson, coat, pair of pants; Enock Thomson, coat; Erick Ericson, one pair of pants; ?__ Anfinson, pair of ?shorts; Enock Thomson, shearing tools; Lars Larson, books; the Pitzers, sundry items, though most of the purchasers were Scandinavians; total sales of \$216.49. La Salle Co., IL, Probates, box H, no. 29, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, UT [hereinafter FHL] film #2319679.

the main body of the Saints as he had planned.

In point of fact, the purported deed from Hougas and fellow Church member Jacob Anderson Slogvig (who would eventually shift his allegiance to the Reorganized LDS Church and migrate to Napa Valley, California, where he died on a large ranch in the 1860s) has never surfaced, leaving us to ask just what Brigham Young was referring to in his diary when he mentioned purchasing real estate from the two Norwegians. We do know that Hougas and wife, Julia, sold to prominent Mormon Bishop Reuben Miller for one hundred dollars on 25 February 1845, land in La Salle County in:

Section Sixteen (16) Township thirty four (34) Range five (5) East of the third (3) principal Mer[idian]. Being twenty three acres In the South End of the East half of the North West q[uar]te[r]. (or twenty three acres in the South East Corner of the North West qr.) in the above named Section Being in width eighty rods East and west [?and] North as far as may be[,] Together with all and singular the hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging.

No witnesses are named although the transaction was recorded by Norwegian Ova Rosdail, acting Justice of the Peace, on 22 March 1845.⁵ That this is part of the acreage referred to by Young is indeed possible although no corresponding deed from Slogvig has been found; we are likewise left clueless as to just what happened to the above-described property since, according to grantor indexes of La Salle County, it never was re-sold by either Miller or his heirs. Miller may have been acting as trustee for the LDS Church in order to potentially avoid legal squabbles, such as those being mounted against Mormon land ownership in and around Nauvoo at the time, and in nearby Iowa and Missouri. But even so, we just do not know what was going on for sure, and indeed this little exercise in “real estate transfer” and trying to track down a particular chain of title sufficiently underscores the fact that land ownership and title in La Salle County in the 1830s and 1840s was one sticky business (see Appendix A).

Swarms of westward-moving squatters or speculators often abandoned a temporary settlement in Illinois, hardly stopping long enough to view the territory for “greener pastures” in Iowa or even Nebraska, and “local farmers seldom claimed as much as half the available farm sites at the time” of the land sales by the United States government. Speculation was rife. Many speculators would swoop in illegally before the land sales and “buy off fictitious squatter titles or...purchase lands in the sections where the prairies were dominant,” easily acquiring large holdings. After the sales, speculators would again move in and buy “the surveyed lands that failed to sell at the land sales and remained thereafter open to private entry at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre. Settlers who arrived in a sparsely settled community,” such as Fox River, “often found that large holders owned many of the attractive locations. The title of pioneer farmers, therefore, was [often] derived not from the federal government but from non-resident investors.”⁶ Writing to friends in Norway from the

⁵ La Salle Co., Illinois, Deeds, vol. 11, 200–201, FHL film #1428326.

⁶ Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 39. “The real estate agent, bankers, and lawyers of the struggling prairie settlements counted heavily on the fees that they received for acting as the local agents of non-resident landowners.” *Ibid.*, 39. Before the act of 1841 governing the preemption system of land

Fox River Settlement on 22 June 1841, for example, Mons Larsen Skutle described the large Norwegian settlement:

We have been staying with a man for a year in the biggest settlement or neighborhood [the same one where many Norwegian Mormons-to-be lived]. I heard that there was a portion of land here that a speculator had bought from the government 5 years ago. We call such men speculators, who buy some land with forest and prairie, in order to sell it again later. This speculator, who had bought this land, was long gone and didn't look after his property, either on one place or another and here one is permitted to build on or clear such land if only one pays the tax to the government when the owner himself doesn't do it properly. I built a house and a barn on this piece of land. How it will go, whether the owner comes or not, I don't know, since no one hears anything about his whereabouts. But if he comes back, then he is required by law to pay me for my work and reimburse me for the tax at the rate of one-half dollar for each dollar that I have paid. The government has to have what is imposed. That is from 4 to 6 dollars for each 80 acres. It is mostly woods and timber.⁷

purchases, generally, "the pioneer who settled anywhere upon the public domain was actually a trespasser. The temporary pre-emption acts of the 1830s applied retroactively and for limited periods of time only. Many settlers could not look to them for protection. They must bid against any rivals who coveted their claims at the public auction. Even after 1841 the squatters sometimes ran their claim lines before the federal surveys or before the district land officers were ready to accept their pre-emption declarations attesting to the fact that they planned to purchase their holdings under the pre-emption law prior to the date of the local land sale." Some settlers were cut out of their land if they failed to raise the one or two hundred dollars "needed to purchase" a "claim by the time of the land sale" and might see some large landowner or speculator "purchase his claim and 'improvements' at the land sale or acquire them later by private entry." Ibid., 30-1. In connection with the Norwegians arriving on the scene about 1834-35, that was the very time of "frenzied public domain land sales" when sales "shot to 2,096,623 acres," a nearly 600 percent increase from the previous year when 354,010 were sold. This buying craze swept the country, as "in the thirty months from the fall of 1834 to the spring of 1837, the American people generated the largest office business in the history of the Republic," James E. Davis, *Frontier Illinois* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 207.

⁷ Mons Larsen Skutle to Anve Knudsen Skutle, Qvitler Otting, Voss, Bergen Diocese, 22 June 1841, trans. Stanley J. Nuland, *Vossingen* 4:3 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1922), 16-18.

The Fox River in Illinois actually enters that state from the north "where it widens into a large area of interconnected lakes known as the Fox Chain O'Lakes. Fox Lake is the largest city in this area. From the chain, the river flows generally southward for 115 miles (185 km), until it joins the Illinois River at Ottawa.... Collectively, the area surrounding the Fox River is known as the Fox Valley...." David J. Horn, "Overview of the Fox River and the Ecological Consequences of Dams on the Fox River Ecosystem," *Fox River News* (Winter 2003): online.

Descriptions of the Fox River Valley and environs, northeastern Illinois, include "You Call This Prairie?" describing "marsh meadows, scores of lakes, and even soggy bogs" that make up some of the landscape. Also part of the scenery are "wooded ravines and narrow, winding roads" and a bit further west, "the winding hills of the Fox River Valley" where one can explore "graceful historic towns that took advantage of the riverways." Slightly further south are more open lands, "patches of prairie here, grassland there" in marked difference from Fox River. Bob Puhala, *Off the Beaten Path Illinois* (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 1987, 2007), 31. In frontier Illinois, "watercourses [such as the Fox] snaking across prairies sustained trees, [and] creat[ed] lengthy peninsulas of timber. Settlers valued timber resources" which "yielded game, mast for livestock, syrup and sugar, other foods, and wood for building, fencing, heating, cooking, furniture, wagons, and tools. It also comforted settlers accustomed to wooded life. Cabins dotted edges of peninsulas of timber,

Another early settler, Thomas A. Thompson, remembered that in the early days “settlers broke up only patches on their land and raised a little wheat and garden truck.”⁸ At the very least, the Fox River Settlement of Norwegians was not a community where farmers worked the land in a rationalized for-profit manner or where farming was done on a large scale. This was largely due to the nature of the land: “broken in surface, their soils comparatively low in organic content,” settlements such as Fox River were originally populated by settlers who favored the timber groves over the barren prairies. Here in timber alongside the rivers “were the rails, the building materials, the fuel, and the sheltered locations for horse and stables that the settler desired. Water supplies, nearness to mill sites, the navigability of some of the prairie rivers, and the marshy and ‘sickly’ nature of much prairie ground may have influenced the pioneer as well, but they counted much less in his decision than did the oak, hickory, walnut and locust trees of the wooded lands.” Settlers were loath “to encroach upon the prairies,” establishing their farms instead on acreage “ringing the wooded margins [long] before some hardy or experimental soul [eventually] ventured away from the timber.” On first coming into such “speckled” areas, settlers would erect a crude log cabin about sixteen or so feet square “with puncheon floor, clay fireplace and mud-and-stick chimney” and clapboard roof. These makeshift shanties “presented no structural problems that two men, or a man and a willing boy, could not solve,” and indeed some of the cabins built by the poorer settlers, including Norwegians, had no floors at all “other...than the bare ground,” and also contained rough-board lofts which surely reminded them of the humble homes across the sea that they had left behind.⁹

The “shanty and log cabin phase” was temporary, and eventually frame or brick homes replaced the old log ones, especially by the late 1850s. But that was years after the time of our story. In the 1830s and 1840s, “a variety of other buildings rose through the years” around the farmhouse: “a summer kitchen, a smokehouse, corncribs, stables, barns, and, perhaps a roofed threshing floor.” There might even have been a “crude corncrib of logs, poles, or rough siding.” Livestock usually toughed the midwestern winter out “in the shelter of a hay- or straw-stack.” Most early stables were hardly substantial—pioneers “drove notched sticks in the ground, poised a roof of prairie hay on poles resting in the

which often encompassed large prairies. Only after cabins crowded the edges of timbered peninsulas did latecomers settle, often with trepidation, on open prairies between fingers of timber. Waterways sustaining these timbered fingers usually provided superb well water and even flowing water much of the year.” James E. Davis, *Frontier Illinois* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 14–15. In the Fox River Valley area, the timber was “chiefly oak of several varieties, in wet places, while birch and cottonwood” grew on the bluffs. Wild crab apple trees grew in rich abundance, in clusters and isolated trees; also wild plum trees. Hazel constituted most of the small undergrowth, *La Salle County* I:164.

Soils in the area, especially the grasslands, “are dark brown, at times even black in color, reflecting the content of organic materials that have accumulated in them over time, mainly the residue of grassland vegetation and root systems. The massively complex roots of one major prairie resident, the big bluestem, sometimes penetrated more than six feet into the soil, and the roots of some forbs more than doubled this sum. In the woods along the prairie watercourses, the pioneers were to find soils of lighter color, for organic matter accumulated less rapidly in soils under forest cover than under grass. There was less sustenance for the crops of the farmer in these soils than in those of the true prairie.” It is important to remember, and this applies likewise to some of the Fox River Norwegians, that as a general rule the first settlers “slashed their claim markers on the timber along the streams and in the prairie groves.” Bogue, *Corn Belt to Prairie*, 6.

⁸ “Cleven-Surdahl-Thomson Families,” 3, <http://www.orchidvoices.com/genealogy/b3.htm>.

⁹ Bogue, *Prairie to Corn Belt*, 47.

notches, and attached siding of poles and sticks on one or more sides. Sometimes the builder cut back a bank to make one side or built against a haystack”—Illinoisans in the 1830s called these structures “sucker barns”.¹⁰ Until about the mid-1840s, “the usual farm was located in part, if not wholly, in the timber; and twenty or thirty years later the early settlers of the prairie triangle...[would remember] with chagrin the labor which they wasted in slashing fields out of the timber” although “few of the woods were dense, and the pioneers selected the areas of sparsest growth for their first fields.”¹¹ By the 1840s, some ventured out into some of the adjoining grasslands where farming was something altogether different requiring “unwieldy looking implements” called “breaking plows” which are mentioned frequently in probate records of Fox River Valley Norwegians’ estates. Such plows were comprised of “a ponderous beam six to twelve feet long, the fore end resting on small sturdy wheels, the rear end firmly attached to a massive share.” The farmer “regulated the depth of the furrow by adjusting a long lever which ran from the front to rear above the beam and pivoted on a bar above the wheels.” The largest of these contraptions allowed a farmer to “turn a furrow of some thirty inches” and required “five or six yokes of oxen or four horses” and two men, “one to drive the team and the other to guide the plow and regulate the depth of the furrow.” A good breaker could turn “from one and a half to three acres of sod in a day, with frequent stops along the way to file the cutting edge of the share.” Even more commonly, Fox River *Nordmenn* in the 1840s and early 1850s “depended heavily on light, single-shovel plows pulled by one horse, for work in the corn rows, although farmers also used plows with a flat landside to cut very close to the young corn plants...but the implements that revolutionized corn cultivation in the prairie triangle were the riding and walking straddle-row cultivators pulled by two horses.” These were “driven with one horse and one wheel on each side of the corn row, while a shovel tooth, or teeth suspended on gangs attached to the frame or axle, cut close on both sides of the corn plants. One or more rounds per row had been the rule with the shovel plow [but] with the straddle-row cultivator,” which really came into its own in the 1840s, “the number of rounds was halved.”¹² We can also imagine what some of these Norwegians experienced as they worked backcountry patches bordering the Fox River, where roamed “cattle, elk, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver.” There were “many small lakes and rivers” and considerable numbers of buffalo, “strange, shaggy beasts [which] glared out through tangled hair at the invaders.” Most of the Norwegians who left probatable estates owned a buffalo robe or two and a buffalo rug, and even into the 1840s settlers would on occasion indulge in a “feast of buffalo meat...topped off with helpings of venison...goose and swan.”¹³

Running through this landscape teeming with game and wild beasts was the river, doubly cold and imperious in winter. “When the ice broke up in the spring, cakes almost as

¹⁰ Ibid, 67–69.

¹¹ Ibid, 70–71. “The axe, the maul, and the wedges or gluts were more often in the hands of the settler prior to the mid-1850s than were the plow handles or the cradle.” In winter or slow season, pioneers split the rails, the building components of fences used to protect the crops and livestock, let alone prevent neighbors’ strays or wild deer from despoiling the crops. Splitting rails “became a task for winter and odd times.... The placement of the wedges, the knack of making the first one stick, skill in turning the grain or flaws in the wood to the advantage of the axe, all these helped to make the difference between 150 rails and a good day’s work, and something far less.” Ibid., 73. Also Davis, *Frontier*, 14–15.

¹² Ibid, 160–61.

¹³ James Gray, *The Illinois* (New York and Toronto: Farrar and Rinehart, 1940), 25, 50.

big as a house would come crashing out of the creek. They plunged and lunged through the willows, carrying everything before them.” Often livestock would be “cut off by the caprice of the river,” and their owners “had to wait until the water had frozen before the animals could be led safely across. Even then straw had to be thrown on the ice, and the frightened horses complained and tossed their heads and threw out clouds of protest from their steaming nostrils.”¹⁴ In warmer months, Fox River Valley Norwegians farmed on the edges of numerous bogs, in a watershed environment supporting a great variety of plants ranging “from the carnivorous pitcher plants and sundews to white and yellow lady’s slipper orchids.” Overhead, birds such as the king rail, the sandhill crane, and the red hawk, circled around the fields; approximately a hundred species of fish populated the river waters including the “weed shiner and greater redhorse” and “river redhorse,” which were fairly unique to the area; and one could dig for over thirty species of freshwater mussels including the “spike, slippershell, sheepnose, wavy-rayed lampmussel, and rainbow.” Unique to the lower Fox River area was “the pygmy shrew”—“grey-brown or red-brown in colour with lighter underparts”—“almost completely blind” and dependent “on its barely adequate sense of smell for protection.” Actively foraging “day and night year-round...in moist soil and dead leaves,” it mated in early summer and gave birth to a “litter of 5 to 8 young in a burrow under a dead log or stump.”¹⁵

Against such a varied tapestry of patchy little farms spilling out of timberlands alongside the river into parts of the prairie, as well as the plants, the fishes, the wildlife and the varied seasons, we must now consider the Norwegians themselves, most of whom arrived in Fox River commencing in 1834. What kind of work did they do? What was their social status? What kinds of possessions/chattels did they own? Drawing on estate files for the approximately sixteen Norwegians in Fox River whose estates were probated through 1858, over half of whom (ten in fact) perished along with Goodman Hougas in the cholera epidemic of 1849–50 (see Appendix B), we can attempt to answer some of these questions. First, many of them farmed lands to which, for reasons delineated above, they held questionable titles. These “landed” Norwegians comprised about fifteen to twenty percent of Norwegian households in Fox River, which in 1840 numbered about sixty-three. Three hundred and sixty-five Norwegians in that year, of whom two-thirds (or about 240) were children (the mean number of persons per household hovering around six), which means there were about 125 adults in the Norwegian population of La Salle County, of whom all but five or six were in their vigorous twenties, thirties, and forties. In the same context, we note a Mormon nucleus-in-embryo (which would join with the Latter-day Saints two or three years later) of approximately seven households totaling 40–50 persons, namely, those of Andrew Doll, Gilman Hocus (Goodman Hougas), Jacob Anderson, Ole Hyre, Larse Olson,

¹⁴ On 20 December 1836, two years after members of the erstwhile Kendall Colony, New York, arrived at Fox River, the entire region “was enveloped in the icy embrace of a veritable blizzard.... The day had been warm, and men pursued their avocations without their overcoats. This storm, or ‘the sudden freeze,’ as it is now familiarly known, swept diagonally across the State, at a rate of twenty-five miles an hour. It came with a strong wind, a heavy black cloud and a roaring noise as of distant thunder, accompanied by a heavy moisture in the atmosphere. So sudden was the intense cold that horses and wagons were frozen in the mud, as were hogs and chickens. Parties returning from the city on horseback were unable to dismount when they arrived home. In one case the saddle-girth had to be cut, and as the rider was found to be frozen fast to the saddle, they had to be thawed apart at the kitchen fire before they could be separated.” *La Salle County* 1:164–65.

¹⁵ Horn, “Fox River,” n.p.; Puhala, *Illinois*, 31; and Wikipedia.

Henry Sebber and Knut Pearson—right in the middle of the major concentration of Nordic settlers ranging through the township continuum (Mission, Miller, Rutland, Manlius) following the river. Given a total population in La Salle County in 1840 of 9,465 persons, we can figure that one of every approximately twenty-six persons in the county was Norwegian or lived in a household headed by one, shortly before the Mormon missionaries arrived (see Appendix C).

As above, only about one in every five or six households actually owned the land (or thought they did), leaving the bulk of the Scandinavian population to work the farms of their countrymen for day wages, in addition to grubstaking on rented or marginal properties. A few of the settlers had lumber wagons and one of them, Daniel Danielson, even owned a primitive reaping machine and a threshing machine, which he undoubtedly rented out during harvesting season. Most of the households owned commonplace farming, woodworking and building tools: little flax wheels, butter churns, casks, spinning wheels, steelyards, grindstones, hand saws, beetles with iron wedges, chisels, spades, hoes, baskets, sawhorses or (so-called) bucks, augers, hammers, planes, cradle scythes, snaths, pitchforks, scoop-shovels, dung- and hay-forks. Most of them used primitive hand-held wooden-boxed fanning mills for removing straw, chaff, stones, dirt and dust, weed seeds, and light immature seeds from wheat, oats, rye, barley, and other grains. This was of great importance for better preservation during storage, in order to have mold- and grit-free flour and for securing seed free of weed seeds that competed with the growing cereal crop.

Women, such as Sarah Nelson, served up to as many as twelve persons at table on occasion, lit a candlestick or two in the bedchamber at night and blew out the candles upon retiring, warmed cold beds with heated flat irons in winter months, and kept featherbeds and bedding, sheets, pillows, quilts, bolsters, straw bed-ticks, bed-cords, and bed curtains in good repair. They entertained female neighbors with tea poured into prized teacups and saucers from hand-painted pitchers brought over from the Old Country, drank wine and water from glasses on Sundays and tin mugs and wooden dippers on weekdays, ate with forks and knives but not as Americans do, balanced little spoonfuls of salt spooned out of dainty silver-plated salt dishes, stored pepper ground in a wooden pepperbox, sifted flour with primitive handheld sifters. Most cooked with braise steamers and owned several kettles.¹⁶ All of them stored foodstuffs in tubs and even pails, spread out dried hides over the floorboards or bare dirt, ate and drank from tinware and crockery on a daily basis, heated home and hearth with wood-burning stoves, sat on rough-hewn furniture, gathered dirty clothing into washing tubs, ground coffee in their coffee mills, used assorted bags for sewing supplies and precious spices, lit lanterns to get around indoors and outdoors during darker hours, and rubbed meat with salt stored in barrels near the back stoop.

Even in hardscrabble Fox River, some of the men were well-off. Daniel Danielson, who died of cholera in July 1849, the month and year Goodman Hougas succumbed to it, owned a pair of buffalo overshoes, an over-cap, a sheepskin gray coat, a brown overcoat, two pairs of pantaloons, another pair of pantaloons, two pairs of pants, three additional pairs of pants, a shirt and a vest, two other shirts, a broadcloth coat, a pair of broadcloth pants, a white linen coat, a striped apron, calfskin boots, another pair of shoes, and a horse blanket. Most of the men owned two or three bosoms and collars for shirts, a breastpin, a silver ring and a pocket watch; they wore suspenders, frequently checked a little pocket compass while

¹⁶ Sarah Nelson Estate File, La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box N, no. 10, FHL film #2293430.

out in the fields working or even out walking, pulled on sturdy calf-high boots for work in the fields, and wore an overcoat to church. Cotton shirts were *de rigueur*. Some of the older men still wore buckles on their shoes, probably because they took such fanatically good care of shoes purchased many years previously in Norway. In most cases women owned two or more dresses—only one for Sunday or best-dress occasions. They also owned pantaloons, petticoats and flannels, knitted drawers and neck comforters, and went around in colder months in black broadcloth coats and white scarves or little skin head-caps. Most women owned a silk or flannel handkerchief, a garter, several pairs of woolen stockings and capes (well-to-do women wore fur-skin capes) as well. They also liked to stuff oversized inside pockets with balls of linen or woolen thread.

Most of the Norwegians used horses for plowing (and for riding at times, though not commonly). They slaughtered a few hogs each season for supplies of bacon and lard, put up with several sheep which they used for the wool, and sent their young children outside every hour on the hour to mind the hens and the chickens. After about five years in America, one Fox River Norwegian, named Mons Larsen Skutle, had by 1841 acquired “six lambs, two sheep and four lambs and four cattle and a pair of driving oxen, two years old...two sows, geese and over 100 chickens,” the chickens being “the quickest and easiest to earn with of all the animals.” “We are thinking of buying a foal,” he continued, “which costs about 20 dollars. A middleing [*sic*] horse costs from 60 to 70 dollars.” Foodstuffs and crops in the little Norwegian enclave could be grown or purchased or both. Settlers paid about two dollars for a barrel of wheat flour, half that amount for a barrel of Indian corn, a dollar a barrel for potatoes, and one cent—the equivalent of a Norwegian shilling—for a bowl of cornmeal. A pound of fresh pork went for four cents, a cake of butter for six cents (or occasionally ten to twelve cents a pound). A cow could be purchased for twenty dollars, a sheep for two. Wages for working men averaged one or two dollars a day. Christian Danielson’s estate in 1849 included a stack of wheat worth 45 dollars, another worth 15, a stack of barley worth a dollar and a stack of oats worth 20, a crop of corn on the ground valued at 15 dollars, a rick and stack of hay 18 dollars, and a patch of potatoes on the ground worth two dollars. A few Norwegians hoarded a gold piece or two, less commonly a piece of silver, and Hans Oftadahl’s estate in 1838 comprised “a pocket book with thirty five dollars of fraudulent bills” valued at twelve-and-a-half cents! Perhaps one in three Norwegian men shaved with a razor, but not too often. Every family possessed an old, large, hand-painted ironbound wooden chest, or two or three, handed down in the family from as long ago as the sixteen- or seventeen-hundreds, in which they hoarded heirloom silver, prized linens, fragile dishware and beloved old-world bibles and sermon-books (see appendix D).

For the final part of this revisitation of the Fox River Settlement of the early 1840s, where the first non-English-speaking converts to Mormonism were won, I return to the Mormon High Priest and frontier doctor of Rutland Township, La Salle County: Goodman Hougas, who died of cholera along with scores of other Norwegians in the community during the epidemic of late summer 1849. Hougas owned two horses, along with a colt, thirteen hogs, a black cow, a brindle cow, a black heifer, a “red linback heifer,” a steer, four calves, ten sheep and fourteen geese. A farmer by necessity, if not by choice, he used a double harness for the team of horses. He also used a dung fork, a pitchfork, two regular plows, two shovel plows and a cultivator. Out in the barnyard reposed six stacks of hay, probably second- or even third-crop, valued at \$17.00; a ton of corn worth \$25.00 along with corn spilling over sides of a crib worth \$16.00; and a meager supply of wheat and oats. In the

barn was a wagon, some old buggy wheels, old boards and a couple of carpenter's tables, a cradle and scythe, a mortar and spinning wheel. Inside the house were sundry bed and bedding, a stove and accompanying pipe, and kitchen and household furniture including five chairs, a table and trunk, and a clock. There were also books valued at four dollars, medicines worth eighteen dollars, three pork barrels, a shovel, a wedge, a long chain, half a grindstone, half a fanning mill, an ax, an old saddle, shearing tools, flour, and potatoes.

Hougas's chattels amounted to a total appraised value of 285 dollars (including \$59.05 owed by debtors). Lars Larson, Vetal Wermt and James M. ?Trenary valued the estate. Hougas had obtained medicines on commission, having stocked up "three dozen boxes Spencers Vegetable Pills to sell at Twenty-five cents per box—One Doz. boxes Hulls Worm Loz[enges] and one Doz. boxes Hulls Cough Loz[enges] to sell at 5 cts per box each, also one Doz boxes Hulls Fever and Ague pills to sell at 50 cents per box."¹⁷ He also owed on account about twenty-five dollars for assorted brandy, alcohol, myrrh, peppermint,

¹⁷ Goodman Hougas Est., La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box H, no. 29, FHL film #2319679; per account 27 July 1846. Hougas had also received on 7 August 1847 at New Norway, "three dozen boxes spencers vegetable Pills to sell at twenty-five cents per box - one dozen boxes of Hulls Worm Loz[enges] and one Doz Hulls cough Loz to sell at twentyfive cents per box each. Also dozen boxes Hull's Fever and Ague pills to sell at .75 cts per box. and I hereby agree to pay to the order of Nelson Arnold or to the order of Hull & Spencer on the presentation of this Receipt but not otherwise sixtyseven cents on each and every dollars worth that I do not return when this Rect is presented -- also return all the above named medicine that I may have on hand. Returned on the above Rects. 2 10/12 Doz[en] Spencers Pills; Hulls Cough Lozenges 5/12 dozen - Hulls Ague Pills 11/12 dozen;" all of this acknowledged by Addison Brainard, agent, Hull & Spencer. Ibid. It appears Hull and Spencer traded nationwide as witness "Hull & Spencer vs. Reuben Moore" on the 1844 civil docket for Old Tishomingo Co., MS, transcribed Vicki Burgess Roach, "Old Tishomingo County Research Page," copyright 1997-2005 by Bobbie Brewer Wilson, online. Hougas also owed about twenty-five dollars for assorted brandy, alcohol, myrrh, pep[?permint]; whiskey; quin[ine]; bitter crystalline alkaloid from cinchona bark used in medicine; also salt of quinine used esp. as antipyretic or agent to reduce fever, or as antimalarial; also bitter tonic; capsicum [tropical herb and shrub of nightshade family cultivated for many-seeded usu. fleshy-walled berries -- also called pepper; dried ripe fruit of some capsicums as *C. frutescens* used as a gastric and intestinal stimulant]. It appears Hougas purchased most of the above medicants from merchant house Walker and Stickling, of Ottawa, Illinois. See *Practical Medicine*, XVIII: *Diseases of Children* by Evanson and Maunsell, 238–9, describing *Cholera Infantum* as usu. occurring dur. Autumn months, characterized by a "sudden and violent" invasion which rapidly runs its course, terminating in death if not properly treated. In some cases, however, the disease was milder, characterized by vomiting and drowsiness for two or three weeks, until an acute attack finished off the victim. Ibid., 275–6. Worms were more often a problem in children than adults, the complaint being intestinal—malnourished children and those in low-lying areas were particularly susceptible; the child exhibiting a swollen belly or "gnawing, pungent, or twisting pain" and "irritation...in the rectum;" the children's eyes "fixed or wild; the pupils dilated;" and some children experienced convulsions. A very common worm attacking children, the *Triocephalus*, was "about two inches in length, of a white color, and like a thread" in appearance. Another common worm was a much smaller one of the thread variety, *Ascaris Vermicularis*, commonly called *Ascarides*, "often...seen in great numbers in the stools, looking like bits of cut thread; and, if recently voided, are usually found in rapid motion." Ibid., 278. Symptoms included picking the nose or at the mouth and gnawing stomach pain, for which purgatives were prescribed. One recipe combined "scammony, jalap, and calomel, to which some strong-smelling oil, as oil of juniper" was added. "Half a drachm, or a drachm of tincture of aloes" was likewise employed as a purgative along with turpentine. Ibid., 281. Robley Dunglison, MD, *A Dictionary of Medical Science*, 7th ed. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848), *Dictionary*, 907, describes Ching's Worm Lozenges "which consist of yellow and brown lozenges. The former are directed to be taken in the evening; the latter on the following morning;" whereas a recipe for making them called for such ingredients as "white panacea of mercury or calomel washed in spirit of wine," white sugar, "mucilage of gum" and "resin of jalop."

whiskey, quinine and capsicum. He would have used the myrrh, or myrrha, as a stimulant, it being described in a contemporary medical dictionary as “gum-resin” with “a fragrant peculiar odour; and bitter aromatic taste,” and “reddish-yellow, light, brittle, irregular tears”; it was “partially soluble in distilled water when aided by friction” and used for treating “cachectic affections, humoral asthma,” and “chronic bronchitis.” The brandy was “a powerful and diffusible stimulant,” and the whiskey, also part of Hougas’s medical arsenal, was in those days “quaffed [in] copious quantities...youngsters often sipping some before trundling off to school. Often costing around thirty cents per gallon, whiskey graced even religious households and flowed freely at house raisings, hog slaughters, dances, and on innumerable other occasions,” attesting “to grim facts of painful teeth, sore gums, arthritic joints, aches and pains from malaria and accidents, and overall discomfort...”¹⁸

Hougas and other early Norwegian settlers in Fox River, Illinois, confronted ferocious insects, the flies in the late fall being so bad that pioneers “had to build a fire near the horses and keep the flies off until night.” Prairie or greenhead flies “infested marshy places and were particularly tormenting in late summer, attacking in swarms, drawing blood from horses and other animals, and stampeding frantic victims. Bites actually killed horses, and wary travelers avoided these hellish creatures by traveling at night. Malaria-carrying mosquitoes afflicted soggy lands in eastern counties” like La Salle. “Malaria was Illinois’ most prevalent disease between 1780 and the 1850s. As late as the 1840s, a visiting physician noted that ‘the whole prairie was saturated with malaria....’” The principal market in the 1830s and 1840s was Chicago. Fox River settlers would set off from home expecting to be gone at least a week: if the loads were normal size, “only one yoke of oxen would be required, if large, two or even three were employed.” Oxen were turned out to graze at whatever camping place the travelers chose, “with a bell upon their necks, or picketed out with a stake and rope.” Sometimes during the night they wandered away as far as ten or twelve miles. After leaving home in Fox River, the small wagon company would generally be alone the first day. After that “there would be quite a train, each wagon slowly plodding along through the grass—which was sometimes knee-high, sometimes above the top of the wagon—and followed by a cloud of mosquitoes as large as a swarm of bees. These trains often numbered a hundred wagons before they reached Chicago.” Fox River Norwegians knew Chicago as “the Chicago Mire,” on the outskirts of which they would sometimes have to hitch five or six yoke of oxen to a single wagon in order to pull it through the mud. “From the ‘Widow Berry’s’ (twelve miles out) into the city it was always swampy, often the water was knee-deep.” Even in Chicago itself, wagons would get “sloughed” in the mud and the others had to unhitch their wagons to draw the unfortunate ones out. “Selling their wheat for what they could get, they would load up with lumber and return. Many a house in the early days was constructed from lumber obtained in this way.”¹⁹

Writing from Chicago on 23 November 1840, Anders Larsen Flage complained that

...almost everyone from Europe who comes here gets sick for a while. Some get sick as soon as they arrive and some after 1 or 2 years. Here, there are

¹⁸ Davis, *Frontier*, 387.

¹⁹ *La Salle County* 1:210–11. Another menace was rattlesnakes, which thrived and had done so for centuries on the prairies in great numbers. But by 1850, “thick-skinned hogs, impervious to snake bites, thinned their ranks.” Plowmen over the years “dispatched scores [of snakes] daily with long whips.” Also, “during the 1850s drainage and cultivation markedly reduced numbers of mosquitoes, sickness abating.” Davis, *Frontier*, 387–88.

two types of illness that attack the people mostly during the summer in the months of July, August and September. We call the first, feverague and it begins with headache, then in almost the whole body, and at various times of the day there is shaking and trembling so that the entire body shakes like an old shaky man and after this trembling they become so weak they can hardly move. It lasts 5 to 6 months in some, but the sickness lasts 8-9 mo[nths] in others and occasionally even longer.²⁰

From the specific medicines Hougas had on hand, we can easily surmise that he frequently had to doctor patients suffering from ague (also intermittent fever) contracted “chiefly...by marshy miasms, and consisting of paroxysms, with a complete state of apyrexia in the intervals.” Other symptoms included the following: chills, “impaired sensibility,” collapse, a later “hot phase” and tongue coated white accompanied by raging thirst, and excessive sweating. Recommended treatment included “emetics, purgatives, cinchone, quinia” and arsenic, all of these with the exception of arsenic being detailed in the 1849 inventory of Goodman Hougas’s storeroom.²¹

In conclusion, it appears possible, even likely given our perusal of some of the relevant sources in this exercise, that the temple lot purchase in Fox River by the Nauvoo Mormon hierarchy in October 1844 from Norwegians Goodman Hougas and Jacob Anderson Slogvig, was predicated on a shaky title and may have actually belonged to a reprobate absentee landlord who never resurfaced after speculating far and wide early on, before leaving lower reaches of the Fox River Valley forever. Not that Hougas and Slogvig were necessarily or knowingly culpable. Their own holdings, if they or their heirs ended up with any after all of the claims and counterclaims had settled, rested on equally questionable arrangements, as did their very existence in a landscape of riverbed forests cheek-by-jowel with marshy boglands teeming with poisonous insects—bearers of various diseases, some of long duration but not fatal. Other diseases in the land, such as cholera, claimed victims like Hougas within as little as twenty-four hours. Without much doubt, few Norwegians, upon emigrating from the old granite headlands of Norway, knew what they were getting into. Once here however, and through all of the suffering, they could still respond to a message of hope preached by the Mormons, looking towards not only a glorious afterlife, but also a new Zion, which they were invited to assist in establishing. The brash Mormon preachers themselves hailed from Nauvoo, which was constructed on erstwhile unhealthy swampland and which in 1842 boasted a population larger than Chicago’s. In all of this there was some of the good and some of the bad. As expressed by Anders Larsen Flage writing from Illinois in 1840: “I didn’t feel good when I first was here and thus I got in debt for 50 dollars and this depressed me. I told my wife frequently, ‘God grant that I had enough money to pay for the passage back to Norway, then I would go there and advise others that they shouldn’t take this trip!’ But shortly thereafter, my health improved and I was in condition to work; I got a job and earned a little, then the thoughts of going back to Norway disappeared.”²²

²⁰ Anders Larsen Flage, et al., Chicago, to Anders Størkson Flage, et al., 23 Nov. 1840, in *Vossingen*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1922): 7–8.

²¹ Dunglison, *Dictionary of Medical Science*, 31.

²² Anders Larsen, et al., Chicago, to Anders Størkson Flage and Knud Olsen Reque, Voss Parish, Bergen Diocese, Norway, 23 Nov. 1840, trans. Stanley J. Nuland, in *Vossingen*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Madison, WI, 1922), 3, 8.

APPENDIX A

Reuben Miller and wife Rhoda Ann by deed 12 Mar. 1845, to Lorenzo Leland of LaSalle County, cons. \$150.00, "North East Quarter of lot No. four (4) in Block No. Seventeen (17) in the original town of Ottawa [,] County and State aforesaid;" wits. John Gibson, Geo. Gibson; rec. 18 March 1845. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 11, 193-4, FHL film #1428326.

Thence Reuben Miller and wife Rhoda Ann, deed 15 Mar. 1845, to John Miller of LaSalle County, cons. \$200.00, "a certain tract of parcel of land...known as Lot (3) in Block three (3) in the Town of Dayton, Lasalle County and State of Illinois as surveyed by the County surveyor, and duly recorded;" wits. John Gibson, Geo. Gibson; rec. 17 Jan. 1846. La Salle Co., Illinois, Deeds, vol. 12, 169-70, FHL film #1428326.

See Jacob Anderson and wife Serina to John Martin Nitchelm, 11 June 1849, cons. \$2020.00, "The equal undivided half of the North half of the East half of the South West quarter of section twelve (12) in Township No. thirty four (34) of range No. four (4) East of the 3rd principal meridian. Also the South West quarter of section thirteen (13) in the same township and range excepting and reserving therefrom Block No. twenty one (21) and so much of block No. twenty two (22) as his [is] North West of the road running from Ottaway by the way of Holdamans Grove to Chicago, of the town of Norway in said county, and also the East half of the South West quarter of section one (1) in the above described township and range. ?Und 1/2 N1/2 E1/2 SW1/4 12.34.4 SW1/4 13.34.4 excepting Block 21 & that part of B. 22 N.W. Chicago road Town of Norway -- E1/2 SW1/4 1.34.4;" signed Jacob Anderson, xSerina Anderson; wit. M. E. Hollister; rec. 11 June 1849. Nitchelm then, 11 June 1849, mortgaged the same farm to Jacob Anderson, Anderson finally acknowledging full payment and satisfaction of same, 15 Oct. 1852. La Salle Co., Deeds, vol. 17, 422-3, FHL film #1428328.

See deed 15 April 1846, Reuben Miller and wife Rhoda Ann to Oley K. Luraas, La Salle County, cons. \$260.00, "a certain tract of land situated in Section Sixteen (16) Township Thirty four (34) range five (5) East of the third Principal Meridian line. Known and described as follows to wit: Lot No Six (6) being the East half of the South West quarter and Twenty Three (23) Acres off from the South End of the East half of the North West quarter containing 103 Acres more or less;" wits. Ovee Rosdail, B. B. Fellows; rec. 18 Apr. 1846. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 19, 422, FHL film #1428329.

Finally per mortgage 27 Oct. 1849, Oliver Hier and wife Julia [both Mormons] "do hereby grant, convey and transfer to the Trustees of Schools of Township thirty three range five East of the third principal meridian in the County of La Salle and state of Illinois for the use of the inhabitants of said Township the following described real estate to wit: All of Lot No. four 4, in Lot No. ten 10 and Lot No. nine 9 in Lot No. Eleven 11, in section sixteen containing twenty acres which real estate I declare to be in mortgage for the payment of forty eight dollars loaned to us and for the payment of all interest that may accrue thereon, to be computed at the rate of Eight per cent per annum until paid and I hereby covenant to pay the said sum of money in five equal annual installments from the date hereof and to pay interest on the same at the rate aforesaid half yearly in advance. I further covenant that I have a good and valid title to said Estate and that the same is free from all incumbrance, that I will pay all taxes and assessments which may be levied on said Estate, that I will give any additional Security that may at any time be required by said trustees of schools and if said Estate be sold to pay said debt or any part thereof, or for any failure or refusal to comply with or

perform the conditions or covenants herein contained I will deliver immediate possession of the premises. And in consideration of the premises Julia wife of said Oliver Hier doth hereby release to the said Trustees of schools all her right and title of dower in the aforegranted premises for the purpose aforesaid;" signed Oliver Hier, xJulia Hier; no wits.; rec. 19 Dec. 1849; not redeemed. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 20, 30, FHL film #1428329.

Also per deed 15 Oct. 1845, Reuben and Rhoda Ann Miller, Hancock County, Illinois, to Elbridge G. Janes of La Salle Co., cons. \$275.00, "a certain Lot or parcel of Land situated in the Town of Dayton LaSalle Co. and State aforesaid as surveyed by the County Surveyor and duly recorded To wit Lot No four (4) in Block No three (3) Together with all and singular the hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging;" wit. Anson Pratt; rec. 15 October 1845. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 14, 373-4, FHL film #1428327.

And deed 28 Mar. 1846, betw. Reuben Miller and wife Rhoda Ann, to Robert Turner, all La Salle Co., cons. \$1500.00, "parcel of Land situate in Section Nine Township Thirty four (34) Range four (4) East Beginning at the quarter Section corner Between Section Nine and Section Sixteen and run due North 40.00 Links to an established corner in the centre of Section Nine and from thence run due West 27.53 Links to another established corner and thence due South 40.00 Links to another corner on the Section line between Sections Nine and Sixteen and from thence run due east along said Section line 27.53 Links to the place of beginning all in Township thirty four (34) in Range four (4) east of the third principal meridian as surveyed by the County Surveyor on the third day of April 1839 containing one hundred and ten (110) acres more or less Also the West half of the North East quarter of Section Seventeen (17) (eighty acres), more or less in same township and Range;" wit. John Gibson; rec. 28 Mar. 1846. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 12, 294-5, FHL film #1428326.

And deed 29 Apr. 1846, Goodman and Julia Hougas, to William Reddick of La Salle County, cons. \$94.24, "parcel of Land towit Commencing at the South East corner of the North West quarter of Section No. thirteen (13) in Township No. thirty four (34) North of Range No four (4) East of the third principal Meridian, running thence North eleven (11) chains thence Southwesterly in a right line to a point on the South line of said quarter Section twenty one (21) chains and thirty three links west of the place of beginning thence due East on said line twenty one (21) chains and thirty three links to the place of beginning containing Eleven (11) Acres and seventy eight hundredths. The above tract having been heretofore laid off, in the Town of Norway[;] all Lots & Blocks and parts of Lots & Blocks streets and alleys included in said boundries are hereby conveyed and the said Reddick is authorized at any time to vacate said portion of said Town;" wits. Geo. H. Norris, Canut Peterson; rec. 30 Apr. 1846. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 12, 361-2, FHL film #1428326.

APPENDIX B

For Norwegians in Fox River Settlement felled by the cholera (acute, severe, contagious diarrhea with intestinal lining sloughing) or in two or three cases some other illness, from 1 June 1849 to 31 May 1850, see La Salle Co. IL, 1850 Mortality Sched., rootsweb.com/~illasall/deaths/mortality1850.html>: Eu Airnson, Freedom twp., ae 4, fem., b. Norway, d. Sept. 1849, cholera, duration 12 hrs.; Austin Canuteson, Rutland, 28, male, married [hereinafter md.], b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, farmer, cholera, 1 day; Ann Maria Clason, Rutland, 37, female, md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 1 day; Cling Clingson, Mission, 43, male, md., b. Norway, d. Feb. 1850, farmer, smallpox, 2 wks.; Daniel

Danielson, Mission, 3, male, b. IL, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 4 days; Osman Danielson, Mission, 53, male, md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, farmer, cholera, 4 days; Andrew Eserson/?Ereeseon, Mission, 20, male, b. Norway, d. July 1849, labr., cholera, 2 days; Jane Haginson, Mission, 4, fem., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 1 day; Goodman Hugas, Rutland, 50, male, md., b. Norway, d. July 1849, farmer, cholera, 1 day; Ole Hugas, Rutland, 12, male, b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 1 day; Oliver Hulverson, Earl, 63, male, md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, farmer, cholera, 5 days; Ann Johnson, Ophir, 5, female, b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Ann Johnson, Ophir, 46, female, b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Antac Johnson, Ophir, 39, fem., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 2 days; Geo. Johnson, Rutland, 40, male, md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, farmer, cholera, 1 day; Henry Johnson, Ophir, 15, male, b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; John Johnson, Earl, 15, male, b. Norway, d. July 1849, labr., cholera, 3 days; Maria Johnson, Rutland, 5, fem., b. IL, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 1 day; Ole Johnson, Mission, 1, male, b. IL, d. Oct. 1849, unknown, 3 mos.; Ole Johnson, Mission, 38, male, md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, farmer, cholera, 1 day; Peter Johnson, Ophir, 1, male, b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Lars Larson, Mission, 28, male, b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, labr., cholera, 3 days; Lars Larson, Adams, 52, male, b. Norway, d. Sept. 1849, unknown, farmer, 365 days; Ole Larsen, Mission, 45, male, md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, farmer, cholera, 2 days; Betsey Nelson, Mission, 17, fem., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 1 wk.; Jones Nelson, Mission, 43, male, md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, farmer, cholera, 1 wk.; Melinda Nelson, Mission, 5, fem., b. IL, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 3 days; Ann Oleson, Mission, 30, fem., md., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Caroline Oleson, Mission, fem., md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 3 days; Emeline Oleson, Mission, 3, fem., b. IL, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Goodman Oleson, Mission, 1, male, b. IL, d. July 1849, diahrea [sic], 1 mo.; Ole Oleson, Mission, 27, male, b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, labr., cholera, 1 day; Ole Oleson, Mission, 6, male, b. IL, d. Dec. 1849, white swelling (TB of bone), 3 yrs.; ?___tha Olson, Freedom, 3, fem., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Ann Olson, Freedom, 4, fem., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Inger Osmanson, Mission, 36, fem., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 1 day; Martha Osmanson, Mission, 21, fem., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 2 wks.; Ann Owenson, Freedom, 4, fem., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 2 days; Hans Owenson, Freedom, 36, male, md., b. Norway, d. July 1849, farmer, cholera, 1 day; Ellen L. Rosdale, Ottawa, 1, fem., b. IL, d. Sept. 1849, cholera, 4 days; Nelly Setter, Mission, 10, fem., b. Norway, d. May 1850, rheumatism, 3 wks.; Canute Thompson, Freedom, 50, male, md., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Gunvar Thompson, Freedom, 33, fem., md., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 2 days; Helen Thompson, Freedom, 23, fem., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 3 days; Sarah Thompson, Freedom, 55, fem., wid., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 2 days; Taber Thompson, Freedom, 18, fem., b. Norway, d. July 1849, cholera, 1 day; Ole Yemsen/?Gemsen, Freedom, 38, male, md., b. Norway, d. July 1849, farmer, cholera, 3 days.

Quinia or Quinine of course was part of Hougas's medical kit, the recommended dose for intermittent fever being "from 3 to 10 grains in the 24 hours." *Medical Dictionary*, 723. Children suffering from it became "languid or fretful" and complained of "pain in the head or belly," subsequently becoming sleepy and their tongue coated and "breath offensive." Fever commenced after a "cold fit" in most cases, and the condition exhibited "'a singular fact,' as stated by Dr. Mason Good... 'that if the exacerbation or increase of fever takes place in the night, there is wakefulness and perpetual jactitation; if in the day-

time, drowsiness and stupor.” *Library of Practical Medicine*, vol. 18: *A Practical Treatise, on the Management and Diseases of Children* by R. T. Evanson, MD, and H. Maunsell, MD (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1848), 284. In addition, worms sometimes accompanied the fever. *Ibid.*, 287. Contemporary manuals recommended treating the disease with bleeding and purgatives and directed that “leeches should never be omitted, when symptoms of intestinal inflammation are present.” Other treatments for the condition employed cold drinks, “crystals of tartar” and “mineral acids;” also, “We have frequently seen a patient who had been several weeks laboring under the disease, restored to the enjoyment of tranquil and refreshing sleep, the night after his removal to a distance of three or four miles from his ordinary abode.” *Ibid.*, 289–90.

APPENDIX C

1840 Census, La Salle Co., IL, Ancestry.com, online, in continuum, shows the first tiny cluster of sixteen persons in four Norwegian households eight pp. into the enumeration: John M. Quimby/Sophia Pembroke/Josiah E Shaw/ Harry Hadley/Seth H Higgins/Lucian Peyton/Errick Larson/Larse Errickson/Larse Monson/George Matson/Bartholomew van Valkenberg/Russel Kimball/Sylvanus Crook.... Afterwards, commencing fourteen pp. further on, pp. 22-4, we come to the largest concentration of Norwegians, about forty-six households totalling 276 persons imbedded in the interior (in what would be the later township continuum of Mission - Miller - Rutland - Manlius twps.): John G Williams/William Wooden/Daniel H Burdick/Lymanton Turner/Benjamin Hess/Volney Wallace/William Simmons/Childs Crane/Edwin Hollin/Allen Higby/Isaiah Strawn/John ?Shuttze/Joel Strawn/John Gibson/Chilian McKinley/Reason Debott/Henry Bruner/Jacob Pitzer/James Pitzer/John Sinclair/William Anderson/George Johnson/Ann Pitzer/John Johnson/Andrew Doll/Bear Anderson/Mons Larson/Benjamin Fleming/Edward Sanders/William Pitzer/Jacob Anderson//Tuston Engleson/Gilman Hocus/John Anderson/Henry Brownback/Ole Hyre/Cornelius Cothrin/Vetal Vermett/Charles Osmonson/Larse Olson/Henry Sebber/Irick Johnson/Tomess Johnson/Nelse Thompson/Sennava Thompson/Serrod ?Haytod/Oliver Knutson/Connent Knutson/Larse Olson/Jert Hoveland/Lars Gutum/Christian Nelson/Chling Skou/Knut Pearson/Nelse Tauland/Geo Peterson/Caroline Nelson/Daniel Rosdale/Enfin Dirkson/Knut ?Walknabram/Ole Johnson//Andrew Osmonson/John Richason/Shure Simpson/Jacob Jacobson/Jacob Pearson/Alexander Rowe/Joseph Mason/Nancy McCleary/Geo McCleary/Oston Esmon/Larse Nelson/Thomas D Dart/John Long/Caroline Pearson/Jacob Peterson/Connut Olson/Ole Anderson/Samuel Pearson/Osmon Anderson/Eber Volley/Iran Oskevith/Stephen Morey/Rufus ?Monger/Joseph East/Ebehneser Neff/Susana Jacobs/Geo A Southworth/Charles Cotton/John Armstrong/Thomas J Tubbs//.... Two pp. further along, p. 26, is “Ole Holson” in the midst of settlers with English surnames; on p. 27 is “Ole Connutson” in the midst of persons with English surnames, five households removed from “Larse Rickelson” (thus three rather isolated households of about fifteen persons in all); and then deep into the list, p. 36, preceded by a solid listing of Americans with English surnames, we come to about nine Norwegian homesteads, commencing p. 37: Daniel Cortland/Thomas Sebring/William Immel/Henry Glover/Oten Jacobson/Hugh M Griggs/Daria B Peck/Benjamin Sebring/?Penpsel Bliss/Henry Immel/Hannah Burnett/Abram P Hosford/Amos Foster/James M Phillips/Daniel Stephens/?Major D Wallace/John Carrier/Benjamin Ranthall/Augustus Geer/Milton B Roberts/Edward H Roberts/James

Parker/William Munson/Stephen Sampson/James McKee/Samuel L Cody/Nathan Warren/Allen E Wilcox/Severius Wilcox/James Largent//Daniel S Pierce/Leroy Hudson/Andrew Anderson/Ole Thompson/Holver Osmonson/Jacob Johnson/Paul Erecson/Holver Kittleson/Hohn Knutson/Oslack Seamonson/Jonathan Cooley/John Thompson/Aron Bardsley/John T Cook/Edward Bagley/Volney Beckwith/John Thornton/Osborn J Wilson/Olonzo D Carter/Uriah Carter/Sylvester Carter/Joseph Lighttall/Joseph W Dowe/Albert F Dowe/Charles F Sutphen/David D Graff/David C Bullard/John McIntire/Benjamin Birdsell/Samuel Julian. . . . (so nine households of about fifty-one total persons); and then on p. 38 an isolated “Osmon Thompson” household of seven persons, the last of the Norwegians. All told, there were about sixty-three households numbering about 365 Norwegians of whom two-thirds or about 240 were children (mean number of persons per household about six), which leaves us with about 125 adults in the Norwegian population of LaSalle County in 1840 of whom all but five or six were in their vigorous twenties, thirties and forties. In the same context we note a Mormon nucleus-in-embryo (who would join with the Saints in 1842-43) of approximately seven households totaling about forty to fifty persons, ergo: Andrew Doll, Gilman Hocus [Goodman Hougas], Jacob Anderson, Ole Hyre, Larse Olson, Henry Sebber and Knut Pearson—right in the middle of the major concentration of settlers (none on fringes or isolated). Total population of La Salle County in 1840 was 9465 persons; by 1850 it had jumped to 17,813; and by 1860 to 48,332. *La Salle County* I:14.

APPENDIX D

Through 1858, approximately sixteen Norwegians in the Fox River Settlement had their estates probated, viz.: Hans Oftadahl (related to Mormon Ever/Iver Afterdahl?), 1838; Olson Nelson, 1839; Benjamin Thurston, 1842, 1844; Christian Olson, 1843; Rasmus Thorson, 1848; Canute Thompson, Daniel Danielson, Christian Danielson, Goodman Hugas/Hougas, Canute Olson, all 1849; Thomas Osmanson, Sarah Nelson, 1850 -- the large number (ten) in 1849-50 reflecting the cholera epidemic raging through the community; Osman Danielson, 1852; Charan/Karen Osmanson, Halver Osmanson, 1854; Gunner Oleson, 1858.

Daniel Danielson Est. adm. Peter Nelson, Sept. 1849, owned two horses valued at \$85.00, lumber wagon \$50.00, harness \$10.00, purchased by Dan Stevens; two horses @ \$65.00 ea. and another @ \$70.00 bought by Soren Nelson; reaping machine purchased by Soren Nelson and Aven Rasmuson \$100.00; threshing machine \$300.00 purchased by Hans Hayer, Chas. Lurus, Ole Lurus; harness set purchased by Osten Nelson; stable \$4.00 purchased by Knut Anderson: total value \$779.00; other items sold to Norwegians: After Nelson, John Johnson, Aven Rasmuson, Cling Clingson, Jona Jacobs, Nels Freeland, Ova Tompson, Daniel Pearson, Owain Avenson, Hans Hire, Vorn Svainson and Christian Danielson; incl. pair buffalo overshoes, plush overcap, jug oil, nipper punch, sheep's gray coat, brown overcoat, two pair pantaloons, another pair pantaloons, two pair pants, three pair pants, shirt and vest, two shirts, broadcloth coat, pair broadcloth pants, trunk, cutter, prairie breaking plow, three caps, set of sleighbells; as also: breaking plow, horse cutter, bay horse and sorrel, span of chestnut sorrel horses, white linen coat, broadcloth pantaloons, cotton flannel shirt, silk handkerchief, five additional pantaloons, a ship's gray coat, overcoat, striped apron, calfskin boots, pair shoes, 12 bags at fifteen cents each, razor brush and box, buffalo rug, chest, common lumber @ \$1.00/hundred, set horsebells, count book, box old

iron, saddle and bridle, horse blanket; totaling \$801.42; admins. noted "the servant here is found to be a young Norwegian that was taken sick at Danielsons and the old man employed to Doctor him Indeed the old man Danielson came after me—consequently is responsible," per Bill from O. Harvey, Newark, 27 July 1849, for \$8.75 of medicines admin. to servant and other members of the family incl. Danielson's wife and two children, also Christian Danielson; Chas. Lurose/Luraas owed \$12.00 for horse trade ca. 12 July 1849 "for wich I am villing if Court pleas to seartjfy ether by my oun Oath or by wittnessas;" "Sally way late Sally knickerbockers" due \$10.00 "nursing and attention at the time of his [Danielson's] death." Daniel Danielson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box D, no. 19, FHL film #2318842.

Christian Danielson, perhaps bro. of Daniel above, est. likewise adm. Peter Nelson, Sept. 1849, incl. little flax wheel, reel, bedstead, bed and bedding, pillows, scrap leather, shoes, bags, pair steelyards, dry barrels and tubs, chest, handsaw, buck (saw horse), auger, two planes, cradle scythe, clock, looking glass, table and chairs, crockery and silver spoon, knives and forks, sadiron (flat iron), lot (meas.) books, cookstove, kettle, ten spoons, small iron kettle, half bush., bedstead, pails, grindstone, axes, old table, chest, buffalo robe, log chains, oak plank, old sled, churn, fanning mill, calfskin, waggon corn, corn cultivator, Ola Lund Plow, drag, grain cradle and scythe, grass scythes and snaths (scythe handles), large dry box, saddle and bridle, harness set, waggon, thirteen sheep, eleven hogs, nine pigs, five cows, yearling steer, four calves, spring colt, two yearling colts, three-year-old mare \$65.00, seven-year-old mare \$45.00, stack wheat \$45.00, another \$15.00, stack barley \$1.00 and stack oats \$20.00, crop corn on the ground \$15.00; rick and stack hay \$188.00; spade, two pitch forks, chest; stack oats \$5.00; hayrack; patch potatoes on ground \$2.00; hammers and old scythes; grand total \$522.10; purchasers of bedding and old clothing, primarily Norwegians: Andrew Andrewson, Ova Tompson, Andrew Richardson, Christian Danielson, Avon Osquick, Rasmus Larson, Swain Avonson, A Anfenson, Peter Nelson, Vern Swainson, Nils Freeland, Gullack Johnson, Thomas Tompson, Canout Williamson, Osmon Tuttle, John Johnson, Enar Anderson, Jance Jacobs, Rasmus Chelly, Hove Tompson, John Arnson, Nels S Nelson, Ingerbore Wing, John Peterson, Anfin Anfinson, Hance Hire, Lars Larson, Tore Torson, Peter Ormson, Ole Lurus, Sorn Nelson, ?__ Hendrickson, Gullik Jonson, John Rosdall; other items -- pail strainer, smoothing iron, barrel and salt, vinegar kegs, bag and hops, box and barley, doubletree (?hitching unit), tub, barrels, rulers, scoopshovel, quilts, strawticks, cow bell, buffalo skin, log furniture, copper tea kettle, bridle and martingale (horse strap), shovel plow, drag, five first choice sheep, four second-choice sheep, two first choice hogs, two second choice hogs, two third-choice hogs, two fourth choice hogs, three fifth choice hogs, four calves, black steer, several cows, sorrel mare, spring colt, bay colt, lot potatoes, stack hay, another stack hay, lot corn, three wheat stacks, two more wheat stacks, three barley and wheat stacks, seven books, two stacks oats, two more stacks oats, nine pigs, a cloak; John Nelson invoice pd. 25 Sept. 1849, \$2.50 "fore work in the harvest 5 1/2 days;" Ole Dueland three days in harvest rec'd unspecified amt. receipted 19 Oct. 1850; Ole Jacobsen \$0.75 "fore work fore Christien Danielson in the harvest," 21 Nov. 1850. Christian Danielson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box D, no. 20, FHL film #2318842.

Osman Danielson's Est., adm. Elias Nelson, Osman Tuttle, Harmon Osmunson, Canute ?Tostad, 16 Feb. 1852, comprised open account due est. from John Nilson \$196.92 1/2, large amount at the time; gray mare, black cow, red and white cows, brindle cow, four calves, set harnesses, three pigs, wagon, ?sled, grindstone, cutter, carpenter's tools,

dungforks, log chains, shovel plow, cultivator, another plow; the whole worth \$497.67 1/2; inconsequential items—farming cradle, fanning mill, barrels, old iron, lantern, choates [sic; ?chotes; male piglets], spinning wheel, gear, buffalo robe, bedsteads and bedding, stove, basket and box, table and chairs, pinchers (pincers), stones and pipe, flatirons, eight tumblers, looking glass, set old dishes, pair steelyards, tubes and pails, tablecloths, lot books, lot wool, five hundred fencing posts, wearing apparel, hoe, bags, chain and gun barrel, shingle (?detritus, gravel). Osman Danielson owned “40 Acres of Prairie Land . . . first quality” valued at \$635.16; “40 Acres Timber pone (?pine) the hole prised at 500.00;” total worth of land \$1113.16; the 40 acs. prairie purchased from Christen Danielson “described as follows to wit Being the North West quarter of the North West quarter of Section Thirty four of Township No thirty five North of Range No five East of the third principal Meridian, Valuation 10 dollars per acres [sic].// 40 Acres of Timber, described as follows to wit, being the South East, and the South West Fractional quarter of Section No (29) Township (35) Range 5 East of the 3 Principal Meridian, Valuation 2 1/2 per Acre, bought of Ole Olson;” heirs on 24 June 1865, Harmon Harmonson, Caroline Harmonson formerly Caroline Danielson, Jeremiah Olsen, Inger Olson formerly Inger Danielson. Osman Danielson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box D, no. 28, FHL film #2318842.

Sarah Nelson’s Est., adm. Andrew Osmondson, assisted Harmon Osmondson and Nels Thompson, 14 Dec. 1850, candlesticks and flatirons, dozen plates, two sets teacups, four glasses and plates, pitcher, five pair forks and knives, four teaspoons, four silver spoons, wooden bowl, flamebill (?flambeau), dress, looking glass, another dress, bedcurtain, two handkerchieves, gown and shirt, silk hood, straw bonnet, pt. of bedquilt, piece flannel, piece cloth, another handkerchief, two window curtains, four sheets, four pillows, two quilts, four coats, sift (?sieve) and box, bolster, featherbed, pantaloons, quilt, tablecloth, blanket, two woollen dresses, cloak, bundle rags, cloak, Alepakee (?Alapaki) dress worth \$2.50, woollen dress, straw bedtick, bedstead, chest, rocking chair, braze (?braise) steamer, braze kettle, pair drawers; total value \$50.29 1/2; pers. effects, mostly enumerated earlier, also wooden box and sundries, ribbons, hymnbook and testament, clock, set cups and saucers, pair do., bowl, teacup and salt dish, plate and saucer, plates and pepperbox, pitcher, piece linseed (?linsey), cloak, shawl, leather coat, sheets, towels, comforter, woollen sheet, woollen quilt cover, neck comforter, knitted drawer, pair pantaloons blue, petticoat, silk handkerchief and flannel, another window curtain, nightgown, black broadcloth coat, another do.; brought in \$66.29 1/2 in all, purchased mostly by Norwegians.: Ole Setre, Knut Yttreworld, O: Andrewson, Ever Thompson, Andrew Thompson, Nels Nelsen, Halvor Kvintem, Halvor Knutson, Asbjorn Asbjornson, Knut Johnson, Hagen Hagenson, Ole Peerson, Charels Luuraas, Andrew Osmund, Andrew Osmundson, Alfe Johnson, Elling Ellingson, Ana Froland, Hagen Hagenson, Samuel Peerson, Jacob Larsen. Sarah Nelson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box N, no. 10, FHL film #2293430.

Hans Oftadahl’s Est., earliest Norwegian one probated, commencing shortly aft. his d. 12 Nov. 1838; Geo. Johnson admin., assisted Edward Sanders; Vetel Vermett, Benjamin Fleming appraisers; sum total of property \$111.06 1/4, incl. “one lot of medicin and bottles,” shaving utensils, hat and cap, silver spoon, three pair pantaloons worn, two old vests, lot boots and shoes, cloth sailor coat, overcoat \$18.00, umbrella, five fine linen and two coarse and one cotton shirts \$8.00, lot handkerchieves, two pair woollen drawers and two woollen shirts, five pair woollen stockings, two pair cotton stockings, fine cloth frock coat \$10.00, fine cloth body coat \$9.00, pair pantaloons fine cloth \$7.00, vest, “six bosoms and three

collars for shirts,” gold breast pin and silver ring \$2.00, silver watch \$15.00, cap and two pair suspenders, bed and bedding \$11.00, pocket compass and pocket inkstand, canal shovel, “pocket book with thirty five dollars of fraudulent bills” valued at 12 1/2 cents, iron-bound chest \$5.00, small looking glass, scythe, small sword 25 cents, jackknife, comforter for neck; at est. sale, mostly Norwegians—Geo. Johnson, Lars Bremsen, Gudmund Hougaas (later Mormon; bought box with razor \$1.80), Helge Peterson, Tonnes Tollowson, Samuel Peterson, Niels Thomson, Ira Goudason, Ole Olson, Helge Person, Herman Osmundson, Osmund Tottel [Tuttle], Chas. Almind, Andrew Dahl (later Mormon; bought pillowcase \$1.00, sheet \$1.62, shirt \$1.54, shirt \$1.12 1/2), Ira Goudason, Gudm. Hougaard (bought shirt \$1.12 1/2), Henrich Saby (later Mormon; bought two pair suspenders 37 1/2 cents), Gudm. Sansberg; the whole totaling \$141.92 3/4, attested 18 Dec. 1838; est. assessed for “5 weeks & 2 days board and waiting and keping watch in 9 days and nights in his state of insanity and In the last days of his life keping watch 7 days and nights” \$37.00, and \$3.00 for “4 trips to Ottava [sic] for doctor and medicin” [sic]; along with pittance for washing thirty-eight items and cotton sheet, submitter unnamed. Hans Oftadahl Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 2, FHL film #2293430.

Nelson Olson, est. appr. 11 Oct. 1839, owned gold piece \$4.80; smaller gold piece \$1.20; order on Reuben Simons \$12.80 and A. H. Stebbins \$25.50; on Jacob Andresen \$5.18; owned pocket book with pencil, two small carpets, three woolen shirts \$1.50 ea., four yds. fullcloth @ 75 cents/yd., two woolen hats @ 50 cents ea., two vests—one silk and one fine cloth \$2.50, four shirt collars \$1.00 ea., two coarse shirts @ 75 cents ea., cotton shirt, other shirts, three pair pantaloons @ 25 cents ea., shortcoat and vest, cap and two pair sacks, sundries, shaving tools, two bottles, four boxes, pipe, black silk handkerchief 25 cents, two comfortables [?comforters], “2 papers the one with black peper the other with Tea” 12 cents, wineglass and horn spoon, sermon book in the Danish language \$2.00, seven small books 50 cents ea., nine books for \$1.00 the lot, five books for \$1.00 and papers and tracts for \$1.60 total, English new testament 32 cents, slate, dirk knife and pen knife, two woolen sheets ea. \$1.00, bowl and plate, piece leather 6 cents, four chains 75 cents and moulding tools \$1.00, three hammers 75 cents, ten chisels var. kinds 62 1/2 cents, six “tooles bitts” and rasp, three awls and punch, five knives 37 cents, two bits and auger, two gauges; rule and pencil, three screw augers, two bench irons, two compasses, square, ax, two strap saws, glove, soap, pair boots and hat, two chests \$2.00 ea., chest; total est. valued at \$97.58 (appraisers xVetal Vermett, Ova Rosdail, G Hugaus). Nelson Olson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 3, FHL film #2293430.

Christian Olson’s effects sold at auction by Hans Valder, Mission Point, drawn up 6 Jan. 1844, incl. ltr., nd, to adm. Ole Oak: “To you our Dear friend Ole Oak of Star Isles parish Norway. As you have in your last ____ful letter made inquiry how to execute on the property left by Christian Olson deceased we hereby give answer and also request you to administer the same. If so be that the first letter has not arrived, for we sent a letter to you some time ago /about/ on this same subject, by a Preacher from the east country who should take a journey thereto from Norway. There was a bargain made between the Parents Bretheren & Sisters to C. Olson and I Thompson on Iogn [?Sogn], that he said Thompson will here pay to C. Olsons Heirs that which his estate amounts to, when we only can be informed what that sum is. Therefore you are hereby authorized to execute the same, and you are also requested to have the care thereof, either to appraise the property to the highest value thereof, and Ole Thompson receive the property thus appraised, and we be informed of

the amount thereof, or you put it to auction & said O. Thompson receive the purches [sic] money, as a donation, or as an inheritance from His son then his /blotched/ pay to /indecipherable words/ at the /can't read/ then /?/ I Thompson administer thereon to the best of your knowledge as well that Lot or lots of Land as the loose property, and that you will in a letter acquaint us thereof both of C Olsons estate, so also that Ole Thompson give His reciept [sic] in the same letter for what he has recieved. Further we remark, that you withhold of the property to pay you for all your truble [sic], and other expences and charges of which we do not know. This is the substance of the first letter, if not word for word. We have said all of his estate, but we here make this exemption, that the books shal[[]] be divided between his, (namely C. Olsons three best acquainted & friends in America which is Ole Oak, Ejlert ?Bora & Ole Thompson as a small present of his, to remember him by. If the first letter we sent has not reached you this is the substance of it, and will answer the same purpose as the first. [signed] Ole Olson & Torbor Olson his wife, the deceased [?deceased's] parents[;] Their Children, Rasmus Olson, Ole Olson jun:[,] Osmund Olsen, Annina Olson, Secilia Olson, Torbor Olson.—;" creditors: L. Larson for coffin \$4.00; Christian Olson \$4.00; and for piddling amts., Ola Jacobs, Nels Nelson, Gert Hauland, Ole Thompson, Hans Walder [?Wolder]), Clang Clenson, Lars Nelson, John Richardson; and for \$5.00, Ole Olson; claims totaling \$46.95; Articles sold at auction to primarily Norwegians—Ole Oak, Thomas Osmundson, Ole Johnson, Nils Anderson, Peter Nilson, John Johnson, ?Salon Anderson, Christen Olson, Osman Walda, George Johnson, ?Hen Osmundson, Henry Saboe (Mormon; bought vest \$2.38, red comfortable 65 cents, pair pants \$1.50, iron kettle 50 cents, pair stockings do., pair stockings 40 cents, stockings with garter 38 cents), Andrew Osmundson, Nels Froland, Lars Nelson, Peter Nelson, Osmund Tutle, Peter Johnson, John Johnson, Chr. Olson, Knud Olson, Ole Person and Knud Bielam; brought in grand total \$96.93, incl. watch \$2.00, silver tablespoon, pair silver buckles, Bible \$9.00, new Testament, sermon book \$1.25, bible history \$1.30, several sacks, hammer, razor, two pair tongs, several coats, 12 pair pants, belt, five vests, nine yds. blue full cloth \$4.50, two and a half yds. white full cloth, four yds. linen @ 40 cents/yd. or \$1.60, three pair drawers, three undershirts one \$1.70, red flannel shirt \$1.05, white flannel shirt \$1.28, linen shirt \$1.40, several other linen shirts, several comfortables, feather bed \$7.00, feather pillow \$2.06, carpet, woolen blanket \$1.08, do. \$1.80, skin cap \$2.02, copper coffee kettle, new ax, several pair stockings some with garters, two pair suspenders, night cap, piece cloth, woollen yarn, medicine 8 cents, leather, two butcher knives, inkstand and small bottle, whetstone, tobacco box, lock and key with box, wallet, large chest \$3.75, bags, two pair boots and two pair shoes; furskin cape \$1.00, woolen cape, silk pocket handkerchief, another of cotton, bosom and towel, three balls linen thread and three woolen thread, coffee boiler 50 cents, doz. "Batans" (?battens) 5 cents in all, keg; appraisers Nels Nelson, Hans Valder and Lars Nilson. Christian Olson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 4, FHL film #293430.

Canute Olson's Est., appr. at \$459.86, 8 Nov. 1849, incl.: wagon \$40.00, five cows \$40.00 total, pair oxen \$45.00, two steers \$21.00, heifer \$7.00, two yearling heifers \$10.00, two calves \$8.00, mare \$46.00, colt \$30.00, ten sheets \$8.00 total, twelve hogs \$9.00, old wagon \$8.00, plow, harrow, another plow, two shovel plows, grindstone, two log chairs, two stacks spring wheat \$10.00, one stack oats \$6.00, five stacks hay \$15.00, three stacks winter wheat \$18.00, eight acs. corn on ground appr. \$20.00, wind mill \$13.00, harness, small chain, barley in box, three boxes, two barrels lard tub and two casks \$1.13, three forks, half a loom \$2.00, milk crocks and two tubs, fifteen bags, rope, wool, two clevises, whiffletrees

(pivoted swinging bar to which traces of harness are fastened and by which a vehicle is drawn) and neck yoke \$2.00, iron kettle \$1.75, grain cradle, two spades, three hogs (containers), salt, two dry hides, stove furniture and pipe \$12.50, three bedsteads and cords \$2.50, beds and bedding, clock, two feather beds, small wheel and reel \$8.00, table, seven chairs, weaving rug, pair cards, two axes, augers and saw, beetle (wooden hammering instrument) and three iron wedges, two hammers and plane, two chisels and drawing knife, pails and tubs, two silver spoons and shears, potatoes, scythe and snath (handle); purchasers' names are hard to read on darkened copy in my poss., incl. Ole Pearson, Hanse Walder, Osmun Tuttle, Canute Williamson, Elert Erikson, Canute Anderson, Andrew Anderson, Ole Anderson, Thomas Thompson, Hogen Hogenson, Nils Fruland, Ole Setter, Peter Peterson, Andrew Osmanson, Andrew Richardson, Ole Olson, Ole Setter, John Pearson, Ole Olsen Jr, Enoch Thompson, John Johnson, Mr Hendrickson; heirs Sophia Olson, Ole Olson, Benta [Bertha] Olson, Soren Olson, John Olson, shared total inheritance of \$480.75. Canute Olson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 9, FHL film #2293430.

To Thos. Osmanson's Est., debtors incl. Thos. Thompson \$15.00, Thorbyoren Arentsoen \$60.16, Esten Estenson \$31.80, Thos. Guttormson \$25.00, Halver Halversen \$6.60 and poss. second note \$4.37; for \$143.43 owed in all; assessed Austin Nelson, Soren Olsen, Thos. Thompson, in 1850, nd; Thos. Osmanson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 11, FHL film #2293430.

Admon. of Erasmus Thorson Est. by wid. Susan A. Thorson (Nels Nelson sec.), commenced 14 Dec. 1848 (Thorson d. 29 Nov. 1848); chattels, incl. tinware and crockery, stovepipe and furniture \$10.00, clock, two bedsteads and bedding, six Windsor chairs \$1.50 in all, rocking chair \$1.50, two trunks, wearing apparel \$20.00, barrel pork \$5.00, reel \$1.00, washing tub, coffee mill, two pails and looking glass, pair oxen and yoke \$45.00, two cows \$10.00 ea., calf \$2.50, buggy wagon \$25.00, two-horse waggon \$10.00, table, horse \$40.00, bag, three stacks wheat \$75.00, two stacks hay \$7.50, 15 bush. wheat in bin \$7.50, eight acs. wheat on ground \$20.00, basket, hay fork, manure fork, two dry casks, spade, hoe and basket, beetle with iron wedge, buggy harness \$3.00; total \$307.00; Samuel Lesk owed \$33.00 (marked doubtful), Nelson Nelson \$30.00; decd's real est. " (40) forty acres of land being the north east quarter of the southwest quarter of section (25) Twenty five Town (35) thirty five north of Range (3) three East also south half of the south east quarter of the north west quarter of Section (25) Town (35) thirty five north Range (3) three East Being twenty acres . . . lying in Laselle [sic] County"; ALSO "Eight acres Lying in the north East quarter of Section Twelve (12) Township thirty five (35) north Range three (3) East as described By Deed from John Green and Wife to Erasmus Thorson"; decd. owed, inv. 28 Apr. 1846, \$4.62 to Halvor Iverson for two wks. board, washing, caulking iron (tool for caulking, in making wooden boats; traditional caulking "uses fibers of cotton, and oakum, which consists of pieces of hemp fiber soaked in pine tar. These fibers are driven into the wedge shaped seam between planks with a . . . chisel-like device called a *caulking iron*. The caulking is then covered over with a putty in the case of hull seams, or in deck seams with melted pine pitch in a process referred to as paying"; Wikipedia); claims allowed, mostly minor amts., pd. Ole Olson, H Thomason & Co., Kanute Olson, Alvah O. Smith, Henry Peterson (\$37.00), Larison Beeler, Harvey Ingersoll, John W Lyman, Erasmus Olson, Howland & Gilbert -- physician for last sickness owed \$16.00, Wm Haskell, Cr Thompson, Waler and Hickling, Samuel B. Elwell, John J. Keenan also for physician service and last sickness who billed \$30.00; for total claims \$127.14; later claims: \$5.00 for coffin later by John Lyman, \$4.50

(?attending during last illness) by Elsey Nelson; John Lyman owed \$3.43 for half day of self and team for thrashing, for spool of thread, and threshing by himself and bro. and use of horse. Erasmus Thorson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box T, no. 8, FHL film #2294235.

Finally, Canute Thompson's Est., xEsten Estensen admin., assisted Elf Jensen, bond 25 Aug. 1849, enumerates: dishes, three jugs, two pork barrels, two axes and saws, plane, two iron wedges and one ring, steelyard, pitchfork, two log chains, twelve bags, bot [?boat], pair pantaloons, two bonnets, three hoods, umbrella, three sheets and shirt, two women's dresses, coffee mill, pair shears, box, ?scandal stick 25 cents, lot of books \$4.00, frame for a house \$9.00, lot potatoes \$8.00, six acres corn \$22.00, eleven stacks wheat \$110; the lot valued at \$449.65; appraisers Geo. Peterson, Austin Nelsen, Elleve Jensen; other possessions: sorrel mare \$35.00, yoke oxen \$47.00, yoke steers \$40.00, red and white cow \$12.00, black and white cow do., red and white heifer \$8.00, black and white heifer \$9.00, two yearling steers \$10.00, four calves \$8.00, forty hens \$2.85, three hogs and eight pigs \$6.00, one sucking \$16.00, two-horse wagon \$25.00, breaking plow \$10.00 (plow adopted for breaking sod), old round plow \$6.00, harrow 75 cents, harness do., horse wagon \$4.00, two bedsteads, grindstone, stove with appendages \$10.00, chest, barrel salt, loom and appendages \$4.00, shotgun 50 cents, spinning wheel 75 cents, snaths and scythes; and buyers at est. sale 17 Sept. 1849, mostly Norwegians, incl.: Thos. Thompson (pd. 50 cents for large book), Esten Estenson (pd. under \$1.00 for lot of books), Holver Holverson, Canute Oleson, Mathias Sawyer, Tolbin Arnson, ?Armsus Oleson, Tole Oleson, Erick Westman, Gettey Larsen; the whole netting \$279.27; a second priv. sale, nd, netted \$266.08 for animals, crops, building timber, loom and fixings, spinning wheel, ship, purchasers incl. John Johnson, Thos. Thomson, ?Sarn Oleson, Sunder Heeleson, Tory Torson, ?Nels Haveson, Esten Estensen (he bought 3/4 barrel salt); creditors, incl. Osmond Anfenson of Freedom \$8.40; Oley Dualand, \$13.75, for eight days work @ 50 cents/day, plus another day @ 75 cents, pd. 8 Aug. 1853; Easman Easmanson rec'd \$14.00 for prairie plow. Canute Thompson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box T, no. 12, FHL film #2294235.

GERALD M. HASLAM, PhD, has taught Scandinavian and British family history at Brigham Young University since 1981. His research area of specialization is Danish Lutheran Theology of the 1700s and 1800s—his NFS GRUNDTVIG’s FAEDRENEARV [NFS Grundtvig’s Patriarchal Inheritance] (Aarhus, Denmark: Faculty of Theology, 1998) is the seminal work on the world-famous Danish philosopher’s break with the pietistic theology of his forefathers in the 1820s. Dr. Haslam has researched family history and historical collections in over a hundred archives in fourteen different countries, including the erstwhile German Democratic Republic (DDR; East Germany) before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. He and his Norwegian-born wife, Ann-Cathrin (“Anka”) are the parents of six children and have six grandchildren. They have lived in Pleasant Grove, Utah, since 1990. Dr. Haslam directed Brigham Young University’s Study Abroad Program in London, England, in 2000, including on-site presentations in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the Inner Hebrides. He and his wife served as cultural advisors to the BYU Wind Symphony during its historic month-long tour of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway in May 2005. His treatise on Norwegians at Fox River, Illinois, was originally presented as a lecture at the Conference on Illinois History at Springfield under auspices of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency (IHPA) in 2007. He is an Accredited Genealogist, a Fellow of the Utah Genealogical Association, and an Associate Professor of history at BYU.