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Urban Danish Foodways and Ethnic Marketing Strategies in *Bien*, 1900-1950

by Catrine Kyster Christensen Giery

Food culture is an integral part of popular culture. Fabio Parascecoli defines popular culture as “the totality of ideas, values, embodied experiences, representations, material items, practices, social relations, organizations, and institutions that are conceived, produced, experienced, and reciprocally connected within environments influenced by markets and consumption, with or without the specific economic goal of reaping a profit.”¹ When food culture appears in the semi-public sphere—for example, in grocery stores, restaurants, bars, butcher stores, and bakeries, it demarcates a space where the desires and strategies of businessmen and consumers meet. Consumers want the products they need at an affordable price, and businessmen want to earn a profit on their products.

This study of Danish American foodways in San Francisco during the first half of the twentieth century reveals how, in a society that caters primarily to the preferences of the dominant popular culture, members of an ethnic minority attempted to meet their own cultural needs. Based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of advertisements for food-and drink-related establishments in the Danish-language newspaper *Bien* in San Francisco from 1900 to 1950, this essay demonstrates that Danes and Danish Americans in this period, despite being an ethnic minority, were able to purchase Danish food products in a variety of stores and restaurants, associate with countrymen in these semi-public commercial settings, and patronize and support Danish-owned and Danish-friendly establishments. Although these culinary and retail establishments rarely catered exclusively to Danes, the market shifted away from providing such services when these foodways were no longer as much in demand.

While this essay focuses on Danes, the strategies reflected in the advertisements offer insights into the bigger question of how foodways, ethnicity, and popular culture function in America. Studying foodways and how ethnic groups navigate the semi-public space of
food-related establishments in an American city can illuminate the role of traditional and ethnic food in the maintenance of ethnic identity, the adaptation of traditional food patterns to American urban life, the integration and assimilation of ethnic minorities, and retail strategies to identify with and appeal to ethnic and non-ethnic cultures. It also points to the power of different ethnic groups and the tools available to them, as well as the limitations of ethnic solidarity as an economic force. The number of advertisements for Danish food- and drink-related establishments in Bien tapers off toward the 1950s, suggesting a loss of critical consumer mass in the area, although Danish businessmen always marketed their establishments to both ethnic and non-ethnic American customers, not exclusively to Danes.

Foodways represent and preserve culture on both an individual and a group level. Traditional food often functions as “comfort food” for immigrants as well as for native-born Americans. Roy Parama explains, “Migrants preserve their ties to a homeland through their preservation of and participation in traditional customs and rituals of consumption,” including their eating habits. Food is one of the primary means by which a group of people can maintain a collective identity. In his 1966 study of ethnic influence on urban groups, Noel J. Chrisman found that, in the Danish lodges of San Francisco, “behavior which could be seen as ethnic was largely limited to the use of the Danish language and consuming some kinds of Danish foods. I conceived of these two ethnic behaviors as ‘flags’ which announced that ‘something Danish was going on here.’” In Chrisman’s view, language and food remain important to immigrant Americans, even for immigrants who are well-integrated into their American communities. Furthermore, ethnic restaurants, bars, and stores can function as important places for people to meet their countrymen, to look for work, and establish support networks, etc. By way of example, Sophus Hartwick, the publisher of Bien from 1897 to 1930 (co-publisher from 1889) found a job in San Francisco by visiting an establishment run by Danes.

It would, however, be simplistic to measure integration into a new culture by the degree to which a person abandons the cuisine of his/her country of origin. Drawing on anthropological theory that fear and curiosity characterize meetings between people and cultures, Donna R. Gabaccia argues that all eaters deal with mixed feelings of
conservatism and curiosity about new foods. She argues that “enclave eating” – sticking strictly to the food of one’s country of origin – is mostly a phenomenon of newly arrived immigrants. In her view, the most important characteristic of American eaters (eaters who are no longer solely dominated by their immigrant roots) is that they are “multiethnic eaters.” As an example, she mentions “African-Americans who eat Chinese food on Tuesday, lasagna on Wednesday, and collard greens with pot liquor on Thursday.” This openness to cross-cultural encounters was important for businessmen trying to appeal to consumers across ethnic lines. Gabaccia argues:

During these years [1910-1940], ambitious businessmen in ethnic communities, eager to escape the fragile and changing loyalties of their enclave clientele, sought new consumers in their multi-ethnic urban and regional markets. As they moved out, however, they did not leave their cultural origins behind them. On the contrary, they frequently created a variety of market niches where businessmen like themselves dominated particular types of food trade. These niches included marketing ethnic foods adapted for multi-ethnic eaters and selling new snacks or “street foods” of wide appeal to the national market. In some areas, immigrant retailers also dominated the grocery or restaurant trade, while not selling foods of any particular ethnic origin.6

Gabaccio highlights the economic dimensions that were often paramount for food retailers, regardless of ethnic background. The fact that Danish-owned establishments marketed themselves to Danish customers may have been determined not only by the owners’ own ethnic identity and the emotions and meanings connected with that identity, but also by its effectiveness as a marketing strategy for a successful business.

This study focuses on San Francisco during the first half of the twentieth century because the city had a relatively large population of Danes and Danish Americans during these years, and because this period witnessed, according to Gabaccia, “a particularly intensive phase of cross-cultural borrowing” in the United States.7 San Francisco was the city in the United States with the third largest number of Danes in
1920: 3,389 people were Danish-born out of a population of 506,676, of which 29.4 percent were foreign-born. In addition, the city housed 2,889 Danish Americans. Thus 0.7 percent of the city’s population was Danish-born and a total of 1.2 percent were either Danish-born or had a parent who was born in Denmark. The weekly newspaper Bien was founded in 1882 for both Danes and Norwegians. It was published in Danish until around 1930/31, when it began appearing in English. The newspaper’s focus was the local ethnic communities and the Danish homeland. Nationwide in 1910, almost one-third of Danish-born Americans subscribed to one of seven Danish-language papers, but by 1930, that number had dropped to one-fifth, and in 1940, the readership of Bien had fallen to around 5,000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Danish-born residents of San Francisco</th>
<th>Second generation Danes in San Francisco</th>
<th>Danish-born residents of California</th>
<th>Second generation Danes in California</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2,171</td>
<td>9,040</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>3,237</td>
<td>14,208</td>
<td>12,287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>3,389</td>
<td>2,889</td>
<td>18,721</td>
<td>21,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3,678</td>
<td>23,175</td>
<td>37,640</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>3,133</td>
<td>19,726</td>
<td>38,240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>18,053</td>
<td></td>
<td>48,470</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 1: Danes and Danish Americans in San Francisco and California 1900-50

As a big city inhabited by a multitude of both immigrants and native-born Americans, San Francisco offered a competitive environment for businessmen and customers. In addition, the city had a large enough population of Danes and Danish Americans to support a semi-public Danish food scene. Danish bars and restaurants were, however, already present in San Francisco prior to 1900, e.g., The Morning Call from 1892 reported, under the headline “Disgusted Danes,” that Danish saloon and restaurant keepers were upset about a tug-of-war contest on the waterfront that had been lost by Danish men. This study looks at ads for restaurants, bars, and stores, some of which were hybrid establishments, that sold food products and/or drinks to consume on the premises or take away. For instance, some grocers had a bar room/area (e.g., O. Jorgensen Urtekramhandel in 1900), many
bars served food (sometimes free lunch, e.g., Jens E. Nielsen’s bar in 1900), and some lunch restaurants served food around the clock (e.g., Market Street Quick Lunch in 1915).14

We can learn a great deal about Danish American foodways from the kinds and frequency of newspaper ads for Danish-oriented stores and eating establishments, but there are also significant limitations to keep in mind. First of all, the number of ads that appeared in *Bien* in any given issue may not correspond exactly to the actual number of Danish restaurants, bars, and stores in San Francisco at the time. There may have been ads for establishments with no Danish affiliation that simply wanted to communicate with Danish American consumers,15 while some Danish establishments may have chosen not to advertise in a certain issue or in any issues of *Bien*. Moreover, the ads do not reflect how many customers the establishments attracted – i.e., the social impact cannot be determined based on a content analysis study.16 Nevertheless, since *Bien* was the only local Danish-language newspaper in San Francisco, its ads offer a picture of the Danish foodscape roughly indicative of the actual state of affairs, as it is unlikely that advertisers would have advertised in the paper if they thought it a complete waste of money.

Based on data collected from the year’s first issue of *Bien* every fifth year over a period of fifty years, this study attests to a continuous representation of Danish food and drink establishments in San Francisco between 1900 and 1950. The graph below shows the number of ads by year. More ads appeared in the early twentieth century than towards the middle and the end of the time period under investigation. The number of ads peaks in 1905 with sixty-two ads and is at its lowest in 1950 with nine ads. There appears to be a small elevation in the number of ads in 1930 but there is not enough data to establish if this is just a coincidence or if it is a trend.
As Figure 3 illustrates, there tended to be more Danish-friendly restaurants and bars in San Francisco than stores, except for in 1930 and 1935, suggesting the possible impact of global events such as the Great Depression and World War II. However, the two categories follow approximately the same trajectory as the total number of ads.
Figure 4 includes a brief overview of the kinds of ads that appeared in a given year and a few notes of interest from the findings for each year of the sample, followed by a summary of the study's findings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Notes of interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>39 ads: 21 for eateries/bars; 18 for stores.</td>
<td>Bars, cafés, coffee parlors, ice cream parlors, piano parlors, restaurants (lunch parlors/lunch houses, lunch restaurants and other restaurants), saloons (serving food), bakeries, dairies, grocery stores, liquor stores, and hotels.</td>
<td>The ad for John Undersen's establishment selling wine/spirits highlights “California wine” using a larger font than for “Aalborg Aquavit” (a Danish brand of spirits) which visually places more importance on the local connection than the connection to Denmark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>62 ads: 39 for eateries/bars; 23 for stores.</td>
<td>Bars (some serving lunch), cafés, coffee houses, coffee parlors, ice cream parlors, restaurants/lunch restaurants, saloons, bakeries, breweries, dairies, delis, grocery stores, liquor stores, store selling coffee/spice, wine dealers, and hotels.</td>
<td>Two of the establishments are owned by “captains,” possibly indicating a link between Danish sailors and the city. An article about a fire that destroyed the Magnolia Café mentions that it was currently owned by the Dane Peter Nielsen, who had managed to turn the café into one of the most successful establishments of its kind in the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>55 ads: 41 for eateries/bars; 14 for stores.</td>
<td>Bars (serving lunch), cafés (serving lunch), coffee houses, coffee parlors, coffee parlors/houses, grills, lunch houses, restaurants, saloons, bakeries (serving lunch), breweries, butcher stores, dairies, delis, and grocery stores.</td>
<td>One grocer advertises selling special cookery equipment to make homemade Danish æbleskiver (a type of doughnut). An example of a cross-over restaurant is The Gilt Edge, a “German grill” advertising Aalborg Aquavit. The front page includes a survey about what “well-known countrymen” think about building a Danish American building for the upcoming 1915 exhibition. Among the thirty-six people interviewed are four Danish American San Francisco restaurateurs. This points to some of the Danish restaurateurs being well-known and influential in the local Danish American community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>Variety</td>
<td>Notes of interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>45 ads: 37 for eateries/bars; 8 for stores.</td>
<td>Bars, cafés, coffee house/parlor, grills, restaurants (including buffet restaurants), quick-lunch places, saloons, breweries, creameries, dairies, delis, grocery stores, and liquor stores.</td>
<td>Mexico City Café is an example of a cross-over restaurant. It is owned by Peter Petersen (most likely a Dane) and is a Mexican restaurant which sells Danish Carlsberg beer and aquavit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>31 ads: 23 for eateries/bars; 8 for stores.</td>
<td>Cafés, coffee houses, lunch houses, quick-lunch restaurants, restaurants, saloons, taverns, waffle houses, bakeries, butchers, creameries, delis, grocery stores, and poultry dealers.</td>
<td>There are two ads for businesses for sale: a dairy was for sale due to the owner returning home, and the Owl Quick Lunch Car was for sale for $400. At the office of Bien, customers could purchase a Danish cookbook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>24 ads: 15 for eateries/bars; 9 for stores.</td>
<td>Bakery cafés, cafés, coffee and lunch houses, ice cream sellers, quick-lunch establishments, restaurants, butchers, delis, grocery stores, and poultry dealers.</td>
<td>This issue contains an advertisement for a cookbook for Danish bakery goods written using “English” weights and measurements, thus possibly attesting to increased Americanization of Danish cooking. This is the first time that an ad mentions “Room for cars around our market” (Hub Market).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>32 ads: 15 for eateries/bars; 17 for stores.</td>
<td>Lunch restaurants, other restaurants, quick-lunch restaurants, bakeries, butchers, caterers, delis, donut shop, grocery stores, private persons offering food products for sale, and soda companies.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>14 ads: 7 for eateries/bars; 7 for stores.</td>
<td>Cafés, coffee shops, grills, restaurants, bakeries, butchers, dairies, delis, and grocery stores.</td>
<td>An article about the Danish spirit snaps talks about how it is expensive to import and how people do not know to drink it cold. This article points to both economic barriers to maintaining Danish foodways as well as cultural knowledge disappearing or changing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>13 ads: 8 for eateries/bars; 5 for stores.</td>
<td>Restaurants, taverns, bakeries, butchers, and delis.</td>
<td>This issue contains an ad placed by a Danish chef looking for work as a manager, chef or waiter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>Variety</td>
<td>Notes of interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>13 ads:</td>
<td>Cafés, clubs, grills, lunch restaurants and other restaurants, taverns, bakeries, delis, hotels, liquor stores, and meat markets.</td>
<td>An ad for a Scandinavian monthly magazine possibly indicates competition for advertisers as well as a consolidation of Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian readers and advertisers to a pan-Scandinavian media and identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>10 for eateries/bars; 3 for stores.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>9 ads:</td>
<td>Bars, cafés, restaurants, bakeries, taverns, delis, grocery stores, and “The Danish Kitchen.”</td>
<td>The Danish Kitchen offers a mix of groceries, deli products, home décor products, cook books, catering, etc. In this way, the store embraces all kinds of Danish food stuffs and items, and seems akin to a modern online store which supplies all kind of Danish items for Danes living abroad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>6 for eateries/bars; 3 for stores.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In years when many ads appeared, they tend to represent a greater variety of types of eating and drinking establishments, though this may simply be due to a greater number of ads rather than any other trend. Shifts in the types of restaurants and stores that advertised in Bien suggest a pattern similar to general trends with regard to urban stores and restaurants/bars, customized for a Danish clientele. Various types of eateries are popular throughout the period, but others wax and wane in popularity. For example, dairies are only advertised until 1935. Many bars, saloons, and taverns place ads until 1920 when prohibition changes many of them into “soft drinks and cigars” places, while others seem not to have survived the cultural sea change. A number of breweries advertise in 1905, 1910, and 1915, but not after that. In 1950, one store shows a move towards catering to “Danishness” in all forms in contrast to most other stores, which appear to focus on traditional business areas such as bars or lunch counters. Many of the names appear only once or twice. See Appendix A for a listing of some of the longest-lasting establishments.

Semiotic and linguistic elements of the advertisements reveal the degree to which the establishments placing ads in Bien identified and marketed themselves as Danish, Scandinavian, or non-ethnic-specific. “American” is not included as a category, as very few establishments marketed themselves outright as American (one example is The Pacific Restaurant, 1940, which advertised “Scandinavian and American
cooking”). Five methods of signaling—or not signaling—ethnic identification, are evident in the Bien ads:

1. Placing advertisements in a Danish-language newspaper, though this did not necessarily indicate that an establishment is owned or run by Danes.

2. Signaling Danishness in the name of the establishment. Most establishments do not signal overt Danishness in their names, which suggests that these establishments likely did not indicate any clear ethnic identification to passersby. Some establishments appear to display a personal name that would signal Danishness or Scandinavianness, e.g., “Chr. Petersen” and “Ole’s Coffee Parlor” (1905). Some places refer to Danish place names, e.g., “City of Copenhagen” (1905). However, the name of the successful Tivoli Café on Eddy Street may refer to the Tivoli theatre/opera house located on the same street rather than the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen, Denmark. Other names explicitly indicate Scandinavianness, e.g., “Scandia Saloon” (1900), “Walhalla Saloon” (1905), and the “Viking Restaurant and Coffee House” (1905). In the ads, some store names are written in Danish or a mix of languages, e.g., “Dansk Saloon” (Danish Saloon) (1900) and “Lumskebugten” (the sneaky inlet) (1950) but this may or may not be the name which appeared on the outside of the building.

3. Using a Danish personal name in the ad. Most of the ads contain surnames and some first names of people associated with the establishments (owners or managers). Many of the names, for example Jensen, Nielsen, and Hansen, indicate Danish heritage and whether or not the person was actually a Dane, the name has badge value.

4. Using Danish language or a mix of Danish and English language in the ad. As the graphs below indicate, Danish was used almost exclusively in the ads in the early years. From 1920 onward, mixed
language was more common. English did not come into regular use until about 1925. Later on, there was more of a mix of language; however, English was never the majority language of the ads.

Fig. 5. Use of Danish, English, and mixed language in food-related ads in Bien, 1900-50.
5. Stating directly that the establishment is Danish. Some of the tag lines and headlines in the ads include such phrases as “Where you meet your Danish friends,” “Danish butcher store,” “Countrymen very welcome!” and “Headquarters for Danes.” However, only one restaurant has a rhyming slogan in Danish. Other ads specify what type of Danish dishes the restaurant serves or the store sells (for example, The Original Traffic Lunch Counter & Restaurant offered “fine Danish sylte” (headcheese) in 1925). This technique is mostly applied after 1930, peaking in 1935 in sixty-four
percent of the ads. However, most ads generally do not overtly indicate any specific ethnicity in this way, especially during the early years, peaking at seventy-three percent in 1910. It should be noted, however, that some establishments may have been so well-known in the Danish community that they would not have needed to market themselves overtly as Danish. A few establishments specify that they are Swedish or Norwegian, and between seven percent (1910, 1920, 1935, 1940) and twenty-three percent (1945) identify themselves as Scandinavian.

Fig. 6. Non-ethnic and ethnic overt self-identification in food-related ads in Bien, 1900-50.
To sum up, while many establishments placed ads in Bien to attract Danish-speaking customers, only a few of them bore explicitly Danish names, except for personal names that could easily be under-
stood by non-Danes. It would therefore appear that most establish-
ments that advertised in Bien did not identify themselves as Danish
in a way that would exclude non-Danish customers. Based on the
relatively small number of Danes in San Francisco in the first half of
the twentieth century, it is likely that many of the establishments con-
sidered the Danish segment a niche market. Additional preliminary
research indicates that when these establishments advertised in other
media outlets, they did not highlight their Danishness.25 This impres-
sion fits with the findings of Jessica Ellen Sewell, who concluded that
the restaurants and bars with non-ethnic names that advertised in
Bien and listed food items that included non-ethnic food were aiming
to appeal to a wide audience, in contrast to ads in the Italian-language
newspaper in which all the restaurants advertised Italian food.26 An-
other indicator can be found in guidebooks. For example, Tivoli Café
is simply listed as “American” in a 1903 guidebook of San Francisco.27
More research would be needed to determine the exact advertising
behavior as well as to which extent each store or restaurant/bar would
actually have a Danish atmosphere, if Danish was the language used
on the premises, if Danish food was served to any great extent, if the
employees were Danish, etc.

Conclusion

The old saying that the way to a man’s heart is through his stom-
ach can be easily applied to this study of immigrant Danish and
Danish American foodways in San Francisco—the way to a people’s
history is through their stomachs. Based on a content analysis of ad-
vertisements in the Danish-language newspaper Bien, this essay has
shown that although only 0.7 percent of San Francisco’s inhabitants
were born in Denmark and only 1.2 percent were either first or sec-
ond-generation Danes, there was a robust semi-public Danish food-
scene in San Francisco from 1900 to 1950. It generally included more
bars and restaurants than stores, with the total number declining over
this period, but there was enough variety to warrant regular adver-
tising. Establishments aiming to attract a Danish clientele tended to
place ads in Bien, but the nature of their ads suggests that only a mi-
nority of establishments made explicit reference to a Danish character
or orientation. This lack of ethnic markers suggests that the majority
of the establishments that advertised in Bien catered to a wide range
of ethnic groups and native-born Americans, not just San Francisco’s relatively small Danish population. While some establishments may have had a distinct Danish atmosphere, others are likely to have been chameleon-like crossover enterprises: Danish establishments catering to Danes and Americans or non-ethnic establishments catering to Americans and members of other ethnic groups. This crossover strategy may not have been available to other minority ethnic groups who were not generally as competent in English and as easily accepted by white Protestant Americans.

San Francisco’s Danish food culture survived through two World Wars, but had dwindled significantly by the middle of the century. By 1950, there were relatively few Danish establishments in San Francisco, possibly connected to a drop in the number of Danish-born people living in San Francisco, some of whom likely moved to the suburbs of the Bay Area or Los Angeles. The thinning population density created less demand, resulting in less frequent enclave eating and therefore fewer establishments catering to Danes. Having lived in America for many years, many Danish-born Americans may also have become multiethnic eaters to a higher degree. Moreover, as they climbed the socio-economic ladder from newly arrived immigrants to well-established citizens, Danes and Danish Americans probably moved into more professional, higher-status occupations than saloon-, restaurant-, and grocery store-keeper, leaving these positions to more newly arrived immigrants. Danish American foodways in San Francisco did not necessarily die out as a result of this reduction of commercial options for accessing Danish food and drink, but they were likely either incorporated into the broader, multiethnic food culture or transferred from a semi-public transactional realm where consumer demand could ensure market profitability to a more private, noncommercial sphere.

Endnotes


4 Hartwick tells his story in a Danish newspaper interview in the following way (however, he may be embellishing a little): “One day, I saw a tavern with a sign that read ‘Christensen & Hansen.’ They are probably Danes, I thought, and went inside. I got to talk with them and asked if they could direct me to a job. What do you do? Well, I am a typographer. Are you crazy, they said. Get a move on. Yesterday, a newspaper opened in the street next to here but it seems to be hard for them to find typographers. Half an hour later, I had a job.” NPN, newspaper article about Sophus Hartwick [no title] – first line begins with “The founder of the esteemed Danish-American paper...,” N.d., content from A421-1: “Historien om ‘Røde Kors-quilten’ af SH [The story of the “Red Cross quilt” by SH], San Francisco, Cal. (1934); diverse udklip vedr. SH [miscellaneous clippings concerning. SH] (1915-1953),” Det Danske Udvandrerkviv [The Danish Emigration Archives], Aalborg, Denmark.


6 Ibid., 94-95.

7 Ibid., 120.


12 The numbers highlighted in in the second, fourth, and fifth lines of the first column were generated from ancestry.com searches. The other data for this graph originate from census analysis presented in Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen’s book mentioned in the footnote above.


14 Among the ads in Bien, there were a large number of ads for tobacco stores, but before including them in this analysis more research would be
needed to determine the nature of these stores and their role in the foodways of Danes and Danish Americans.


17 See for example Nordic House which is both a traditional store (located in Berkeley, CA) and offers online shopping and shipping within the United States: accessed April 16, 2015. https://www.nordichouse.com/.


19 In terms of categorization, this analysis allowed the use of English in place names and addresses to be categorized as Danish because using English for these items does not seem to reflect a lack of command of Danish but rather user-friendliness on the account of the advertiser. Also, it should be noted that it is possible that Bien had a policy regarding language use for its advertisers.

20 The Home Lunch, ad in Bien, January 1945. All translations from Danish are the author’s own.

21 Temple Market, ad in Bien, January 1930.

22 Pacific Lunch, ad in Bien, January 1930.

23 6th Street Casino, ad in Bien, January 1915.

24 Coffee Pot Restaurant, ad in Bien, 1930: “Man spiser altid godt i Coffee Pot restaurant” (underscored in this paper to indicate Danish rhyme) [You always eat well in Coffee Pot restaurant].


26 Sewell.

27 San Francisco and Its Environs (arranged by Hamilton Wright, California Promotion Committee, San Francisco, 1903), 24. This guide book lists restaurants by American, French, Italian, Mexican, Spanish, Chinese, and Kosher, cuisine. However, the WPA guidebook which includes at least one Swedish restaurant (Bit of Sweden), does not mention any Danish restaurants. Federal Writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration of Northern California, San Francisco in the 1930s: the WPA Guide to the City by the Bay (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 86.


29 Ibid., 36-7.

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Content from A421-1: “Historien om ‘Røde Kors-quilten’ af SH [The story of the “Red Cross quilt” by SH], San Francisco, Cal. (1934); diverse udklip vedr. SH [miscellaneous clippings concerning, SH] (1915-1953).” Det Danske Udvandrerarkiv [The Danish Emigration Archives]. Aalborg, Denmark.
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