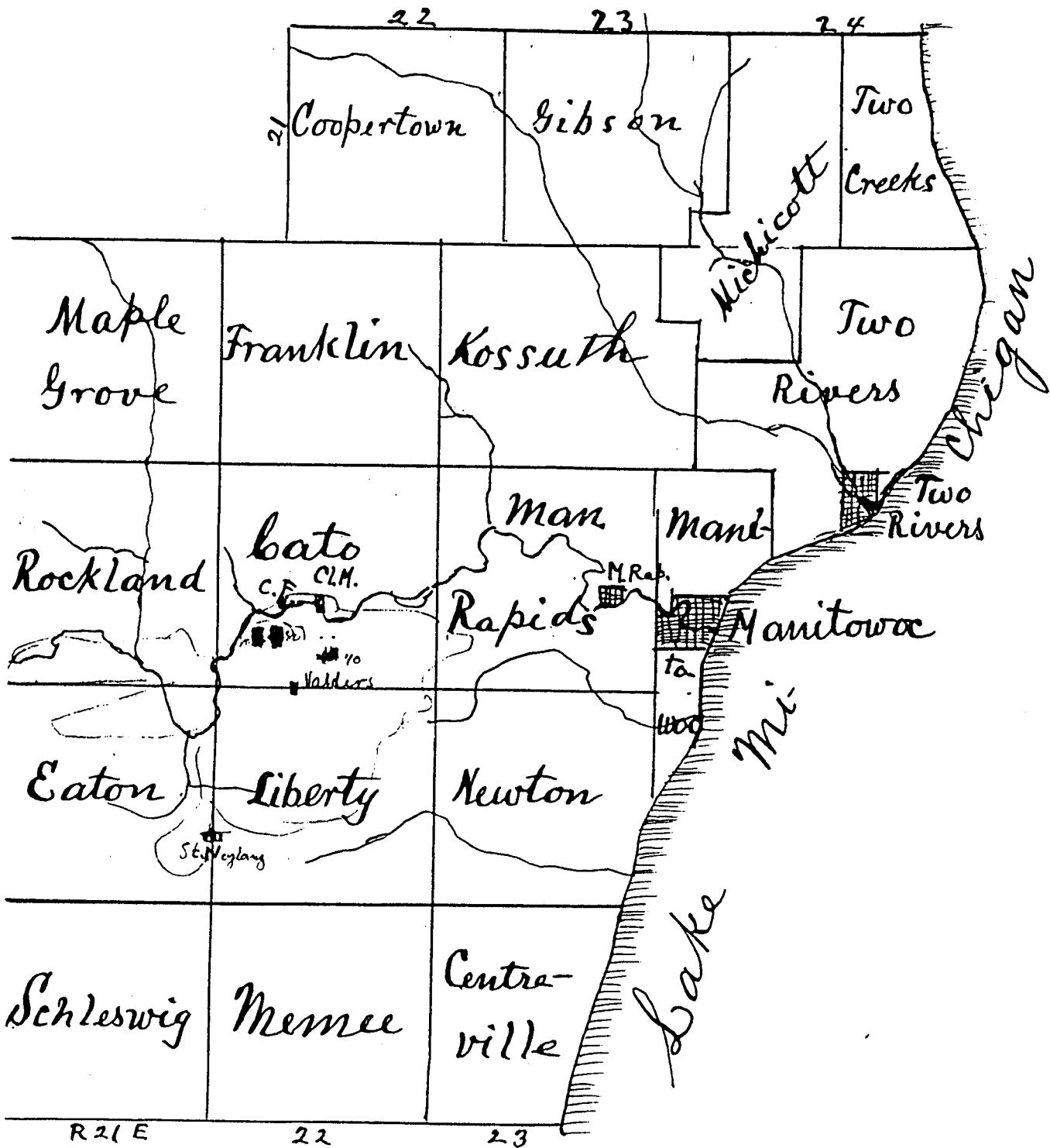
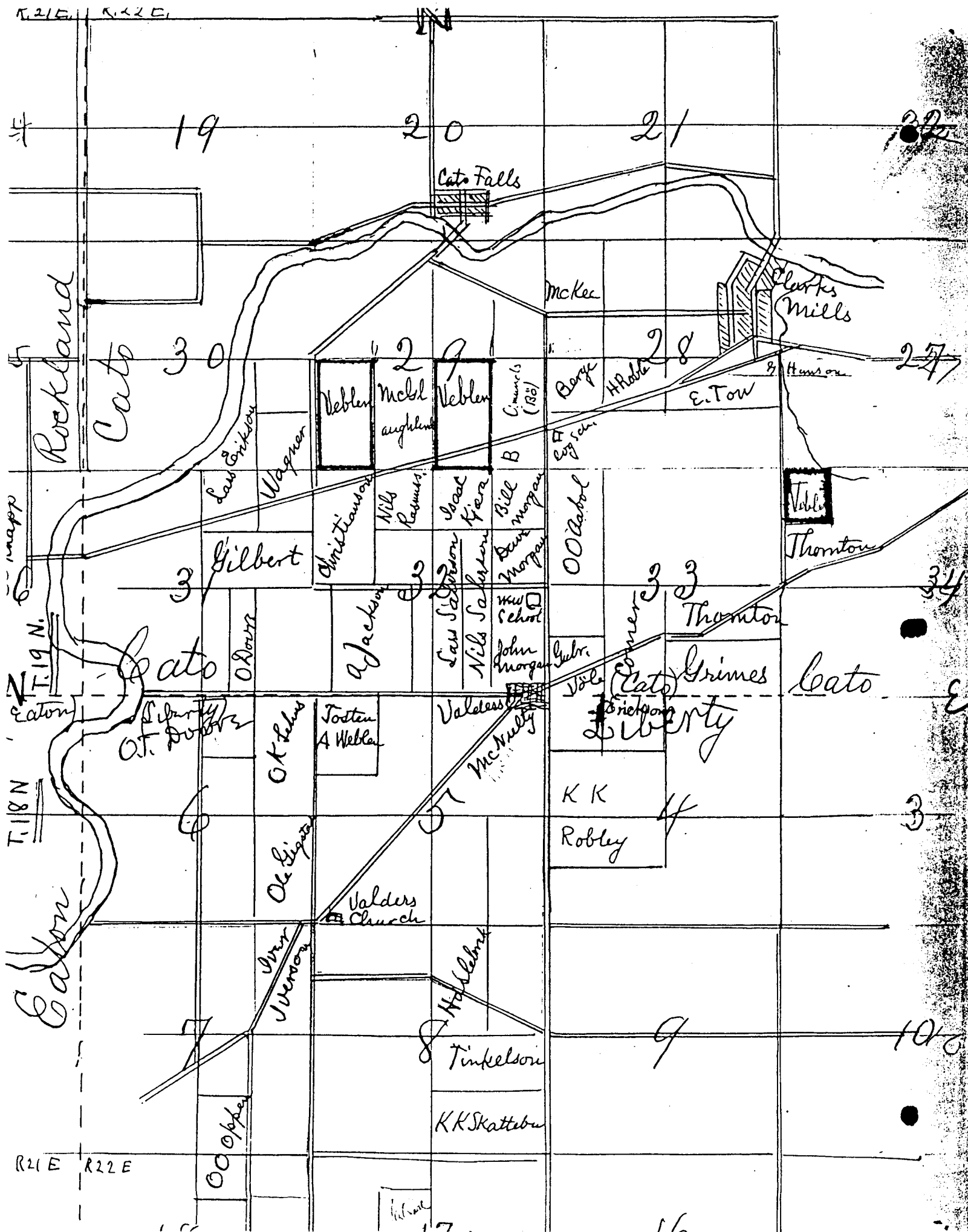
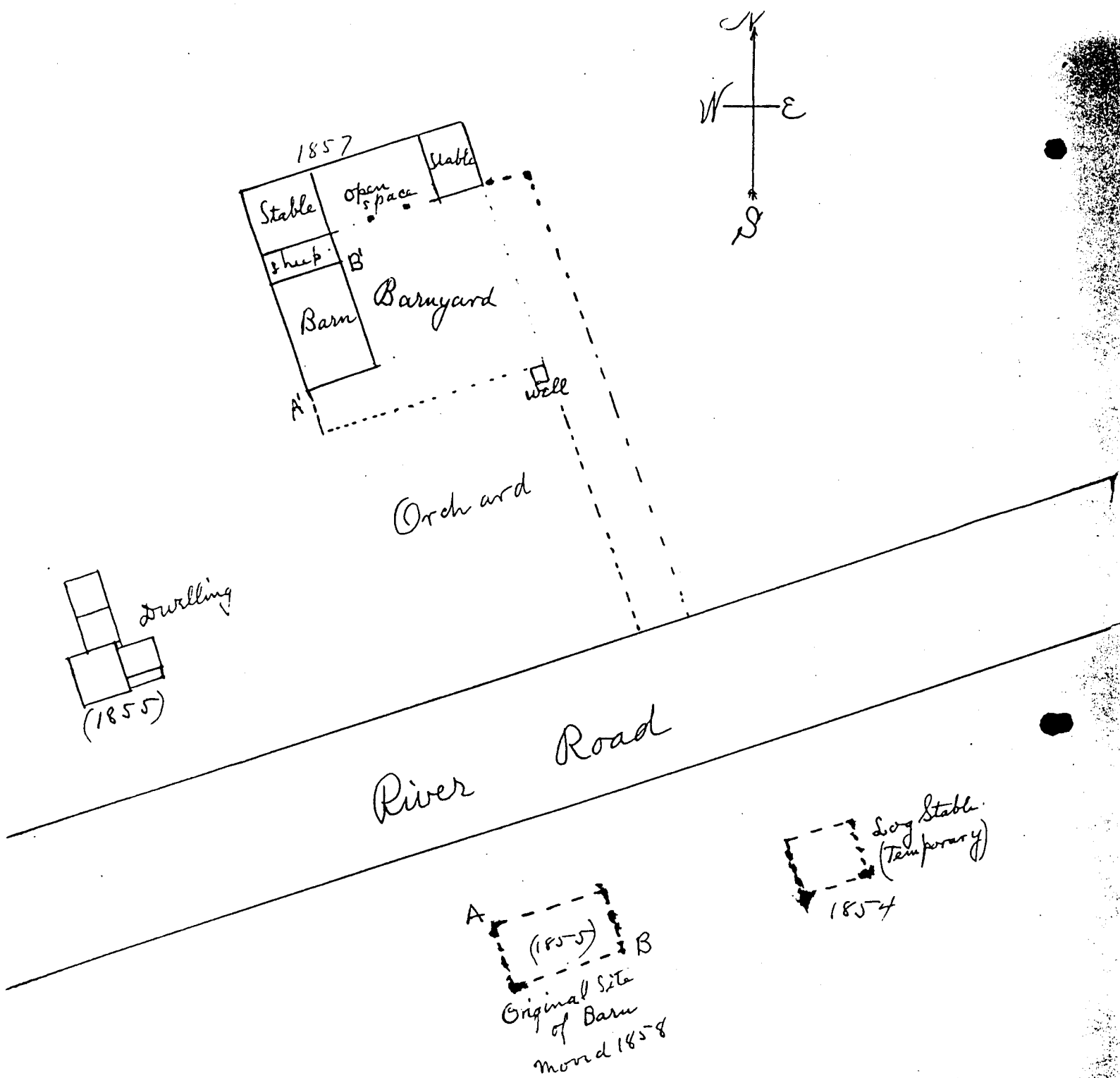


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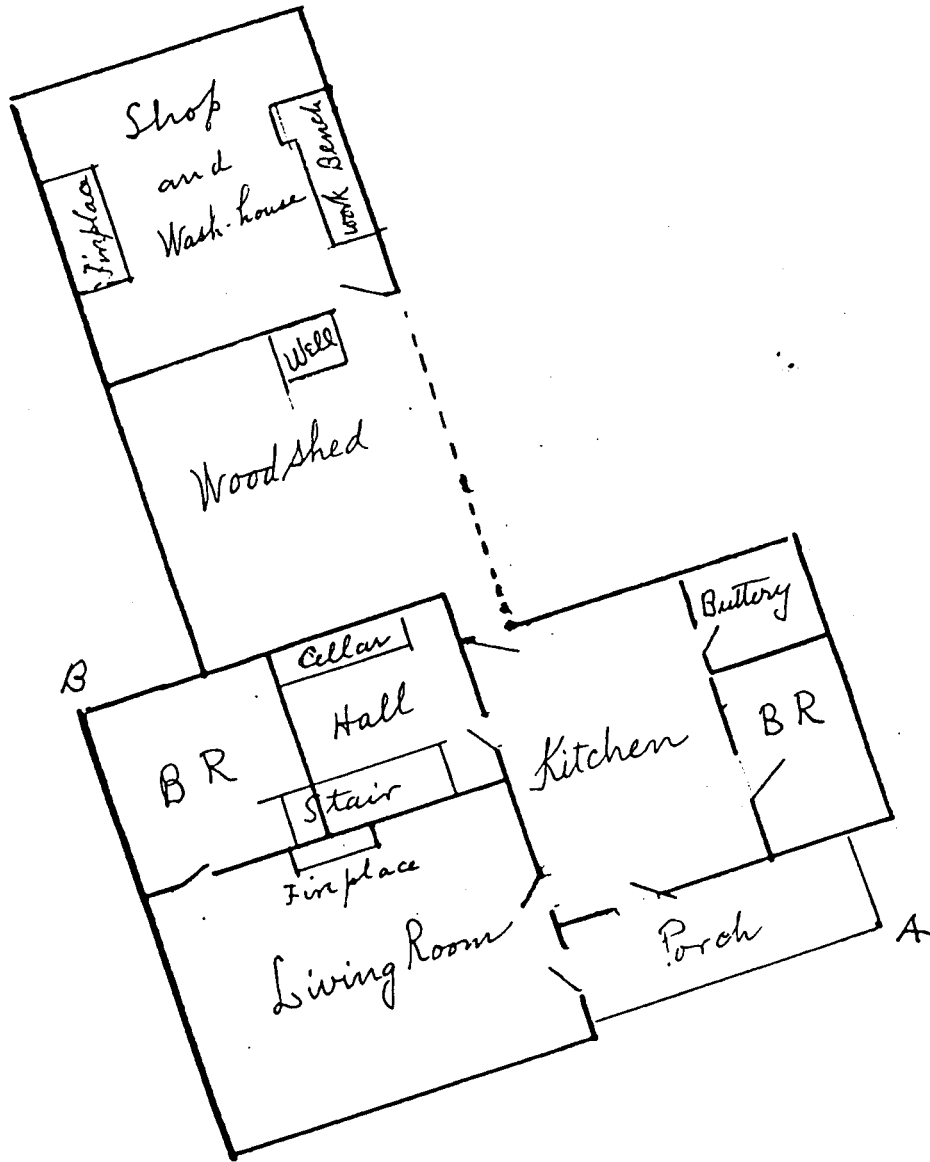
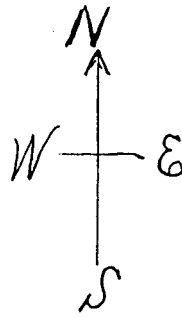


Manitowoc County, Wis.





Sketch of the Veblen Homestead,  
Town of Cato, Manitowoc Co., Wis.

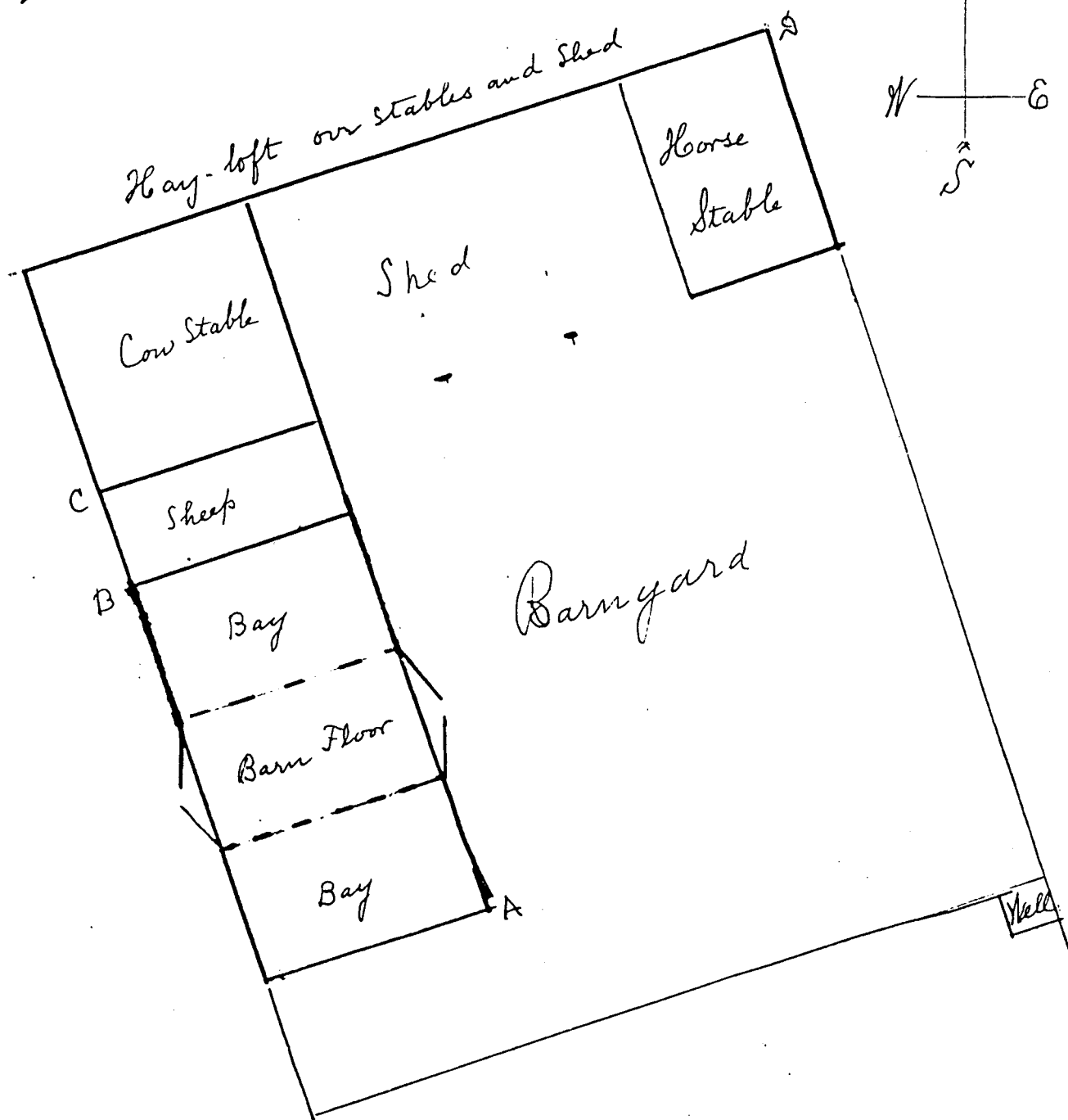


### Ground Plan Sketch

The Dwelling House of the Veblens, Town of  
Cato, Maritowoc Co., Wis.

The house, A B, was built complete in 1855;  
the shop and wash house in 1856 or 57 and the  
shed built in at the same time.

20



### Sketch plan of Barn and Stables of the Veblen Homestead

The grain barn AB was built south of the road, in 1855 and was moved into this site, Spring of 1858. The stables and shed CD was built 1857. CD was built in after the barn AB had been moved up. It, all, formed an ell-shaped building

1

# The Veblen Family

## IMMIGRANT PIONEERS FROM VALDRIS.

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In his History of the Norwegian Settlements (De Norske Settlementers Historie, 1908) Holand states, p. 134, that the first immigrant from Valdres was Guul Guttormson from Ildjernstad, Hedalen. He had left home and got work in a dye works in Modum. There he learned about the opportunities in America, and as a consequence emigrated in 1843 and came to Rock Prairie, Wis.. His letters to his acquaintances at home <sup>are</sup> said to have stimulated immigration from southern Valdres and caused the beginning of emigration from the county. In his late book, Den Sidste Folkevandring, 1931, Mr. Holand still states that Guul was the first Valdris to emigrate, and to have stimulated his compatriots to move to America, by the letters he wrote home.

Nevertheless, Holand shows, in his first book, that Endre Endresen Rudi from Hurum, and his brothers Erik and Asle, came in 1839. (P. 101). They had moved to Voss some years earlier. Endre had married at Voss, and his young son Erik, who became known as Erick Anderson, the first typesetter in a Norwegian printing office in America, and afterward one of the founders of the Valdris settlement in Winneshiek County, Iowa, had been born at Voss. These Rudi brothers joined the migration from Voss at its very beginning.

Like Guul Guttormson the Rudis had learned about opportunities in America after they had gone from their home community; but at least Endre had lived at Voss for years. Whether their emigration stimulated the later movement of migration from upper Valdres, as did Guul's going, in respect to lower Valdres, is not plainly evident. But Paul Anderson Norland came in 1843, the year ~~of~~ Guul's coming. He was a Vangsgjelding, attended Beloit College 1844, and became one of the pioneer Lutheran ministers. He was pastor of the Lutheran church in Chicago, 1848-61, to which the early colony of Vossings belonged.

In a letter to me (A.A.Veblen) of date 1909, Mr. Holand refers to a still earlier immigrant from Valdres, Anders ved Leira "who came to Cincinnati in 1834". Also Peder A. Veien, of Glenwood, Minn. mentions among early immigrants, "Anders Leira antagelig i 1835". (See SAMBAND, June, 1931, p. 63.)

The movement of migration to America from upper Valdres definitely began with the going over in 1846 of Stefan Olson Helle and his brother Ole. Stefan was sometimes called Stefan Kubakke, the latter being sometimes used as the local designation of that part of Helle that the family owned or occupied.

In the vernacular of Hurum Annex, in which Helle is situated, this name is pronounced as if it were spelled Steffan, Thus Steffan Kubakke. But the regular form, in documents and records, was Stefan Olsen Helle. Possibly the form Stephen was used. <sup>in writing</sup> It is told that when the brothers came to have papers made out, as in "Declaration of Intention" which preceded their pre-emption of land, they found that American officials pronounced Helle as one syllable. They did not resort to the device of changing the spelling, as later arrivals have sometimes done, making Hellie, for instance. But they simply left the farm name off. Stefan's name became Stephen Olson legally and in common use; though his compatriots continued to call him Steffan Kubakke.

Stefan and father were chums and were partners in Carpenter and cabinet-making work. They worked together at their trade in different parts of Sogn and elsewhere. How early they began to plan to emigrate I can not recall father telling; but it became a matter of consideration between them while they were working together. They both had to serve their allotted duty as peacetime soldiers. This involved five years as members of the line, with a season of drill each year. This was followed by five years in the reserve, during which the appearance in formation was mostly of a perfunctory nature; but they were subjected to orders and were obliged to maintain the organization and keep their equipment in order.

Father was called to the colors and to begin drill at twenty-two and a half. During the five years in the line, while drilling in the summer time, he worked at various tasks and in different places during the rest of the year, and closely saved his earnings. By the time he had served two years in the reserve (landeværn) he was ready to emigrate; and on making a petition in due form he was discharged from further military duty. He thus served seven of the ten years total military obligation of able-bodied young men.

Stefan met the military requirement in a different method. It was possible for a certain number to obtain leave to substitute one year's service in the garrison at the capital for the five years ordinarily required in the line. Young men who were well-conditioned as to means and otherwise met the requirements often took this method of getting through the military duty in a single year's time. For ambitious men the chance of attending evening schools and doing something toward learning trades, this method of working out their military requirement proved both attractive and advantageous. Stefan Helle, being enabled to avail himself of this privilege, took this method; and he made the most of the opportunities it involved.

I do not know what year Stefan served in the garrison at Oslo. He may have spent a second year in Oslo; but in his relation, as made to me <sup>by father</sup>, occurs ~~the~~ the following: "Then began the fifth year of service."

C  
That year we drilled at "Slirøbranno". That year Stefan went to Kristi  
an (Oslo); and in the fall I rented tools of Stefan, and went to Lær-  
dal on my own, until <sup>little after</sup> New Year's. That winter I carpentered at home,  
partly for myself and partly for others."

This was probably the year that father completed his outfit of car-  
penter tools. To begin with, in his working with Stefan, he did not  
have a complete outfit of tools but used such tools as Stefan could  
lend him. He was too poor to buy a kit. Such matters as must be bought  
like brace, bits, augers, and saw-blades, he bought from time to time,  
as he could spare the funds <sup>from his earnings</sup>. But he made all the wood parts out of <sup>hard-</sup>woc  
, mostly maple, such <sup>as</sup> saw-frames, chisel handles, all sorts of planes,  
a very complete and fine kit of tools; and an ingeniously designed chest  
to contain them. Such steel and iron parts as could be made by a local  
blacksmith were made by Stefan's brother, Thomas Helle. Of such, a pair  
of hammers were especially finely made.

140332  
When Thomas and Kari Veblen in 1847 left their native township of  
Hurum in Valdres County, Norway, to begin their journey to the land  
of promise, they were one of the first three married couples that  
emigrated from their parish. Thomas was in his twenty-ninth year. His  
wife was seven years younger. After their plans were made and prepa-  
rations for the trip completed, their infant first-born was taken  
sick and died, and his funeral took place after the other members of  
their small party of emigrants had started. Leaving on the second of  
May, the bereaved parents overtook their fellow travelers on the way  
to Drammen. There they ~~were~~ joined a larger party that sailed for  
Hamburg on the two-master "den Gode Mening", Captain Hannevig, about  
May 20th.

The voyage to Hamburg was prolonged by calms and contrary winds and  
consumed a good week's time. Arrived at the German port, These Nor-  
wegian emigrants were left stranded, deserted by the captain who had  
undertaken to provide for their further passage across the Atlantic.  
They were found in this predicament by the later famous whale-catcher  
Captain Svend Foyn, who came to Hamburg with a cargo of blubber from  
a sealing cruise in the north, and who agreed to take them to America  
in his little sealing and whaling ship "Haabet". The men of the party  
went to work helping to clean the ship and prepare it for the passen-  
gers. After the long delay of a month or more, Foyn set sail from Ham-  
burg for what proved a stormy voyage of eleven weeks to Quebec.

The staunch little ship, built for cruising for seals and for whales  
in the arctic seas, was doubtless as seaworthy a craft as Norwegian  
shipbuilders could produce. But being a small ship, it rolled and



pitched uncomfortably in the stormy weather which it encountered. There was much sickness among the passengers, and especially the children. All of these that were below the age of six died on the ocean.

The emigrants had been plentifully provisioned from their homes in Norway, but owing to the long trip of twenty weeks, their supplies began to give out before the end. They would have been in dire straits had it not been for the provident measure taken by Captain Foyn, who had laid in extra stores from which he generously supplied the hungry passengers, as their own supplies began to run short. Svend Foyn, not only in saving his charges from starvation, but in his wise and fatherly conduct of the company, earned and received the boundless gratitude and affection of the emigrants.

This of course he earned in the first place by his compassion with his countrymen as he found them stranded in Hamburg, that caused him to offer them the use of his ship and fitting it up for the passage. But in all their troubles or problems he was to them a watchful mentor and aid, giving them advice and cheer in their sickness and furnishing them medicines. When the sickly and weakened travelers made port at Quebec, Foyn saw to it that they got properly through quarantine <sup>and</sup> were safely started on their journey to their destination by way of the great lakes.

At the time of their landing from "Haabet" Thomas Væbø was barely able to walk, as he had succumbed to an attack of fever toward the end of the voyage. Foyn directed him to have his tongue well cleaned, rubbed his face with brandy to overcome his pallor, and prompted his wife, Kari, to steady him in his walk as they passed the inspecting physician. Thus the captain helped them to go on with their fellows instead of their being delayed and left behind at Quebec.

1332 The Trip from Quebec to Milwaukee was in itself a strenuous undertaking, in which the worn and weakened travelers encountered violent storms. Still the change from the ocean voyage to craft that served for their transport on the lakes was doubtless felt as a certain relief, and the company were probably in better vigor or health, than on their departure from Quebec, when they arrived at Milwaukee, on the sixteenth of September, <sup>1847</sup> four and a half months after leaving their homes in Norway

At Milwaukee the immigrant company dispersed, some, <sup>they were</sup> and the majority making their way westward to the frontier inland. Others, <sup>and</sup> among them the Væbøes followed the movement northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan.

6  
Though weakened by sickness and the hardships of the long trip, 3  
Thomas and Kari Veblen found themselves compelled to seek work at once  
on their arrival; for their scant funds were used up to the last two  
or three dollars. In addition to their equipment of clothes and imple-  
ments, including his kit and chest of tools, but which was in all re-  
spects complete and full and of the best that could be, their resour-  
ces consisted of a will to work and <sup>to</sup> endure primitive conditions until  
their industry and skill might bring them the rewards that they never  
doubted would come to them.

As father's chum and partner in work in Norway, Stefan Kubakke had  
come over the year before, 1846, and with his brother Ole, had spent  
the year in Washington (now Ozaukee) and Manitowoc counties, Thomas  
directed his first efforts to establishing contact with Stefan. Accord-  
ingly, after a night's rest in Milwaukee, he walked the 25 miles north  
to Port Washington the next day, the 17th. For their baggage and for  
his wife he hired transportation by team; and she followed in a day  
or two.

At Port Washington he found Stefan, who gave (or perhaps found) him  
work in a fanning mill factory in that place. Kari also went to work  
at once, as maid of general house-work in a family named Loomis in Po  
Washington. These people were very kind to her, and she liked them;  
but she found herself too weak and worn to work, and after two weeks  
was compelled to quit. Meantime Thomas had found himself too weak to  
push the plane at his work in the factory; and he could not go on.  
Being unable to work steadily, or without interruption of rest and re-  
cuperation, they had to obtain employment that better suited their  
weakened and fatigued condition; and in this predicament Stefan again  
came to their assistance.

When the brothers, Stefan and Ole Helle, in 1846, Arrived, they, and  
especially the former, went North from Milwaukee and gave their atten-

tion particularly to Port Washington and Manitowoc and the lands in the vicinity of these ports on the Lake. They had both acquired, or taken initiatory steps to the acquisition, of parcels of land. Stefan had bought lands both in Manitowoc County and near Port Washington. Some dozen miles north of the latter port, but ~~possibly~~ in Sheboygan County Stefan had obtained right of pre-emption of a parcel, or maybe had pre-empted it.

He now arranged with the Veblens to move unto this land and hold it for him by making their home there. Meantime Thomas might be absent at such times and for such intervals as might be expedient in his obtaining any work that he might have the opportunity to do, provided the wife staid at home. This would enable them to rest <sup>as they needed</sup> and regain their strength. As a compensation for their help to Stefan, they were to receive thirty dollars.

Late that fall, 1847, Stefan made a trip back to Valdres, and returned to America in 1848 as the guide of a large company of Emigrants, while <sup>also</sup> a large number that year came in another company, but induced to emigrate by the information given by him. Among the latter were my uncle Haldor Veblen and my aunt and uncle Ingri and Ole Bunde, besides, Stefan's brother Thomas Helle. During his absence Stefan left his brother Ole in charge of his affairs in America.

Trouble now arose with Ole Helle, who refused to pay father the compensation he was to receive. and would have nothing to do with the matter. The Veblens therefore moved off the land, after having secured <sup>as their compensation</sup> the pre-emption <sup>right</sup> to 40 acres of the parcel they had been holding for Stefan. When the Veblens moved off this land a Halling by name of Jens moved unto it to hold Stefans right to it. This man, Jens drowned in the spring of 1848. before Stefan's return.

His preemption right to the 40 acres of the Stephen Olson land Thomas Veblen traded to one Erik i Brøte for the latter's right to 160

acres, which Erik had preempted in section 12, Town of Holland in Sheboygan County. This was the parcel in "town 13N on which Haldor Veble filed the following winter and which the brothers farmed until 1854.

After Khomas and Kari moved off the Stephen Olson land, as noted, in the spring of 1848, or it may have been late in the winter, Thomas bought a lot and built a house on it, in the village of Port Ulaa, some seven miles south of Port Washington. Ulaa was a "port" on Lake Michigan and had at one time two piers for the accommodation of shipping, and enjoyed a lively trade in timber and cord wood. The village has long ago been vacated and became cultivated farm land.

The village of Port Ulaa occupied a plat approximately 180 rods north and south, by about 80 rods wide, westward from the Lake. The plat included the SE qr. of the SE qr of Sec. 16; and the NE qr. of the NE qr. of Sec. 21; and about the north 400 feet of the SE qr. of the NE qr. of Sec. 21; all in Town 10, Range 22. The lot built on and owned by Thomas Veblen was in the south end of the village. It was the corner lot, Lot 5, Block 23; on the NW corner of the intersection of Port Washington Road with Grafton Road. About 100 feet north along Pt. Washington Road, by about 50 feet on Grafton Road, west from the corner. *The centre of the lot was 150 feet NE from the centre of NE qr. of Sec. 21, T10, R22.* The distance to the Lake, along Grafton Road, may have been 1100 feet. Knut Eunde and his wife lived opposite, on the south side of Grafton Road, in the NE corner of their block.

What time of the year 1848 they built the house on this lot and took up their residence in it, is not known exactly. But they occupied it at least a full year. I, Andrew A. Veblen, was born in this house, on September 24, 1848. Sometime before this, Haldor Veblen, my father's elder brother, had arrived; and at the same time came also my mother's brother and sister, Ole and Ineri Eunde. Stephen Olson returned that fall; and his brother Thomas Helle came at the same time as my uncles and aunt.

During their first half-year, more or less, in America, while they made their home on the Stephen Olson land, they soon regained their strength. Kari staid continuously at home, which was necessary to keep up continuous occupancy as required by the preemption law. For Thomas worked during the fall and winter, at such jobs as he could secure, largely at his trade as a carpenter. But mostly at considerable distances from home. I remember his relating how difficult it was to find his way home in the dark of the night, especially Saturday nights and how he sometimes had to feel of the trees for the "blanking" that indicated the paths in the dense forest, since rodds had not been opened where it was necessary to make his way. How near it may have been to neighbors I have no means of knowing; but of course other claims were held similarly by other families, mostly young couples, like the Veblens. Mostly there were the beginnings of clearings surrounding the claim-shanties. But each was quite isolated, and intercourse was not frequent. Visitors were not many; and when they came they made red-letter days for the lonely women. These pioneer women, however managed to see one another in spite of the practically pathless distances between them; and many were the strong attachments they made in those primitive days.

After father had acquired a sort of equity in a "forty" of the Stephen Olson land and traded this for Erik i Eröte's "equity" in the "Town Tretten" land, they moved out of the woods and into the small community of Port Ulao. There they at once set up their own modest establishment, and enjoyed comparative comfort. Thomas continued to ply his trade or to work at such jobs as were available. Work was in demand though the wages were not large in buying power for the necessities of living. Kari managed to earn small amounts by work that she was skilled in and which was in demand. Both enjoyed good health; and they steadily

saved of their earnings. Living i Ulao made better access to work of the more remunerative kind in his skilled trade. But the objective all this time was developing into a farm of their own the quarter section in "Town 13" to which Thomas had acquired right of preemption in trading to Erik i Prøte his right to a "forty" of the Stephen Olson land upon which they first made their home, in 1847.

When Haldor arrived, in 1848, he made his home with Thomas; and he went to work at once, for the most part at cutting cord-wood, which was a leading industry of Ulao. Wood was the fuel used by the steamers on the lakes at that time; and Ulao was a favorite place for taking in supplies of wood.

By the middle of the following winter the brothers felt able to take possession of the town thirteen land. It was more convenient for Haldor, who was single, to occupy the land by preemption. For this purpose he went to the land office at Green Bay; and it was most economical to walk, and no hardship for this hardy and uncommonly strong man. It was irksome to spend so much <sup>of his</sup> working time.

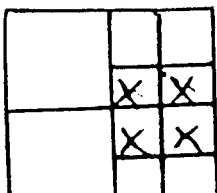
The following is a verbatim copy of the certificate issued to him:

Green Bay Land Office, Wisconsin.

23 February, 1849.

I certify that Mr. Halvor Anderson Webler has this day filed in this Office his declaratory Statement, claiming the right of preemption, under the act of the 4th of September, 1841, to the S 1/2 of NE 1/4 & N 1/2 of SE quarter of Section number twelve of Township number thirteen north, of Range number twenty two east, in the Green Bay Land District, containing 160 acres; alleging that the 14th day of february, 1849 was the date of his settlement thereon.

Now, therefore, if the said claimant shall, within one year from the actual date of his settlement, establish his right to said tract, by proof satisfactory to the Register and Receiver, of a full compliance with all the requirements of the act, he will be entitled to enter the same in preference to any other person.



Section  
12

Given at the Register's Office,  
the day and date above written.

Joel S. Fisk, Register.

10

The misspelling of Hal<sup>d</sup>or's name in this document illustrates the trouble that immigrants had getting their names properly written in this country. often, indeed generally, their names were written wrong in such original records as declarations of intention to be naturalized and in records of preempting land. Mostly these mistakes were due to misunderstanding and lack of care on the part of the officials the newcomers encountered in these transactions.

In this case the name was, in full, Haldor Andersen Veblen, as written in his official credentials that he obtained before he left his home community. This preemption certificate is made out to Halvor Anderson Webler. The accuracy of spelling and punctuation of the body of the document made out by Mr. Fisk, the Register, bears witness to his general habits of care and accuracy. The certificate was wholly written out in longhand; not on a printed form.

as the usual procedure was in those days, Haldor first appeared before a clerk of a "court of record", such as would be legally competent to make record of his <sup>of intention to be naturalized,</sup> declaration and issue a certificate of the act. This document was commonly called a person's "first paper". After it was referred to as his "swear paper".

At the land office Haldor most likely submitted both the certificate of declaration of intention and his credential from Norway, most commonly a "preste-attest". That is, a certificate made out and signed by the pastor of the parish.

In the Norwegian documents of that time proper names were generally written in so-called "Latin" script, which was the script used in writing English, though there were slight variations from usual American manner of writing certain letters. The body of the document might be penned in "Norwegian" script, which was essentially the same as "German" script. These Norwegian documents were commonly exhibited for the purpose of showing the correct form of the name.

As we see, the register wrote Halvor Anderson Webler. This was likely what the clerk of court had made out from the preste-attest. He may have been as careful and accurate as Mr. Fisk was. The substitution of v for d, making it Halvor, may have come about from the fact that in the "Latin" script writers often used a d that resembled the d of the Norwegian script, and which again did bear a resemblance to the English small v (like this *v*) This being strange to the American clerk he naturally supposed it was a distorted v and so wrote it Halvor.

The ending -sen in names American writers always wrote -son, unless -sen was insisted upon, which, as a rule was not done. Immigrants were commonly inclined to prefer what they understood to be the American method as contrasted with the old country way.

In writing W instead V in the last name, the clerk may have made a

11  
correct copy of the Norwegian original. For in Norwegian w was a redundant letter and had the same phonetic value as v. It never occurred except as a capital letter, and properly was used only in names introduced from a foreign country, such as Germany. The fact that it had the same sound or value as V caused no confusion if the substitution was made. Indeed many writers preferred to write it as a capital. It could be made to look better than the simpler character V. It lent itself more easily to flourishing and ornamental penmanship. In reality it is a double v both in German and Norwegian. In the Norwegian alphabet it has in fact the name "dobbelt v". The Valdrises said "dubbel v". In an inscription in a book in the handwriting of Haldor's father he writes his name first Anders Haldorsen Veblen, and later on the same page, Anders Haldorsen Weblen. But it was pronounced like English and American V. and properly it is V, and not W.

<sup>must</sup> The writing of a final r for a final n, in Veblen, making it Webler be due to a misunderstanding rather than simple carelessness on the part of Mr. Fisk, or the clerk of court. Final n is often written carelessly so that it is made to resemble one form of r, as often written. Now -en is a common ending of names in Norwegian, while -er is not so common. In English names -er is, on the other hand, quite common. Indeed so uncommon is -en in English names that where it occurs in foreign names, ~~that~~ American writers quite habitually make it -in. Indeed the most frequent misspelling of Veblen is Veblin.

The above considerations sufficiently account for the mutilation of this name, Haldor Andersen Veblen, by which it became Halvor Anderson Webler.

I have not seen Haldor's first paper, that I can remember. But I remember very well Father's first paper. It was made out on a printed form, with the names and dates written in. The clerk who wrote the name at the beginning of the document clearly meant to leave out "Veblen" as something that he considered immaterial or not essential; for Thomas Anderson was centered in the space for the name. When the use of Veblen as <sup>being</sup> a part of the name was insisted upon, it was crowded in after the Anderson, clearly as an afterthought. The clerk made it Webber. The capital W is doubtless <sup>due</sup> to the use of W in father's Norwegian credential, which he submitted according to usual practice. But the rest of the error is surely due to the clerk's misreading of the handwriting placed before him. If he had depended on father's pronunciation of his name he would never have made it Webber. This ignoring of Norwegian farm-names, in the names of immigrants, was quite usual on the part of Clerks of courts and other officials that wrote down names for record and in documents of importance. They would reason Anderson, Johnson, Christopherson, Olson, or any name ending in -son (or -sen) <sup>was</sup> a Surname; and that anything further did not really belong.



It will be remembered that the right to preempting the 160 acres of Town 13 land had been acquired by Thomas Veblen by trading Erik Brøte his right to 40 acres of the Stephen Olson land on which Thomas and Kari first made their home in 1847. On this T 13 land Erik had probably built a claim shanty, which Haldor occupied on his entering upon occupancy of the land in February, 1849. If a shanty had not already been built, Haldor would erect one himself, but of course with the help of Thomas.

Whatever the origin of the shanty, it stood on the east side of a pond of about 100 feet diameter, situated on the south-east forty of the claim. I. e., the NE  $\frac{1}{4}$  of SE  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Sec. 12. Later the farm buildings were built at this site by the pond. This claim shanty was perhaps 12 x 12 feet, roughly built of round logs, tightly chinked between the logs. The roof, which was thatched with earth, sloped from one wall to the opposite; and under the lower part of the roof there was not room for a grown person to stand upright.

All claim shanties were built of logs and in this style; and houses built so as to have a roof in a single slope, were called shanties, whatever the material used and however well built. There were log shanties and board shanties. I do not remember seeing a stone shanty; but I remember that a shanty was not taken to be a large structure. The fact that the logs protruded at uneven lengths at the corners prompts me to believe that it had been erected before Haldor's filing on the land; For I can not imagine that the brothers would leave the corners in the unfinished, ragged shape that they were.

Haldor of course lived in this shanty from the time of his entry until title to the land had been acquired according to requirements of the law. How much of the land Haldor cleared while alone upon the land can not be told; but much of the timber he felled he chopped into cord wood, which he sold at some lake pier, and carefully saved the funds toward the purchase of the claim.

Thomas and Kari continued their residence in Ulao, where he continued to earn funds toward the purchase of the preempted land and toward the expenses of settling upon the claim. But in the spring or summer of 1849 they disposed of their town-lot and house and moved to Town 13 to set about establishing their home on the claim.

Haldor's claim shanty would not prove a commodious residence for a family of four, until a better house could be built. But they found temporary quarters in a house belonging to an Audøl, Endre Sørlie and his wife Berit, on land which adjoined their own claim on the north. There they lived while preparing their own land for

their occupancy, probably until the stable had been done and the dwelling house had been made ready for housekeeping, probably late in 1849.

The brothers divided the land between them so that Haldor took the west 80 acres, and Thomas the east 80, on which were the pond and claim shanty. When they paid for the land they borrowed fifty dollars to supplement the funds they were able to produce. On this loan they paid interest at the rate of 50 per cent. per annum; but they managed to pay this loan in a fairly short time. It seems they sold off a portion of their land to some neighbor, so that each had somewhat less than a full eighty left. The price of government land was \$1.25 per acre, which would make the price of a quarter section \$200.00; and this was probably the sum the brothers paid. Thomas would need additional funds for materials and equipment in establishing his household on his part of the claim.

Thomas and Kari were well equipped with clothes from Norway, so that they needed to spend but little of their earnings for clothing in the beginning. Kari was skilled not only in spinning and weaving but made not only all her own clothes, but also what the men wore, besides keeping them in repair. At the time they moved from Ulao, they had not only acquired a good equipment of household goods of all kinds, including such items as he had made; but they had at least one cow and a calf, probably also pigs. I remember hearing them tell of driving the animals along, or after, the wagon on which were loaded their goods. The distance traveled would be about 24 miles, and the wagon was hauled by oxen. The progress would be slow; and they no doubt traversed most, probably all, of the road afoot, taking turns in carrying the child. This was not referred to as a hardship; for they were young and vigorous people, to whom trudging a whole day's journey afoot did not appear a hardship. The load of goods was doubtless heavy, and they would avoid adding their own weight to the already full load.

Whether they made the distance in one day, I do not know. I believe they stopped over one night on the way. There were acquaintances that accompanied them most, if not all the way; and the weather was fair and bright and the road at its best. Arrived in Town thirteen, they established themselves temporarily in the Sørli house just north of the claim.

Haldor worked his land, and cleared a portion of it for cultivation; but he built no buildings on it. He simply made his home with Thomas and Kari, and ever after formed a member of their household. <sup>On the claim</sup> The brothers worked together in most of their operations. Thus Haldor never supplied himself with animals of any kind nor with those

implements that were operated by team (oxen). The brothers operated their two parcels, cooperatively and jointly, as if it were one plant. In this way they got along very efficiently and economically and prospered; until in 1853 Haldor sold his land to a Dutchman by name of Laarmann, or possibly Lahrmann, as it was pronounced.

The pond beside which the homestead was built up, was, as told, on the SE forty of the claim, fairly well toward the centre of the 160 acres. It was something like three miles from the lake shore. First the claim shanty had been built east <sup>of</sup> the pond. The house stood near the shanty a little to the south-east. Back and NE of the house stood the stable. Back of the house but to the south was the barn. The shanty was used as a store house and wash-house; and these four buildings were ranged about an interior yard, while the barn-yard was back of the stable and barn <sup>and</sup> on the east. The dwelling house was built of logs hewn smooth outside and in, and was two full stories, with a two-story porch the length of the house, and on the north. The stairs to the upper floor was on the porch; and the door into the upper floor was about the middle of the upper porch floor, and full height under the north eave. There was no roof over the upper porch. There were no stairs inside. The arrangement was the same as in houses at home in Valdres, except that the porch was not enclosed as was the method in Valdres. It may have been planned originally, to enclose the porch, and roof it over; and this plan may be <sup>was</sup> held in abeyance, pending other building plans. This I gathered <sup>^</sup> from conversations with the parents long after.

Under the house was a large, high cellar, with a high entrance from the slope toward the pond, on the west. Inside there was a trap-door way to the cellar. The house had a shingled roof in two slopes from the ridge which ran north and south. The windows were all high, "two-sash". The house was not divided by partitions; but beds were curtained in and there were well defined and defined areas set off for the various purposes that a home serves, such as kitchen, sleeping places, sitting, or various sorts of work. The house was a commodious dwelling; but it is difficult for me to venture a statement as to size and dimensions. At one time it gave accommodation to our own family of five and Haldor, besides grandmother Eunde and her husband, Einar, and their two boys of about eight and ten.

The stable and barn were also built of logs, which in these buildings were not hewn flat, but left round; and they were roofed with oak shakes. The stable was tightly chinked between the logs, for warmth of course. The stable housed the cows and oxen, and had bins for sheep and contained a room or division for pigs, and there were quarters for fowl, Geese, ducks, chickens. It was a building that spread over a large area. It had a loft for storing hay.

The barn was a capacious structure. In the centre, or middle, was the large barn floor affording a drive-way about a dozen feet wide. I was raised two or three feet above the floors of the large bays on either side that served to store the harvested grain. Inclined bridges led up to the sides of the floor, for hauling up, and in, the large loads of grain in sheaves. The barn was thus a long structure, extending north and south, at least 45 feet, likely more; and could not have been much under 20 feet wide; for there was room in side for a loaded wagon with a team hauling. At the ends of the central passage, the barn floor, were double barn-doors swinging to either side outside. Each swing <sup>ing</sup> part was at least 12 feet high and six feet wide. In one of the large doors, on the west, or front, was a smaller door for the passage of persons without requiring <sup>ing to</sup> opening a large door, except for the passage of the wagon. I remember well the detail of the wooden latch on this subsidiary door, which was home-made.

On the barn floor the men used to thrash the grain with flails. This they did especially when the weather was such that out-door work could not be done, as when it snowed or was stormy. But when the land had been so far cleared that there was much grain to be threshed they hired a machine for it. This thresher was crude and simple, consisting of two-horse power and a thresher that left the grain mixed in the chaff, to be winnowed out afterward, by the fanning mill. The "power" was of the sort in which the horses walked up an inclined plane, which kept continually slipping away under their weight, and was geared to a large wheel that drove a belt passing over a small pulley on the axle of the toothed cylinder to whose action the dry grain was fed.

After Thomas Veblen moved from Ula and unto the Town Thirteen claim, he never worked at his trade of Carpenter for others; but gave his interest and energy to the business of farming. He built his own Buildings and such furniture and implement equipment as he could advantageously make rather than buy. Often he would help his neighbors by exchanging his skilled work for their common work, as in building or finishing buildings or in making implements like harrows, sleds, and the like. But he never took jobs to work for

others. He maintained a good kit and outfit of tools of the best grade; and he used to obtain the latest sort of improved wood working appliances, and kept well equipped with such tools as could be useful in his skilled hands on the farm. He always kept in the best of condition a regular cabinet-maker's bench, with the tools in shape for instant use, as occasion might arise. In time he became a good wagon-maker, and later became a very good stone-mason and bricklayer; and did good work at plumbing. These trades he plied only for himself, as occasions arose for their application or need.

In pioneer times, in this country of heavy, dense forest, largely or mostly of hardwood, the axe was the most important tool or implement. Every one had to use the axe, and many used it day after day for years, in clearing land and in chopping wood of which great quantities were in demand for fuel in steam machinery of all kinds. Cutting timber for the trade, and such required things as fence-rails, all called for the use of the axe. While a great many points about an axe must be considered in its adaptation to different uses and to the habits or characteristics of individual choppers, there must have a handle that must be fully adapted to the user and circumstances of its use. Choosing a handle was as much a matter of judgment as the choosing of the axe itself; and many handles must be supplied for any axe, *during its life*.

There was therefore a large trade in axehandles. For not many choppers had the gift of making acceptable handles. Machine made handles were obtainable, but good hand-made were preferred. Therefore there was a ready sale of such. Thomas and Haldor were good axhandle makers, and derived no little revenue from the sale of their product. I can remember how they sat and industriously whittled handles during the long winter evenings, with the rest of the household gathered with them about the broad hearth of the rambling kitchen stove, the women plying their sewing, spinning, or knitting. Then there would be reminiscent talk about the home community in Norway and the old neighbors there; or the best raconteur in the group would entertain with relating old legends or the old folk tales (*eventyr*). Some might start a song and those who could sing would join. These evening sessions were joyous occasions, and were especially prized by the youngsters, who kept wide awake as late as the privilege of listening might be extended.

One might suppose that a helve might last generally as long as the axe; but the handle might have to be replaced <sup>frequently</sup>. True, the helve served to give momentum to the iron and steel tool as the chopper swung it with his might. But it might happen that a misdirected blow might be received on some part of the slender shaft; and then it would be splintered or a shake would be started, which inevitably

resulted in the speedy ruin of the handle. In the process of trimming limbs off the stem of trees, the handle, near the axe, would come into contact with projections on the limb or on the stem. Each time its surface would be more or less scuffed; and in time the wood was worn away until the handle would break or a crack would start, which meant the end of its usefulness. On bare ground choppers seldom missed the aim of the swinging blows; but when there was snow a man's footing might give way, and if this happened while the axe was moving, it would like<sup>y</sup> miss the spot aimed at, and either the axe or the handle might be splintered, generally the latter.

The material used for handles was usually hickory. It would be split into billets of the right thickness, and these trimmed roughly to ~~the~~ shape with the axe. Sometimes the billet would be further trimmed by a draw-knife, or ~~a~~ "shingle-knife". But the whittling was done with a stout knife. The Norwegian sheathknives that the Veblens had brought were most admirably adapted to whittling axehandles. These sheathknives were preeminently whittling knives.

After the handle had been whittled to shape, the small ridges left in this process, were scraped down to smoothness with bits of broken window glass. The Veblen brothers were renowned makers of handles. I remember Haldor boasting that they usually got an extra six-pence more for a dozen handles than the usual price. The exact length of an axe-handle I have forgotten; but I know that fencerails were cut off four lengths of the axe and handle; and a rail was counted eleven feet in length.

The mention of the stove about which the family gathered of evening prompts a few words about the kitchen stoves of early pioneer times. The "kitchen" stove served not only for cooking and baking. It was the only stove of the houses, which were mostly one-room on each floor (if there were two stories). A full size stove was the most conspicuous, and the dominating object in the room. In our house the pipe rose near the west wall to the chimney, which rose through the peak of the roof and near the end. Next the wall was the capacious baking oven, which would hold two large bread pans, one above the other. Above the oven was room for two large pots side by side. Between the pot-holes was a removable piece to give a place for the boiler in place of the pots. A full size boiler would be any way two feet long. This indicates that the stove would be a full two feet wide; and likely somewhat more. In front of the place for the boiler, or pots, and at a six inch lower level (or perhaps more) and at the foot of a steeply inclined plane, was a duplicate of the rear pot-holes and place for the boiler. Underneath was the firebox, which <sup>was made to</sup> ~~would~~ take a generous filling of wood. The bottom of the firebox and that of the oven were nearly on the same

level; but the rear pair of legs, or "stove-feet", were somewhat longer than the front pair. Above and back of the oven, the smoke and hot air from the fire entered the smoke pipe. At this point was the damper. When this was open, that is, turned back, the smoke had free egress to the smoke pipe. When the damper was closed, that is, turned up vertically, it shut off the passage to the smoke pipe, and the stream of smoke and air divided and descended back of and under the sides of the oven, joining into a single stream that ascended back of the middle of the oven to the smoke pipe, thus heating the oven.

In front of and at the bottom of the firebox, the hearth spread the width of the stove and about two-thirds as far forward. In it was a slide to regulate the draft; and underneath was the capacious ash pit. The wide and deep hearth formed a convenient platform for setting objects, such as kettles and pots, in their manipulation on the stove.

Remembering that such a stove served the purpose of a cooking and baking stove as well as a heater, for the oftenest rather large room that served as kitchen, living room, and sleeping quarters of a family of several persons, it is seen that it must be of goodly proportions and that it was a piece of dominating appearance.

The "upstairs" of two-story, and story-and-a-half, houses, was mostly heated by a sheet-iron drum through which the smoke and hot air from the stove, beneath, passed on the way to the chimney. It is a fact that the pioneer dwellings in the timbered sections, were fairly roomy, high and of good length and width. Timbering up four walls of long logs took not much more work than that for shorter logs. And there was always material in plenty to keep on adding logs to any desired height. It was quite a different matter to be generous with space that must be enclosed with sod, or with stuff that had to be hauled a long distance, and whose cost would play havoc with the settlers' oftenest very slender purse. Also, the settler in the timber had an inexhaustible supply of the best sort of fuel to heat up his larger house; while the prairie settler was hard put to it to obtain fuel for his limited room.

The pond by which the homestead was built was of course fed by a spring, or springs; for it had no visible inlet; but out of it flowed a rivulet of considerable volume, across which was placed a series of sticks, driven into the bottom, to serve as a screen to keep the ducks and geese in the pond from swimming out of the pond. For a while I remember we had a few ducks. But the keeping of geese was a specially cultivated industry, for their feathers which were used to fill pillows and feather beds. Plucking the geese at the season of their molting was a performance, which is remembered especially

for the noise incident to the operation. The fowls would scream or trumpet loudly. Their wings would have to be held or tied at the back. If they got their wings loose, the picker and the goose would disappear in a dense, white cloud, until quiet had been restored and the cloud in time settled. The gander was a very stately bird, and could give vicious pinches with his ready bill. Whenever strange persons or animals approached the homestead, the geese announced the fact by their loud trumpeting, well serving the purpose of a watch-dog, which was not kept on this place. The pond was especially rich in small fish, on which the ducks and geese fed.

Long after the family had moved away this pond dried up and left a bowlshaped depression, which was entirely dry, with no sign of the former rivulet. This was doubtless due to the change in drainage resulting from the complete clearing away of the timber of that region.

On this land were found a number of relics of Indian life, such as hatchets of stone and an axe that weighed several pounds. Most of these objects had been broken, so that they may simply have been abandoned. They were turned up by the plow, the last year or two of our occupancy, after the stumps began to disappear. A large number of flint arrowheads, many of them in perfect condition, were thus found. I remember that the men used to save these stone objects and give them to us children. By the time when we left the place, in 1854, I had scores of arrowheads, stored mostly under the porch. When in 1897 I revisited the place, the old buildings had long since been taken away and a new homestead had been built, in modern fashion, elsewhere; and the old home site was part of a grain field from which the grain had just been stacked. In this field I located the site of the former dwelling, by finding a spot where several arrowheads appeared in the soil. The owners told me that was the exact spot covered by the porch of the old log dwelling.

The entire quarter section was dry, well drained land, entirely covered with heavy deciduous timber, mostly hardwood, including a large proportion of oak, maple, beech, and ash; but near the north-east corner were two or three white pine trees of quite large size. Near the pond and directly in front of the house stood a particularly tall and stately tamarac, which on account of its notable appearance Haldor chose to leave standing, when he cleared that spot. My most vivid memory of the place is of this tree's being struck by lightning, and splintered completely into a large number of small and large stakes. Some of these were driven into the ground, mostly upright, and to such a depth that they had to be chopped down, as firmly rooted saplings were cut. A splintered stump at least forty feet high, was all that was left on the stately tamarac.



First, recapitulating briefly: Thomas and Kari Veblen arrived at Pt. Washington in Sept., 1847. They lived in the southern portion of Sheboygan County, on the Stephen Olson land until early in 1848, when they bought a lot in Ulao and built themselves a house, in which they lived till the summer, 1849, where their son Andrew was born September 24, 1848. The summer, 1849, they moved into the Sørli house; and from that unto their own land in T. 13, R. 22, in Sheboygan County.

Haldor Veblen arrived early in September, 1848, and lived with Thomas and Kari till he preempted the 160 acres of land in T. 13, R. 22. in February, 1849.

At the same time that Haldor came, came also Ole and Ingri Bunde, Kari's brother and sister. They did not make their home with the Veblens very long after their arrival; but went to work for themselves.

In 1849 came also mother's mother, Berit Bunde and her second husband, Einar (Grøven) Bunde, and their sons Tosten and Halvar, mother's half-brothers, who were then about six and four respectively. They lived first by themselves, at a considerable distance from the Veblens. But they came to live with the Veblens probably in 1852, and staid till they moved to Iowa, probably early in 1854.

Thomas and Kari's oldest daughter Betsey Jane, was born 10 December, 1850.

their son Østen, afterward called Orson Veblen, was born 4 June, 1853. These were the children born to them before they moved away from Town 13.

An arrival that I remember well, perhaps in 1853, possibly in 1852, was that of mother's cousin, Engebret Gulliksen Egge. When he came he carried in his hand <sup>a</sup> package which proved to contain books. They were Johan Arndt: "Sande Christendom", a "postil" for devotional use. Three copies of Guldbergh's "Psalmebog"; one for each of Thomas, Kari, and Haldor. Also a set of books for my future education and instruction. They were, a Norwegian primer, known as "A, B, C, med Hane"; a Luther's Smaller Catechism; a Pontoppidan's "Forklaring" (Explanation of the Catechism) I believe the outfit included a Wexel's "Bibelhistorie", which I came to use in time; but it may not have come with the others named. Embrik, as we called him, made his home with us, at least a part of the time.

There were other newcomers and other friends from Valdres that made contact with the family, but none were close neighbors; except the Sørlies, Endre and Berit, who had a son Michael, or Mekkel, whom I remember as a half-grown youth. The Sørlies, for some reason that seemed a mystery to me, did not stay steadily at home, but were sometimes gone away so that their house would be standing vacant. Their cellar was not drained like ours; but Endre made a pump to remove the water.

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The country all about the Veblens became settled by immigrants from Holland; and when Town thirteen was organized for civic government, it became Town of Holland, in Sheboygan County. Of course these were most excellent people and formed a model community. But among them the Veblens found themselves strangers, who could have no intercourse with their neighbors, except in their own very limited English, of which the neighbors knew even less than they.

There was no prospect that the difficulty ever would be much mitigated so far as their own generation might be concerned. And for the children who were to be reared the outlook was culturally and socially discouraging. Betsey was about four, and I six, when we moved away, and we had not got acquainted with any of the Dutch children. Neither had a playmate aside from ourselves. The children of the neighbors did not understand us; and we did not understand them.

We were an isolated family. we could have no social intercourse without making a long journey to find people of our own kind; or we might await the rare occasions when some friend came from far away. There were no opportunities for satisfying religious and spiritual needs or such observations as the grownups had been trained to look on as essential or had become traditional and habitual. There was no organization of coreligionists among the few far scattered compatriots along the Lake before one got days' journeys south or north.

The only spiritual contact that I have heard my parents ever had during their first seven years here, was with Rev. Paul Anderson (Norland) on his rare visits among these segregated and lonely compatriot coreligionists. He, as noted in the beginning, emigrated from Vang in 1843. It is known he was a student at Beloit college; and he became qualified for ordination; and became pastor of the first Norwegian Lutheran church in Chicago in 1848 and served it for a series of years. Paul Anderson seems to have kept in touch with the few Valdrises along the Lake coast northward, to <sup>do</sup> what little ministering he might among <sup>them</sup>.

Thus he occasionally visited the Veblens. He administered the rite of baptism in my case and that of Betsey, perhaps also as to Orson. Other semi-missionary itinerants there were; but mostly they did not commend themselves to the preconceptions of these conservative settlers. A layman preacher, or two, lived as settlers along the Lake; but there was practically no opportunity for their activity, because of the isolation in which their compatriot pioneers dwelt.

From considerations like the foregoing one can gather the reasons and inducements that led the Veblens to change their residence to another and more suitable environment. Besides, they may have felt that materially the Town Thirteen situation was not all that their ambition demanded.

The racial isolation of the Veblens could be not only unpleasant and annoying; but it could be a source of grave danger. A German who lived somewhere in Sheboygan County made a practice of stealing cows and selling them in Sheboygan, claiming that he had bought them of others. He finally landed in the penitentiary. During his career he was caught in possession of a stolen cow, by its owner. He then claimed that he had bought the cow "from that Norwegian who lives among those Dutchmen". The owner swore out a complaint against "the Norwegian", and the thief accompanied the constable, in order to identify his man.

When they arrived at the house, it happened that Thomas was not at the house; but Haldor was there; and the thief pointed him out as the one who had sold him the cow. He was arrested and taken to the county seat, Sheboygan, about a dozen miles away. Thomas at once went to Sheboygan and put up bail, and got him released; and the hearing was set on a day, soon. There were of course witnesses who could testify that Haldor had not been out of the house the night the cow had been taken, nor the morning after, when the thief alleged he had bought the cow. Both these acts had taken place at considerable distances away.

Owing to the long distance to Sheboygan, the Veblens naturally were put to much trouble and expense, as for transportation of the witnesses; beside the cost of hiring a lawyer and an interpreter. Mother's mother and her husband slept in the same room as Haldor and knew he was not gone in the night; and mother knew he was eating his breakfast at the hour it was claimed he sold the stolen cow.

I believe all these witnesses were not brought to the hearing, as not being needed. I am not certain about all details, but I remember one point. When mother testified as to the date, when she knew Haldor was eating his breakfast at home, the judge asked how she could be sure; to which she answered, it was the morning of "Kvissun". The interpreter, who probably was poorly qualified in his knowledge of English, could not tell that she meant Whitsunday. When she saw that he was stuck, <sup>and</sup> she tried to help him out by saying it was the same as "Pins", the justice, who was likely a German, said at once, that he understood and knew she was right, recognizing that it was the same as "Pfingst", of course.

There was no further question about Haldor's connection with the matter; but it had caused the family a lot of trouble and no little expense, and it showed lurking possibilities in the general situation. Haldor was not known in Sheboygan, as he had seldom been there, and never did business there; while Thomas on the contrary was well known in the town, which was the nearest place of any facilities for marketing the produce of the farm and buying what they required.

How early the Veblens began to think of selling out and moving I do not know. But Haldor sold his share of the claim to a Dutchman by the name of Laarmann, who I remember had built himself a house in which he lived at Christmas, 1853, when the whole Veblen family were the guests of the Laarmanns. It was the first time I had seen a pistol, Mr. Laarmann had a very innocent<sup>looking</sup> one, which to mother's horror he proposed to bestow on me as a gift.

Haldor having disposed of his share, father sold to another Dutchman by the name of Te Ronde, who lived there permanently, as I know from visiting the place 43 years after. When I asked a couple of young men who were loading grain in the field, where I might find the owner, they pointed out "the old man" who was stacking. He was a man I judged might be my age; and he was the son of Mr Te Ronde, who bought of father in 1854.

It is possible that father was not satisfied with the quality of the soil; but he had developed the land into a farm that was yielding a good living, and which was considered a model farm. I know he wished to have more land; but the determining motive for moving away, was the dissatisfaction with the environment, as it had developed.

He got what was considered a good price, the exact or full amount of which I no longer know. But I remember well when the transfer was made. The man who wrote the deed was an important appearing man, probably the Justice of the Peace. I think he was called "Skvørn" which was Hørisbygding for "The Squire". He was the first man I saw part a sheet of paper by creasing it and passing his tongue along the sharp crease, and then tearing the paper on the line of the moistened crease. After the papers had been written and the fuss of signing was over, Mr. TeRonde counted down on the table two rows of gold coins of different sizes. Then the squire counted them. Then father counted them; and afterward he swept both rows of coins, at one sweep, into our wooden dipper, that had been made in Norway and had been elegantly turned out of birchwood.

Father turned and let mother heft the gold in the wooden dipper. After that he let me heft<sup>it</sup> also. It felt very heavy. There was somewhat more than eight hundred dollars. Mother took the body of the dipper between her hands, carefully; and I did likewise. Father held it by the handle, as if it was not much of a weight.

There followed now the preparations to move to Town of Cato, Manitowoc County, which lies next north of Sheboygan County. There father bought eighty acres of wild timber land, much like the Town thirteen land, of the heaviest forest land in all Wisconsin. There father made or had made detailed arrangements for the reception of the family, which numbered six, counting Haldor.

The land father bought in Manitowoc County, lay about 33 miles north, but about forty miles by the road. As this was no great distance, he moved his whole equipment of goods and animals, except fowl, sheep and pigs, but took along provisions for the family and for the cattle, including the ox-team. It was late in the fall when we moved.

We set out on a Saturday, two loads, one in a borrowed wagon with a borrowed team. On the first wagon were the family and a good lot of goods. The second wagon contained a large box, that made a large looking load by itself. IT was called "bøla" (the bøla). it was a very well and solidly made chest, about 12 feet long, some five feet high; and as wide as the wagon could take. ABOUT the upper half of the front was hinged so that it would turn down, when opened. When closed this door could be securely locked by a padlock. The bøla had been built very long before, and served for a receptacle for things that were to be kept secure from mice and other vermin. It had had a place in the barn; and it continued to be a useful receptacle as long as we lived in Manitowoc Co. Of course now, during the moving the bøla was filled with valuable goods, including provisions very likely.

Saturday evening we stopped with some friends of our parents, Knut and Anne Swenson (Sveinsaan, as they said it). They lived, as I remember it, in the SE corner of Manitowoc County. With them we staid all Sunday. I believe one of the men went on with the bøla that day, and to let our friends know of our coming. The Swensons had a boy about my age. I had not had any playmate and I suspect he had not either. So we began our intercourse with a battle; but soon peace was established; and we played together all that day; and we remained fast friends as long as <sup>we</sup> lived in the state.

on Monday evening we arrived at the home of Ole O. Aubol, who lived close to our prospective home. There we staid a day or two while we got our own household settled. The men made one or more trips back to Town Thirteen, to bring the remainder of the things that were moved.

Next to the eighty father had bought, but which was altogether unimproved, lay eighty acres, on the north side, that an acquaintance of the Veblens had bought. He was Bøye Amundsen Bø, from Vang. He passed by the name Boyer Amunds as his American name. On his eighty had been built a frame house, and perhaps a small stable. As Boyer had not yet moved in, he allowed us to occupy it the first year, while father put up buildings on his own nearby land. It was like his temporary use of the Sørleie house in Sheboygan County.

This Amunds house was called by the neighbors, the Pates House, as it had been built by a Mr. Pates, who had never finished the house, and had sold to Mr. Amunds. It was said that this Pates was the man who later built the drawbridge in Vanitowoc. It is not surely clear

to me that I have the right form of this name, since there was also a Baetz family in early Manitowoc history. The people would pronounce it Bates. But there were a shipbuilding family by the name of Bates, and likely the house had been built by a Bates.

The Bates house was a two-story frame house and had been sided and finished outside in all respects, windows, and all; but had not been painted. It had been lathed, but not much plastering had been <sup>done</sup>. It was very cold during cold weather, though there was fuel in plenty to burn. The problem was to keep the children from harm in the night; and mother used to tell how she tied mittens on the children's hands to keep them from harm in the cold. It happened that snow that had drifted unto the beds had to be cleared away some mornings.

Otherwise the Bates house proved commodious for the Veblens ~~the year~~ during the year they occupied it. It stood only a quarter mile from the site on which they built. We were quite a household there; for beside the six Veblens Embrik Egge, who has been mentioned, joined them and worked for father most of the year, at clearing land. Haldor also cleared land for father. Possibly he had a little time himself to give to the clearing work; but he was principally at such carpenter work as could be done preliminarily, until the spring came and building could be done in earnest. Anyway that winter and the following spring a goodly acreage was made ready for cultivation; and even that spring, 1855, a considerable area was sown to wheat, so that it yielded all the wheat that was needed. The policy followed by Thomas Veblen, was to get the land to yielding crops as soon as possible; and then, to make it yield as much as possible. I have heard him characterized as the sort of farmer who made every square foot of available soil produce.

The "eighty" of land was the W 1/2 of SE 1/4 sec. 29 T 19 N, R 22 E, Town of Cato, Manitowoc County. The Boyer Amunds eighty, on which stood the Bates house, was the E 1/2 of the same or section. West of the Veblen eighty was the eighty own by Henry McGlaughland, a "protestant Irish", who had settled a year or two before, and whose buildings were all board "shanties", as he denominated them himself. They were permanent houses, but had the sloping roof characteristic of "shanties". A government road, commonly called "the River Road" crossed <sup>the east end of</sup> these three eighties at an angle of 20 degrees north of eastward and continued on in the same (nearly) easterly direction <sup>trail</sup> through and beyond the village of Clarks Mills, a mile and a quarter from the Veblen homestead, in a general way following the course of the Manitowoc River, until it reached Manitowoc, eleven miles due east.

Just after crossing the Manitowoc River, by Knapp's bridge, the River road crossed sections 31, 29, and 28, in a straight line at the

angle of 20 degrees north of east, to where it entered section 27, just southeast of Clarks Mills. The road thus cut off a small triangle from McGlaughland's eighty, opposite to which his homestead stood. About twelve acres of the Veblen eighty lay south of the road; while a larger part of the Amunds eighty lay to the south of the River road. The Bates house stood North of the road, slightly east of the middle. From Knapp's bridge the river flowed in an irregular northeastward course, and passed a point half a mile back, north, of the Veblen eighty, where Cato Falls was developed. After a curve further north the river came back, southeast, through Clarks Mills, a mile and a half below Cato Falls. It emptied into Lake Michigan at Manitowoc, about ten miles due east from Clarks Mills.

Manitowoc was the county seat, and was our nearest town, and our market place. The distance was twelve miles by the road. Clarks Mills was our post office. Here were a flour mill and saw mill, belonging to <sup>Mr.</sup> Clark. Hence the name of the village and post office. On the hill west of the river was Cunningham's store. Later came a store east of the river, <sup>and</sup> belonging to Ira Clark. There was a blacksmith shop. Later came a shoemaker, and other interests in time centered there. Just east of the village was Gulbrand Hanson, a skilled wagon-maker.

Installed in the Bates house, the Veblen household consisted of Thomas and Kari, three children, and Haldor Veblen and Embrik Eggse, who were both single. Seven persons in all. The children were: myself six years old, Petsey four years, and Orson nearly a year and a half. The family lived in the Bates house about a full year; and Emily was born there the 20th August, 1855.

Haldor and Embrik both cleared land for Thomas that winter, including the spot chosen for the dwelling, north of the River road and about the middle of the eighty. But the main part of the clearing was the greater part of the trapezoid of a dozen acres that was cut off by the road. About the site of the house several acres had been included in the clearing. During the winter Thomas probably helped with the clearing; but he got everything ready for the building operations to be pushed forward as soon as spring came. For the cow stable logs were provided. It was built of round logs, with a loft that held a good quantity of hay. I am not sure the stable was not built first of all. If there was not a stable of sufficient capacity to hold the ox-team and cows, the stable may have been built at once, in 1854 after our arrival. To timber up a stable of rough, round logs would not take the three men long. The stable stood south of the road, a few rods further east than the house. This log stable served for several years, until a frame stable took its place, as late as 1857 or '58. Then it was used a short time as pig house.

To provide the greater part of the lumber for the dwelling to be built the summer following, and likely for the barn also, Thomas bought white pine on the root, for "six shillings apiece (75 c.) This pine timber grew on the <sup>south</sup> bank of the river half a mile back of the eighty. The logs were hauled ("snaked") to the brink of the river's bank, and there piled up into the well known <sup>h</sup> of log piles. In the spring, after the river was clear, the men simply rolled these logs off the piles, into the river on which they floated down to the Clark saw-mill, and were sawed up into boards, scantlings, and whatever dimensions were required. For the sawing the mill took half of the timber for pay, thus delivering half of the lumber the logs would yield. As fast as the lumber was sawed it was hauled to the building site and piled in open fashion to season.

The saw-mill was not a complicated affair. First two slabs were sawed off the log on opposite sides. The log then was laid on one flat side and automatically fed up to the saw, which was set in a huge upright frame, which oscillated vertically in its own plane. The log was fed up against the saw, automatically, which cut first a slab from the log. After the log had been shifted back, it was shifted automatically sidewise to cut a board of given thickness; and board after board was sawed, finishing with the slab as the last. In this mill the operation was stopped so as to leave two or three inches uncut at the end; and sometimes all the boards cut from the log would stick together and be taken away together, in a single bundle.

later the mill was equipped with a circular saw, as was the mill that in time was built at Cato Falls, at the <sup>p</sup>oint where father had cut the pine trees for his lumber.

In the spring as soon as a crop had been sowed on the cleared land a cellar was excavated and set with stone. Then the house was built. In this the two other men helped in such matters as they could with their simpler skill. Embrik knew something about laying up a wall of stone, and was helpful in building the cellar walls. The house was <sup>being south</sup> set to conform to the direction of the road, so that it faced 20 degrees east of south. and all the buildings on the farm were made to conform in the same way with the angle of the road. A mark was made in one of the window seats, afterward, to indicate when the sun was directly in the south, in order to set the clock ~~by~~ at noon.

The house consisted of a main two-story part, one end toward the road, with a kitchen ell on the east side and parallel to the road. A porch ran along the front side of the kitchen ell. The ell part was lower than the main part, forming a low attic over the kitchen. In the ~~east~~ <sup>east</sup> end of the ell, ~~east~~ <sup>east</sup> of the kitchen were two small rooms, one being the "buttery" and the other served sometimes as a bed room, sometimes as a store-room.



The kitchen was a large room, which served also as dining room. on one side the kitchen communicated with a large room serving both as a hall to the upper floor, and giving access to the cellar stair. On the other, the south side of this hall was the door into the large living room occupying a good half of the main part of the house, and facing south. In the west end the living room, was the door into the large main bed-room, which occupied the northwest corner of the house. In the living room, and in the middle of the north wall <sup>here it was</sup> was a broad fire-place built of brick. It was the main feature of this large room, and the centre about which the family gathered, particularly the long winter evenings. I believe it was the only house in the community that had a fireplace in the "parlor" as it was usual to designate the chief room of the house. Father made a wood pattern from which he had a pair of large andirons cast. The fireplace played a large part in the domestic life of the Veblens.

The upper story was divided into two larger rooms, with access to the attic room over the kitchen, which served for storage and for additional sleeping room when the house was crowded, as happened when several newcomers might be staying with us. Behind the kitchen was an unroofed porch or platform.

A short distance north of, behind the main part a well was dug. When this was sunk fourteen feet a boulder was encountered, which entirely filled the five or six foot shaft. A new shaft or hole was then dug beside the first, so as to just graze th side of the boulder. When this was sunk six feet lower, or 20 feet in all, bed rock was struck; and the curious thing was encountered, of a small stream of water flowing a cross the bottom of the shaft, in an evidently worn channel on the rock surface. The small stream simply flowed through; and there was no way of catching and confining the water, except by working out a basin in the rock that formed a smooth floor of the shaft.

In this dilemma, Embrik Egge, who had had experience in blasting, undertook to blast out an extension of the shaft to serve as a catch basin for the water. A rock drill was made by a blacksmith, and holes were sunk into which a chrage of blasting powder was tamped, around a rod, so as to leave a place to sink the fuse or match to set off the charge. The match had to be quite slow-burning to give Embrik time to climb the twenty-foot ladder out of the well, before the charge went off.

The slow-matches at first used were "lunte-stikko" such as had been used in Norway. One would consist of a slender pine stick, rectangular in section, and no more than a quarter inch thick. This four sided stick was covered with a paste made of powder in water. After it had dried, a piece of twine which had been drawn through melted sulphur was inserted in a split in the upper end of the match. By cutting

the twine long enough its slow-burning might be so timed as to give time for the climb up the ladder, before the match was ignited; and the match itself was also slow-burning. It burned by a circular progress down ward, which might take a second or two to traverse a length of 15 to 20 inches of stick-match used.

But evidently the matches were not always to be relied on. Sometimes they might go out; and at other times set off the blast sooner than counted on. One time the blast went off before Embrik had quite cleared the opening; and fragments of rock hit the planks that covered the shaft just while he was in the opening over the ladder. Embrik was an outspoken person, and he expressed his surprise under some excitement. I remember Haldor remarking after the stir caused by the episode had died down that he did not think the sulphurous smell above the shaft, following this blast, was due entirely to blast.

Repetitions of such accidents were prevented by using fuse cord that had been obtained from Manitowoc, and which had a more reliable speed of burning. But this job of blasting had other elements of trouble. The rock proved to have fissures in it, and in some of these were independent streams of water, which even filled the drilled holes, and which would wet the charge of powder. Embrik resorted to a number of devices to remedy this trouble. I remember he once made a stiff paste of clay which he forced into the cracks in which water leaked in. at another time he made linings of the holes of oilcloth.

This leaking in of water gave him a great deal of trouble; and he quit after having made a basin that was nearly four feet at the deepest. The water seemed to leak out in the cracks in the rock, but not faster than the stream at the top supplied water, ordinarily. When the well had been stoned up and supplied with a pump, which was a chain pump (all but the chain made by father) the well proved a wonderful house well, which yielded sparkling pure water that was always cool and sweet.

It was a somewhat laborious process ~~process~~ to draw water from this well and several years were added to my seven before I could operate the chain-pump with sufficient speed to draw a pailful of water. The source at the bottom did not prove plentiful enough to supply all the water needed on the farm, at least not speedily enough to prove practically satisfactory. A well was later sunk beside the barnyard; but no water found before striking bed-rock at a moderate depth. A well driller came and drilled to a depth of sixty feet before a plentiful supply was secured. This three-inch hole was then reamed out to seven inches about half of its depth. at the bottom of the seven inch with the "barrel" of the pump was placed, with its valve. The water was sucked up a lead pipe reaching to the bottom of the three inch hole, and

lifted up the remaining forty-odd feet to the spout of the pump. Wind-mills had not come into use at that time, with methods of storage. So the supplying of water for the barnyard was a task requiring a lot of ill-spared time; and this onerous method of supplying water, proved the chief cause of dissatisfaction with the Manitowoc County farm, that led eventually to seeking more satisfactory conditions elsewhere a decade later.

I have no sure data, but most likely the barn was also built the summer of 1855, when the house was built; and it would have to be before the grain was harvested, in order to provide storage for the wheat grown that year. It was a frame building. The square-timber used in it had been sawed at the mill, instead of being hewn by the broad-axe. It may have appeared more economical for father to hew the timber by hand; for he was a most skillful user of the broad-axe; and paying for the sawing of timber meant a drain on his cash funds, which he would naturally avoid. Possibly the timber used in the barn was provided in the same way as the boards and stuff for the dwelling had been got; i. e., by buying trees on the root and cutting them and paying for the sawing by a mill-toll of logs. At all events he needed to husband his time carefully in order to manage to do all the work on both dwelling and barn before the winter set in.

As it was, it got late before the house was completed for the family's occupancy. The first snow fell shortly after we had moved from the Eates house, in which we had lived a year, and which stood <sup>good</sup> a quarter of a mile east along the road. One of the first days in the house Orson, then two and a half, set out to "go home". When he was missed and a search was made, he was found in a fence corner, bucking the snowdrifts, several rods toward the Eates house.

The mention of this episode prompts a remark on fences as used at that time. All cattle and pigs ran at large, and clearings were invariably fenced as soon crops were grown in them. As all or most of the dozen acres south of the road had been cleared and sown in the spring it had to be fenced. Also the (smaller) clearing on which the homestead was built, had to be fenced to keep strange cattle out. It would require about 300 rods of fence, of which 110 or 115 rods was along boundaries of other settlers. If the Veblens were spared building a half of this, it would leave, say, 250 rods, most likely, of fence that they had to put up that summer of 1855, and early in the summer. They had doubtless provided the rails during the preceding winter.

All fences were built of rails, except a negligible fraction made up of board fences. These consisted of posts set eight feet apart; and on these were nailed 16-foot boards six inches wide. This size of boards were called "fence boards". Such fences one saw about gardens, barnyards, and in towns. The only board fence on our farm, when we

moved away in 1865, was about the barnyard, the orchard, and along the lane from the road to the barnyard. Board fences were built 3 or 4 boards in height, spaced according to the height, To keep out pigs and sheep required four boards.

The rail fence was built by laying the rails loose upon one another so as to form corners pointing alternately in and out, zigzag. This method of building produces the "worm fence", so-called. The angle between successive panels of rails was as great as would be consistent with needed stability; and varied little from about 120 degrees. It would be governed to some extent by the quality of the rails. The matter was a problem of adjustment between the economy of large angles and the stability of smaller angles.

The first series of rails, the bottom rails, were first laid down with great care, as to alignment, angles, and the distance at which the rails should protrude outside the corner; for this also had to do with the stability. Generally blocks of wood, stones if available, were placed under the corners. course after course of rails were then laid until the desired height was reached. This had to be considerable, as the fenced out cattle often developed a special fondness for hay or grain growing on the inside, and which would look much more desirable than the scant forage outside. Some animals became breachy and would leap over if the fence were not high. Other animals might develop great skill in affecting a break in a fence. Large oxen might push a fence over; but generally they attacked a corner quite skillfully with their horns, lifting a rail or two at a time until the corner had been sufficiently lowered to suit. To foil such animals in their mischief, a bow of wood was hung on the neck, carrying a block from which protruded a long bar, that did not prevent the animal from browsing, though it must have been a sore annoyance. This bar would interfere with the picking down of a fence corner; but in some cases the animal's ingenuity overcame the hindrance. In such cases there was no cure, and the ox had to be confined or tied.

It is seen that the fences must be built high so that they could not be leaped, and of such stability that they could not be broken through. They were mostly built of massive rails, not easily disturbed. The top rail would be especially heavy. Height also added stability, by the greater weight, and by the fact that the top might be out of reach of the advantageous application of the horns of even large animals. These considerations will show why these zigzag fences were always high and heavy. Some fences were finished with "riders", which were top rails resting in a crotch of two crossed stakes driven into the ground and resting on the fence corner. On fences that bounded cultivated ground the pair of stakes met in the small angle of the

intersecting last rails; for if they sloped transversely to the direction of the fence they would protrude into the field in such a way as to interfere with plows, harrows, etc., and add much to the ground occupied by the fence.

Necessarily much ground was wasted by the effective width of a worm fence. Twelve-foot rails laid at an angle small enough to insure stability and strength would waste a strip four or five feet wide. Longer rails would waste more of the ground reclaimed at the cost of the much labor of clearing the land.

The advantage of using riders was that <sup>given</sup> a height of fence could be attained with fewer rails, and a lower fence would answer, as a corner strengthened by the stakes that bore the riders was not so vulnerable to the attacks of breachy cattle.

An evil feature of the zigzag fence was that it nurtured hedgerows in which all manner of weeds and objectionable vegetation flourished; and in which obnoxious vermin of many kinds found azylum. Careful farmers would spend considerable time and labor in cutting out the growth in their fence-corners, with a scythe, to mitigate the nuisance.

The reason that this sort of fence was used in the time of clearing timber land was of course that they were the most economical kind the settler could build. The material was present in abundance and had to be got out of the way. The most durable and workable timber in the clearing would be made into rails. Small trees of the right size would be cut in rail lengths and utilized as far as possible. But most of the rails produced in a clearing were split rails.

A tree-trunk of a kind suitable for rails, such as oak or ash, would be cut into rail lengths and later split. The chopper would apply his axe with its handle four times along the log, to measure out the rail, whose standard length was eleven feet. He would then chopp off this length, and measure and cut off another length, and so on, till he had cut the useful part. Of course straight-grained trees must be chosen for splitting. Sometimes the trees that were chosen for rail making were measured and sawed up with a crosscut saw, which was operated by two men. Most of the rails used were undoubtedly split out of logs that had been chopped, though the sawed of sort, being neater, were preferred.

The rail-splitter's implements were, beside his axe, a pair or more of iron wedges and a wooden maul. The wedges were of soft iron and from seven to ten or eleven <sup>inches</sup> long, and an inch and a half to two inches square section at the large end. The maul had a cylindrical head some ten or eleven inches long and six inches diameter, with a round, straight handle set at a right angle in the head at the middle of its side. The maul was made by sawing a block from a six inch stem of hardwood, often ironwood. A pair of stout iron rings were fitted one on each end, and wooden wedges were driven into the ends of the head, near to the rings, to hold them in place.

The splitter began by driving his axe lightly into the log near one end, then would by a practised motion drive the wedge into the axe cut so as to make the wedge stand firmly in the wood. Then by swinging blows would drive<sup>in</sup> the wedge, usually its full length; then insert the second wedge in the far end of the crack that the first wedge had started. As the second wedge opened the split further, and the first one was released, it was picked out and applied as the second had been and the process repeated until the log was riven in two.

Each half would then be further split into parts of the desired stoutness of rails. Often, and usually, the splitter would shape wooden wedges, with his axe, and of larger size than these of iron; and used them mostly to follow up the splits made by the small wedges, and to hold the cracks open for convenience of cutting into the split with his axe, as might be found needed.

The head of the maul had frequently to be renewed, as the action of the wedges was to wear hollows into the wooden head until it was unfit for further use.

Rails were commonly split rather large and heavy. There was no objection in sparing the material; and the heavier the rails the heavier and firmer the fence built. A single rail was usually all that a man wished to handle alone; but in building fences it was usual for two to work together, preferably handling the rails one at each end.

If the rails were made out of timber cut down in a clearing the fence was to enclose, the rails would be piled up to dry in open stacks and left until the brush and logs had been burnt; and then hauled out by the line on which they were to form the fence. This was often done by taking a bundle of six to ten rails with the end of a chain hooked around the end of the bundle and "snaking" them with the ox-team, after the fashion of snaking logs. The rails were handled and lifted as little as possible.

While zigzag fences built of roughly split rails did not present a neat and attractive appearance, such a fence generally proved secure and reliable; and endured for several years without attention and repairs. As the settlements grew older, the original rough fences were generally replaced with fences built more with regard to appearance and permanence. for this purpose many fences<sup>in our neighborhood</sup> were built out of round rails cut from tamaracs of 5 or 6 inches diameter. These were very straight and made fences that may fairly be said to have been elegant.

These tamaracs grew in "The Swamp", which occupied a long stretch of the county south of and parallel to Cato part of the main valley of the Manitowoc River. Here grew these young tamaracs very thickly and to such height that several lengths of rails might be cut from each stem. About 1858 or '9 father bought a forty of this "swamp land" on which the state was making a specially low price; and out of poles cut

there he built fences on the sides of the road to replace the first fences that were erected in the beginning, in 1855. This tamrac fence along the road was considered a particularly notable example of fence making. This forty lay in the north edge of the big swant, and included about five acres of dry land in the north edge. It was the NW 1/4 of NW 1/4 of Sec. 34 T 19 R 22.

As related, the dwelling and the grain barn were built in 1855, while the family had its home in the Bates house. As related also, it got late in the season before we moved into the house. Partly this was owing to the fact that all the carpenter work on the two structures was done by Thomas himself, at the same time that he directed the other activities on the place. He nodoubt participated in the logging, or collecting the cut down timber for burning. With the one ox-team and perhaps one helper hired, so as to make a crew of four, the men did the logging without resorting to the logging-bee method which was usually used. Then, too, he certainly did the sowing of the wheat himself, as he invariably did as long the sowing was done by hand on his farms.

But part of the delay in our getting into our house was due to the eccentricities of the plasterer. Our neighbor on the west side was an Orangerman, or Protestant Irish. There were three other Protestant Irish living near, who were brothers. One of these was Bill Morgan, who was a plasterer and plastered the house. He taught Haldor to make mortar and to "tend" him. But when Bill had put on the rough coat, and while that was seasoning, he obtained part of his pay for the job. But whiskey was cheap and could be got in any store; and it took a long time before Bill was able to finish. In fact Haldor experimented and put the last coat on part of the upstairs. Meanwhile the family were impatiently waiting.

Not long after the house well had been finished, as related, a story and a half building was erected just north of the well, to serve as a shop, wash house and store-house. It was furnished with a large fire-place, large to contain the large iron caldron on one side, while on the other side might be placed th circular "Takkø" on its tripod, where was baked the Norwegian flat-bread, in thin circular sheets about wt to rp inches large. It was a large fire-place. At the east wall stood father's cabinet-makers bench with the tool chest in the north east corner, holding every brightly polished tool in its precis<sup>e</sup> place.

In between the shop and the house was a space, about 16 feetwide. This was roofed over and a wall filled in on the west side, and this

16x16 space with its high roof gave space for chopping and storing wood, as well as sheltering the pump. This accessory building was perhaps not completed until 1857; but it made the home a convenient and complete. Once that old Mads paa Moe was preparing some leather for making and repairing shoes for the family, some remarked to him: "Mads, you don't find things as handy for you, many places". He answered: "o! alt & komplet her paa Vøgle!" (Everything is complete here at Veb-  
len's!). And he was right.

As told, the barn was built on the south side of the road, on the side opposite the house. This was a favorite arrangement among the settlers in the west, and I believe mostly with "Yankies", or natives of the eastern part of the country. I believe it was done in order to keep the dwelling and barnyard distinctly separated; that is in situations in which the farm was crossed by a highway.

But father found that this was not a desirable arrangement. For one thing the traffic on the road passed virtually through the homestead. So he decided to change it. To replace the log stable, built south of the road, a larger and better stable became urgently necessary. For this need a plan was conceived which involved a large barn and stable structure in the shape of an ell, with one wing serving as a shelter for the barnyard on its north side, the other wing on the west, meeting the former so as to form a northwest corner. When completed this would include the barn already built as the south end of the wing extending south, while the other wing contained the cowstable in the west end, or corner, and the horse stable in the north end; with a shed in <sup>between the stables and sheltered by a north wall, but open southward</sup> the north, or east and west wing was built in 1858, or about the time that we first acquired horses. This wing was used to house the stock that winter (1858-9); and the hay was stored in the loft that ran all the way over this long wing. That summer, 1858, the grain was harvested into the barn on the south side; and it was threshed there, with father's new two-horse power thresher.

In the early spring, 1859, the barn was moved across the road and incorporated in the new ell-shaped barn and stable building on the north side, and at a good distance north-east of the dwelling, with the garden and Orchard separating the house from the barnyard. The barn was moved at a time after the snow was gone but before the frost had gone out of the ground. The building was got ready by being jacked up and two immense tamarac logs fastened under either bottom sill, of the side walls. The building stood east and west; and in the new position was to stand north and south.



Very early in the morning, before the sun had begun to melt the surface of the frozen ground, twenty of the neighbors assembled, each with his ox-team. Two heavy, short linked chains had been borrowed from the sawmills; being the chain cables by which logs were drawn from the mill pond up the incline and into the mill, to be sawed. One long chain had been fastened to each <sup>north end</sup> of the tamarac logs on which the barn was now resting. Ten teams were then hitched after one another to each chain cable, one ox of each on either side.

When the word was given, and the whips cracked over or applied to the oxen, the barn was turned ninety degrees and hauled clear across the road. There a stop was made, and the two rows of teams aligned and adjusted. Also a log was laid against the foundation of the cow stable to act as a stop at the right distance, to leave space for the sheep stable between the barn and the cow stable. Then the barn was drawn up until it encountered the end of this log, which of course had been cut to the proper length.

The whole settlement seemed to have turned out to see the show, which was over in short order. Remarks were heard to the effect that the whole thing went as if things had been "greased". Slight adjustments no doubt had to be made in alignment and position, the tamaracs removed, and foundations built up. But that was done by father and Haldor, aided by Lars Eriksen "i Ringe", who was a carpenter. The room for the sheep was built in, and finally the whole long ell-shaped structure stood complete. As the cultivated area grew in extent increased barn space was required for storage of the harvested grain. This increase of capacity was supplied by adding to the north bay of the barn the large loft over the sheep stable.

After the barn had been moved, the log stable was removed, and the homestead was all contained in the two large structures on the north side, whose erection has been described. This had been accomplished before the end of 1859..And the deep, drilled well of the barnyard had been completed.

There was no open water on the farm, except a small, marshy pond, just within the north boundary of the eighty; but in dry seasons it dried up entirely. It afforded no source of supply.

By the time the homestead had been completed, as described, the whole eighty had been cleared and was under cultivation. Hence the need of more land was felt. There was no contiguous land that could be bought. But the eighty next to McGlaughland's, on the west, still lay untouched and unimproved. It was held at a good price; but it was bought, for borrowed money, mostly. It was the W 1/2 of SW 1/4 of Sec. 29 T. 19 N, R 22 E. It was a heavily wooded tract, sloping evenly, for the most part almost imperceptibly to the west, to the section line along which ran a road. Every square rod of it was good.

The Veblen farm lay in the north edge, or in the northwest corner, of the famous Manitowoc Valdris Settlement. This community has been described by H. R. Holand, in his History of the Norwegian Settlement (De norske Settlementers Historie, 1908), p. 215; and in his late book, Den sidste Folkevandring. Mr. Holand has written about the Manitowoc settlement of Valdrises in different publications and at different times. For Samband, sept., 1928, p. 865 I wrote a short sketch. These and other accounts have been written in Norwegian; and so far as I am aware, the settlement has been written up only in that language.

The immigrated Valdrises settled especially in the south two-fifths of Cato Township, the northwest half of Liberty, the extreme south of Rockland, and a few in the northeast of Eaton. The densest portion of the Valdris settlement was in southern Cato and northwest Liberty. Westward the Valdrises were quite scattered among different nationalities and in east Cato, especially, the Valdrises were intermingled with people from the region about Skien, particularly from Bamble and Gjerpen, until in east Cato the Valdris contingent merged into a settlement of Gjerpensoknings. For some unknown reason, but by some habit of speech brought along from Norway, the Valdrises called these people "Vestlændings" although they were from the southeast. There were a few Valdrises in Manitowoc and vicinity. A few lived in Manitowoc Rapids, where indeed the Valdrises first settled; and a few lived in the "nor woods", as in Michicott. But aside from these scattered ones, the area occupied by Valdrises of the "settlement" up to the seventies comprised some forty square miles. The village of Valders, on the Wis. Central, is about at the geometric centre of the settlement. When congregations were organized, the easternmost was called Gjerpen because Gjerpensoknings predominated, or were supposed to.

The westernmost, where the members were mostly Valdrises, was called Valders. Valders church stood in the northwest corner of section 8 in Liberty township. Gjerpen church stood on land belonging to the Valdris, Anders O. Aabol, in the northwest corner of section 36, Town of Cato.

As stated above the Veblens settled in the north rim of the Valdris settlement; and the neighborhood held a mixed contingent. On the east was Boyer Amunds from Vang, while on our west was the Irish family of McGlaughland. He was called MacLaffin and supposed to spell his name thus; but he carefully coached me in the correct spelling at one time. Next to Amunds were the Vangsgjeldings Tosten Berge, and Haakon Roble and beyond them Erik Ton also a Valdris. Near, to the northeast, was Ol O. Aabol, who was the brother of Anders Aabol on whose land Gjerpen church was built. South of us was Isaak Kjara, and south of him Lars

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and Nils (Salveson) Kjara. South of Isaak were Rasmus Orkosa and Nils Aslagson. All these were vestlandings, and many of them had small parcels to begin with. A mile west and by the river was a Valdris, Lars Eriksen (i Nilsebrøta). East of him was Wagner, a German; and next Wagner were Christianson and Erik Gulbrandsen or Gilbert (called Tresjarn, the thresher). They were from Oslo.

Just over the river, west, was a solitary Halling, Ole Strand, who was designated as "Hallingen" or Ola Halling; and near the Halling were a couple of Sætedøl families. On the east, south of Clarks Mills, were the wagon-maker Gulbrand Hanson, and the Valdrises the Jomens and Lars i Ringe. In between were the families of the three Protestant Irish brothers, Bill, Dave, and John Morgan. Also there were Irish Catholics, the two Lyons families, and Grimes, Comer, Thornton, McNulty, all within our school district.

This was in the north edge of the Valdris settlement; and north and east were more Irish. At Clarks Mills and at Cato Falls, were eastern American families, or "Yankees", Clark, Cunningham, <sup>Bailey</sup> Tucker, Murphy, Newell, Evans, <sup>Silaby</sup> and Knapp just west of the river.

The first Valdris in Manitowoc County, was Stephen Olson (Helle). He explored the country on his arrival in 1846, and it seems to be established that he bought land in the county that year. His sons were convinced of this. While he and his brother Ole doubtless made Fort Washington the headquarters of their interests and Ole made his home there, Stefan surely decided on Manitowoc as the place for his permanent activity, before he went back to Norway after his first year here. He closed out all his Washington interests in 1847, and never afterward appears in any way identified with that place or that community.

When Stephen returned in 1848 he personally conducted a large contingent of emigrants from Vang and Slidre; <sup>and Anders</sup> and a <sup>second</sup> large number came that time, but on another ship; and both contingents were people that had been induced to emigrate on the information Stephen had spread among his fellow dalesmen throughout Valdris. While a part of the immigrants from Valdris of that year, 1848, went into the interior of Wisconsin, westward from Milwaukee, at which port they disembarked, a large number went on northward, some stopping for a time in Washington and Sheboygan counties. But the strength of the northward going Valdrises stopped in Manitowoc, and sought land in that county, to which Stephen was bound.

Thus, the Manitowoc County settlement definitely began in 1848, and much of the land still owned by people of Valdris blood, was entered or acquired by their immigrant forbears in that year. The stream of immigration having set in, others came in the years following. There

was a notable expansion of the settlement on the arrival of the company of the survivors of the party conducted by Stephen Olson in 1851, when he returned after his second return visit to his native home community.

The most tragic incident in the history of Norwegian immigration to America took place in the coming of this contingent of Valdrises conducted by Stephen Olson. His contingent of 134 persons formed part of the 880 immigrants that left Buffalo late in the evening of a day in August, 1851, bound for Detroit, on the steamer Atlantic. During the night the Atlantic's captain sighted the Ogdensburg belonging to a rival line, and tried to ram the rival ship, <sup>but missed by a narrow chance.</sup> Angered by this act, the captain of the Ogdensburg, in turn attacked the Atlantic, and stove in its side so that it shortly sank. Sixty eight of Stephen's company perished; and 66 were saved, but naked and all their effects lost in the deep of Lake Erie.

Among those drowned was Stephen's aged mother. Among the remnant saved was his fiancée, whom he married on their arrival in Manitowoc. Stephen Olson's sons were preserving a list of the names of the lost, and the saved, in Stephen's handwriting, which they showed me. The names of those drowned are published in Holand's History of the Norwegian settlements.

Owing largely to the efforts of Stephen Olson, the settlement of Valdrises and other Norwegians in Manitowoc County had a phenomenally rapid growth both in numbers and in material progress. In two years after the first of these settlers arrived, a congregation had been organized, and a call was issued to J. A. Ottesen, a young graduate in theology from the University at Oslo. Rev. Ottesen's charge consisted of two congregations, with the churches at Gjerpen and Valdars, with his parsonage at Gjerpen. A third congregation had been formed in Manitowoc, thus forming a charge of three preaching places.

When the Veblens moved into the settlement, late in 1854, all matters of organization, both civic and spiritual had been worked out, and the affairs of the community in smooth running. Valdars church, to which we became affiliated, had been built the previous year, and was in regular use at the time we came. It was an octagonal building of hewn logs, with a four-sided tower on the peak of the pyramidal roof. The walls were all the same length. It was at first a plain octagonal in plan, with the door to the west, with the altar near the opposite east wall. A chancel wing was soon after built extending east. When this addition was made it gave increased seating capacity to the church. When finished the church had an aisle running from the entrance up to the choir or chancel. The rear and front pews were shorter than those in the middle, because they extended against the sloping walls of the

octagon. The removal of the altar, "ring", pulpit, baptisma font, from the main floor into the new chancel, gave space for the addition of a certain number of these shorter pews.

The pews were owned by as many families in common as could be accommodated in one pair of right and left pews, the right side being given to the men and boys, while the women and girls sat on the left. Father being a late arrival in the congregation thus became a part owner of the front pair of pews, which were the shortest pair. Directly before the right side, or men's pew in our pair stood the pulpit, at the point where the chancel opened; and before the women's pew of our pair stood the baptismal font. These pieces were of notably fine workmanship and painted most artistically; the finest pieces of the kind that I have seen in any church.

Mr. Ottesen, the pastor, was a man of great energy and often visited his parishioners, and he and his family were at our house several times that I distinctly remember. He told me long after, when he was living in retirement in Decorah, that he never got intimate with father, and he never felt satisfied that he had the full support of "that Valdris". Mr. Ottesen left the Manitowoc charge in 1860, and was succeeded by Rev. L. M. Biørn.

One of the duties of the pastor was to see that parents brought the children up in knowledge of the doctrines of the church. To this end they were enjoined to teach the young to read Norwegian, which was the language of worship; and that they early learned the parts of the catechism and its explanation. In order to exercise some control over the manner in which the church member fulfilled this duty, the pastor held examinations of the children at stated times, as a part of the Sunday service.

For this examination the children and youths stood up in the central aisle, the boys in a row on the men's, or right side; the girls on the opposite side. The minister went up and down the aisle between the rows and put questions to individuals or might test reading ability in a book, or use such methods as might seem best to test the children's proficiency. The process was often referred to as "standing on the church floor". Few youngsters escaped a feeling of trepidation during these ordeals; and usually they prepared themselves with anxious care, by memorising those points of information on which the pastor was expected especially to insist, like the commandments and the articles of the creed. These public examinations of the youngsters in church were a spur, as they were designed to be, to learning and knowing the doctrine of the church. It was an effective institution of discipline exercised over both parents and children; and it was undoubtedly instrumental in promoting a high grade of literacy among the children of the settlers.

This educational feature of the church of the immigrant population was unquestionably of great value to the general community, aside from its religious aspect; for it practically left no child to start as an illiterate, at least among all pioneers that came under organized church influence. The children got training in rudimentary literacy, that made them receptive to the efforts of the teachers of the common schools that were instituted generally years later than these efforts of the church.

Thus, the organization of the common school in our particular community in Manitowoc County, lagged behind the spiritual progress of the immigrant settlers; and I believe our case was not at all exceptional. So, I think it can be said that at a given tender age the children of the pioneers that had been subjected to this traditional religious requirement, that I have indicated, were advanced in mental or psychic progress markedly over the children that had not come under this sort of discipline. When the district school finally came to take the youngsters in hand, the church contingent of pupils made sounder and faster progress than the others. This matter of early literacy was so traditionally ingrained among these immigrant Norwegians that the habit of teaching the young child to read was almost instinctively automatic. To have children six or seven years old who could not read and could not repeat the accepted precepts correctly, was a shame that must be avoided at every cost. Indeed the stimulus of regularly organized church discipline was not required. The most isolated pioneer family of Norwegian traditions taught their children to read as early as they could learn. To let them be illiterate was to let them become "heathens"; and it was hard to conceive of anything more disgraceful.

I have told that Embrik Egge brought a set of elementary school <sup>books</sup> for my instruction, before I was old enough to be taught. This testifies to the traditional thought of my parents. The first use the primer was put to occurred while we lived in the Pates house. Mother had begun to make me recognize the letters of the alphabet; but before I had learned enough to begin to put them together in the simple two-letter syllables that followed the alphabet, it happened that uncle Haldor became unable to work because of an abscess that developed in one arm; and he became obliged to spend a few days idle in the house.

Mother, whose time was much taken up with work of all kinds, delegated the instruction of me to Haldor. But I at once began to rebel at his coaching. He used different and antiquated names for a few of the letters; and mother of course would be right and Haldor would be wrong. He called J jod while she called it je. He even called z syttra, which she called sed. & he called a-e, she called it æ. of course he was wrong and the war was on. My energy was spent in fighting Haldor, and I learned nothing else than to know he was wrong in certain particulars and

I drew the logical conclusion that he would teach me wrong. They had to give it up. I do not remember just what came next. But this conflict with my uncle may have proved the beginning of my learning about letters and their use in forming words; for in time I was accounted a good enough reader to be encouraged to read aloud when I liked.

It must have been quite early in our residence in our new house, that our neighbor Andrew Jackson, which was the name everybody knew Anders Isaksen by, came in one Sunday morning. He heard me reading aloud. As likely as not I was encouraged to show off. After commending my accomplishment, and inquiring about the age of this "namesake", he told the folks that he had just the book for me to read; and would lend it to me. When the book came it proved to be a Norwegian translation of Snorre Sturlasson's Heimskringla.

That book I read through entirely and with the deepest absorption. Mostly I read it aloud to mother as she would be sitting with her sewing, spinning, or even (as I well remember) while she was weaving. With her help I made out to understand matters that I could not master by myself. I believe it was Munch's version. It had a most fascinating appendix on the Lapps or Finns, especially dealing with their superstitions and witchcraft. It took me, or us, a long time to go through the volume; but it is easily understood how such an experience would affect an eight year old boy. The grown-ups, especially mother, who conducted the course, which in reality it was, followed my reading with great interest, and indulged in discussions which were naturally over my head, and were a bore to me; for these discussions sometimes caused delays and even rereading of passages, when I was impatient to go on.

Reading aloud was almost a fad at our house; and father was an especially good reader. He read to the family the story Synnøve Solbakken as it came in weekly instalments in "Emigranten", and "En Glad Gut" and the other Bjørnson stories that this paper printed as a literary serial supplement.

Some two miles by the road between lived Erik Erickson (i Rennun) just within the edge of the big swamp, but on an island or peninsula of dry land altogether surrounded by tamarac swamp, except for a narrow strip on which lay their road or path. He was sometimes called "Erik i Øyn" (on the island). Erik was a great reader, and had and read all sorts curious books; and was moreover a very skillful worker in wood; and was perhaps a more wonderful genius than practical success. He got up a club of subscribers to "Emigranten". He got a copy free by so doing. The club copies came in a package addressed to him; and he brought it to his house from the P.O., and the subscribers got their copies there. In our case I went the two miles to the Fricksons, on a certain

morning of each week, when the paper regularly arrived. It was an errand that I did with great pleasure, not only for the interesting objects to be seen "i Rennun" and the things one always would hear there; but Knut, the oldest boy, was my age, and became the dearest chum I ever had. We continued subscribers to Emigranten as long as it was issued.

In time Emigranten published in small form a translation from the Swedish of Tegnér's Frithjof's Saga. Knut and I both got copies, which we read together, and it was not long before we could repeat all the cantos in the book. It was the first thing I learned by rote; and much of it I can still repeat. I absorbed it all with the avidity I may be expected to have acquired for sagas that Snorre would naturally implant<sup>in</sup> the imagination of a boy.

Such was the genesis of my somewhat irregular process of education; and it is easily seen that it may be quite typical for pioneer youngsters in the early Norwegian settlements. While the settlers were busy getting a material start and had not yet had time to begin the organization<sup>of</sup> schools, the traditions of these immigrant settlers spurred them to make provision for the cultural growth of their young. And when<sup>in time</sup> the beginnings of common schools<sup>were</sup> made, these children of the immigrants<sup>were</sup> well on the way in their schooling. In their bilingual education they were on a higher intellectual standing than children of an equal age could be in English only, unless something similar had been done by tutors or home teaching, in a manner similar to that pursued by the immigrant settlers. Unless something like that had been done the foreign, and bilingually equipped children were decidedly at an advantage when they started at school.

Our school district contained approximately the same number of Norwegian and Irish families, and one German family. The records of the district show that a beginning of organization was made in 1854, the year of our arrival; but the first school taught was in the winter of 1858-59, by a Mr. Marks. I remember the building of the school house. It was a log school house that stood east of the River road, and north of the road running south along the line between sections 29 and 28.

The men of the district met and timbered up the house, for the most part out of timber that was cut on <sup>the</sup> lot on which it was built. The logs were round, chinked with mortar. Its door opened to the east; and was hung on iron hinges. But the latch was a simple light bar of wood and held the door by dropping into a notched catch on the side. To open the door one poked<sup>from the outside</sup> a finger through an auger hole bored just under the latch and poked<sup>it</sup> up out of the notch by which it was held.

A favorite form of mischief was to rap fingers that were poked in with a stick. Some of the large boys and girls derived no little amusement from this sport, until it happened some one rapped the finger of the teacher.



On the east and west walls were two windows <sup>on</sup> each; and in the middle of the north wall was one window, in front of which stood the teacher's desk. In the centre stood a large box-stove, to supply heat. The scholars were seated at two long desks, one on the east side, for the boys; the other, for the girls, on the west side. Each of these had a double top made of two broad boards sloping out from the ridge in which they met in the middle. The scholars were seated on a plank on each side of the desk; and these planks were laid loose upon a series of blocks, <sup>sawed</sup> to an even height. Along the south wall, beside the door was a similar "recitation" bench. The floor was laid of rough boards. I do not wish to assert that the seats and study desks were made of similarly rough boards; but such was the tradition. It was asserted that the only planed object in the house was the teacher's desk. In time the floor became smooth by wear; and the desks and seats may have become smooth in the same way.

The lot about the school house was full of stumps, and they were cut quite high. Two in particular were at least four feet across. The stumps served excellently for the game of hide-and-seek, which was played at recess and at noon; but never did girls and boys hide behind the same stump. This house, equipped in this way, except that a small blackboard was added after a while, served the district until 1862, in which year a frame school house was built three-quarters of a mile farther south.

I should probably have been sent to school in the winter of 1858-9 when Mr. Marks taught a term of three months. But father happened into the parsonage of Ottesen, at Gjerpen, sometime early in that winter. The minister told father about "Old Berger" who was visiting at the parsonage and suggested that he let the old man stay at our house that winter and let him tutor us children in return for his room and board.

I have told about Old Berger and his tutoring in Samband, September, 1915, p. 653. He was a retired clerk in a Norwegian Bailiff's office, a bachelor in the late sixties, who lived by himself north in the woods and whom it would be a kindness to take into the home during the winter. He was a fairly well educated man and a nice gentleman. So father invited him to try it.

Mr. Berge came, and he held a session each morning, at which Betsey and I were taught. Orson was included, but being only a little past five was not pushed and made no great progress. My chum Knut Erickson and his oldest sister came part of the time. Also two of the sons of Thomas Olson Helle, came part of the time the considerable distance from their home. So that we were a dining table full attending Berge's tutoring. We got along splendidly with the kindly, eccentric, and precise old gentleman, whose approval we <sup>craved</sup> and were proud to earn.

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We all enjoyed his stay with us, not only as a tutor, but he endeared himself to us by his tender interest in all our ~~concerns~~<sup>d</sup>. He played the violin for us; and he even taught me to run scales, and taught me part of the tune of Vikingebalk, my favorite canto in Frithjof's Saga.

Of course part of his duty was to see that I was taught the required doctrinal truths. I suspect that Berge had no great liking for this detail; so he made the moderate condition that if I was letter perfect on anything he called for out of the "five parts" of the catechism, on Monday mornings, I should be excused from any further religious study during the week. This let me out with extreme ease; for mother had seen to it that I knew the Five Parts long before he came.

I had learned to write a legible hand before this. Berger's hand was somewhat shaky; and thus he gave me no guidance in calligraphy. But he gave me instruction in writing grammatical Norwegian, and in punctuation and use of capitals. In this I wrote a good part of Synnøve Solbakken from his dictation. This and arithmetic were the branches he taught me. There was no Norwegian textbook in arithmetic to be had; and Berge was not at ease in English. So he explained the processes orally, and dictated to me all the rules and principles; so that at the end I had a complete <sup>with illustrative examples</sup> handbook of arithmetic, as far as he had taken me. The course he gave me included the operations in whole numbers and in common fractions, and interest reckoning; and the rule of three (proportion). I have reason to suspect that Berge taught me all the mathematics; for he <sup>he knew expressed</sup> ~~speak~~-with-regret that he could not induct me into the mysteries of Decimals (Decimal Brøk), which he acknowledged was terra incognita to him. When toward the close of the winter Berge moved over to Thomas Helle to give his boys a little additional tutoring we children were in genuine grief.

It is fair to state that I had some rudimentary knowledge of numbers before Berge came. I could carry and borrow in addition and subtraction, could multiply in simple cases, but knew nothing of long division. So much I had gotten from Embrik Egge. From Embrik I also got a start in the written alphabet. One day I got <sup>from father</sup> a broad strip of planed thin board, which he had ripped from a board that was too wide for his need. I tried to mark it with an A; but made no success of it. Embrik, who was standing by, said, I'll show you how to write the letters. So he wrote with a coarse lead pencil (perhaps father's carpenter's pencil) the capitals on one side of the strip; and the small letters on the other side. Knowing the order of the letters in the alphabet. I soon knew which was which; and it was not long before I could write out any words I knew how to spell, and I could read it myself. By criticisms from Embrik, which sometimes were so pointed that they stung, I got able to write so that there could be no doubt about what the letters were meant to be.

The winter 1859-60 a three-months term was taught by Mark Crocker. d  
 we three oldest children were sent, and with the foundation that we ha  
 received in home teaching and by Berge's tutoring, we soon took high  
 standing. We all began with the alphabet, which we learned as by in-  
 stinct, and soon read and spelled with scholars older than ourselves.  
 The other children from Norwegian homes had had more or less of home  
 teaching, in the way I have related, and advanced much faster than the  
 English-speaking Irish children, though some of these were notably  
 bright. When the term closed I read in the Third Reader (Sanders's)  
 and spelled in the First Class. I had written a great deal of copy-  
 book from the teacher's very fine copies. I did no formal work in arith-  
 mic; but had achieved a reputation of being infallible in long divi-  
 sion, by an accidental discovery of my prowess on one of the closing  
 days.

According to notes made long ago, when my memory was more trustworthy  
 than it may be now, the following teachers followed Mark Crocker, 1859-  
 60.

Summer 1860, Miss Harriet Jane Knapp.

Winter 1860-61, John Thornton

Summer 1861, Miss Hubbard

Winter 1861-2, there was a short term, which I did not attend; and I  
 have forgotten the name of the teacher. I was laid up with a case of  
 quinsy; and when I got better it was decided not to let me go for the  
 short time remaining

Summer 1862 Miss Valencia Eldridge

Winter 1862-3 Thomas Lyons. He was the first teacher in the Frame  
 school house, that took the place of the log-house; and which stood  
 on the west side of the north and south road between sections 32 and  
 33 at the middle of the section line; about 3/4 mile south of the old  
 site.

1863 Summer, Miss Sarah Tucker

Winter 1863-4 Ira H. Jerome

Summer 1864, Miss Clark; later Miss Sarah Tucker

Winter 1864-5, Peter Wm. Brady

The summer of 1865, the Veblens were busy preparing to move to Min-  
 ne sota; and moved away in July.

Of these teachers, Miss Tucker was a noted teacher of writing. She  
 used a system like the Spencerian, of a few elementary curves, which d  
 formed the elements that combined to build up all the letters. She use  
 fewer elementary "strokes" than the Spencerian. Her method of drill  
 was very effective; and few of her pupils could escape becoming good p  
 penmen.

Another individual of note among these teachers, was Ira H. Jerome. He was a college graduate, and was undoubtedly a man of great and varied attainments. Nobody knew anything of his antecedents. He had no set rules of conduct to impose on the scholars. The school adored him and he never resorted to punishment of a pupil. He was the first to tell father that he must "educate" me; that is send me to college. He gave us the names of Andrews's Latin Grammar and Andrews's Latin Lessons, as the first books to procure to begin the preparation.

I believe this suggestion from Mr. Jerome, was the germ that grew into the ambition that father came to cherish, of putting his boys and girls through college. In the fall of 1864, when I accompanied father to Fond du Lac, where he took a train on his trip to buy land in Minnesota, he went into a bookstore there and bought two books according to Mr. Jerome's instruction, handing the salesman the names that he had written down for. But I suppose the clerk thought a farmer who spoke broken English did not know what he wanted; and he wrapped up two books that father paid for.

When on the following day I was on my homeward way, and unwrapped the package, I found that he had given us the right grammar, but instead of the "lessons" he had given us Andrews's Caesar. Possibly he did not have the Lessons and substituted the Caesar. That winter I tried to make a beginning of Latin by myself; but in the absence of any one to give me any help I made no headway. And the Latin had to wait many years.

Quite early in our ten years in Town of Cato father became a member of the district board. It consisted of three, Clerk, treasurer, and a director(?). The voting strength was pretty evenly divided between the Irish and the Norwegians. At one time the Irish sentiment was opposed to both a summer and a winter term, while the Norwegians favored two. The Irish had two of the three "trustees" and could control affairs, such as the hiring of teachers. Boyer Amunds was the Norwegian member, the director, and he came to father and asked him to be a candidate for treasurer. Further he saw to it that the full voting strength among the Norwegians was at the annual meeting. Father was elected; and Amunds and father were reelected to their respective offices year after year; and the two quietly controlled the policy of the district. They had good luck in the selection of teachers; and there were at least six months of school in the year. Many schools had only one term of three or four months. By having both summer and winter school, the youngest children could attend winter as well as summer, if they were large enough to brave the winter cold and storms; while the larger ones, who might be needed to help with the summer work, had the opportunity to go during the winter. In our district there was a large contingent of young people that eagerly embraced the opportunity of learning English during the winter term, and the school-house was crowded.

A matter that caused a lot of confusion, and no little trouble, to the immigrants, was the difference between the system of personal nomenclature in use in America and that which they had been using in Norway.

Here a person's full name consisted of a given name and a surname. Most Americans had what was spoken of as a middle name, which was simply a second given name, of course. Thus in Henry Loomis would be an example of the simplest case of a given name and a surname. John Smith and Jane Adams are other examples. Or the first might in full be Henry Crane Loomis, with the middle name Crane. It was learned that he usually wrote Henry C. Loomis, or H. C. Loomis. John Smith might be found to sign his name J. W. Smith, and Jane Adams might be found to Jane Simpson Adams, or generally, Jane S. Adams. These usages would be confusing to the newcomer; for they were new to him. But he soon learned to understand them. the system was simple. In time he learned Susan Jackson might be the same as Mrs. Andrew Jackson; but it may have taken extra study to become clear on the matter.

This system of nomenclature differed radically from that he was accustomed and which he innocently tried to employ here. But his foreign, or alien, nomenclature was a great deal more complex, and therefore it was extra hard for Americans to understand. Besides, there was no valid reason why they should understand it. The thing for the immigrant to do, was to understand the American system and adapt himself and his usage to it. If the foreigner observed carefully, he found that Smith, Adams, Loomis, Jackson, were called family names.

But family names were a new concept, with which he was unfamiliar, unless he reflected that the captain of his military company at home was named Møller, and that his wife, daughters, and sons were also Møllers; and that the same use of Biørn, his pastor's name, obtained among that family. That Biørn and Møller might be family names may not have been a clear idea to him; because family names had never been used by the Norwegian people. Officials used names in the way that Americans used surnames. But the usage was alien to his native custom. In the cities of Norway a system of family names was coming into use, among the officeholders and by imitation, among successful merchants, shipowners, and the like. But the early immigrants did not come from the cities and towns. They were of the farming and landowning class who represented the ancient regime and were the heirs of the essential racial traditions and usages. And their use of names, their personal nomenclature was very simple in its origin and and development.

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It was the custom to give a child a single name<sup>in baptism</sup>, Knut, Haldor, Thomas; Ingri, Kari, Sissel. Norwegian names show derivations harking back to the old mythology or to later dominance of the Christian faith. By immemorial usage a single name was bestowed; and this was the person's appellation that set him apart as an individual.

An individual's name was by custom determined by inheritance. The firstborn boy was named after his father's father; the first girl after her father's mother. The second boy and girl after the parents of the mother. Younger children were named after the grandparents by a similar rotation. If a child, breaking the order of names, younger or later born children would be named in turn after those dead.

This traditional order of naming was, as late as the middle of the 19th century was so rigorously enforced, that in many families were pairs bearing the same name, as in case both grandfathers or both grand mothers had the same name. In such cases those that had the same name would be distinguished by prefixes meaning big- and little- as Store-Knut and Vesle-Knut. It even happened that three individuals in a family bore the same name. An authentic case had Stor-Ola, Vesl-Ola, and Store-Vesl-Ola in the same family.

To skip an ancestor in omitting his name, according to this traditional order of naming was to dishonor his memory; and Norwegians were great sticklers for the requirements of traditional custom. There was also belief cherished more or less earnestly, that a person was apt to inherit the characteristics that had marked the ancestor whose name he bore, or to resemble him in appearance and traits.

In general the immigrants lived up to the old-country customs and practices. But the influence of new customs in many cases, and in time played havoc with the old rules. This would be especially true among those that were settled in neighborhoods of a mixed population. And it may be said that the immigrants were inclined to accept many things that were new, as improvements over the old.

In our family this tradition of nomenclature became less and less authoritative. The first boy was named Anders after father's father. He died before their emigration. As I was the next child, I was named Anders, in accordance with the rule. When my oldest sister, and first girl, was born, she should have been Jartrud (-Gertrude) for father's mother. But now a new idea came into play. Young women immigrants got in touch with Americans as soon as they could in order to learn the language and ways of the country. The most common method was to get work in the homes of American families. ("to work for the Yankees") Their eagerness to learn the ways of their mistresses made them favorites as maids of all work. Their mistresses became fast friends with them and made the instruction in work and speech the best that

the employer could give. This institution, as we may well call it, of working for the Yankees by the young immigrant girls, was one of great educational value in early pioneer days. It had immense cultural value to these settlers. These girls got a good practical education in just the things of greatest importance. When they married, each became mistress of an American home of her own. Her importance in the immigrant community was measured chiefly by the extent and thoroughness of her Americanization. The young settlers who were seeking wives knew the value of such accomplishments in a young woman.

One effect of this contact with Yankees had much to do with the personal nomenclature among the settlers. Most names of these girls were strange to their employers. Many were practically unpronounceable to them. If the girl was named such a common way as Anne her name suffered no radical change, and she was called Ann or Annie. But if her name was Marit it became Mary. If Ingebor it became Isabel. Berit became Betsey. Jartrud became Jane, Ingri became Emily. These were not translations or equivalents of the names; but were handy substitutes suggested by resemblance in sound or by the initial letter or sound. A certain schedule of equivalents grew to be accepted, so that because it was known that an Ingebor had been named Isabel by her American employer other Ingebors would expect to be called Isabel, and give their names as such on getting employment with Americans.

Now, when my sister was to be baptized, a couple of these Americanized women friends of mother, knowing that she was due to be named Jartru (or in book Norwegian, Gjertrud); and knowing, too, that mother's mother was named Berit; they translated both these; and suggested Betsey Jane as the name of the baby.

My father's father having been<sup>x</sup> honored by my having been named for him, when the next boy was to be named he should have been named Tosten (=Thorstein) as mother's father wrote his name. But it happened that mother's oldest brother had died shortly before the baby came. So, in remembrance of the brother the child was baptized with the name of Osten instead of Tosten, as the custom demanded.

The next boy was named Tosten. The established succession of names having been upset in the way related. The next girl was named Ingri after mother's grandmother, instead of Marit as was her turn, after father's paternal grandmother, Marit Thorkelsdatter. The next girl (the third) was named Marit.

This ancient succession in inherited nomenclature, though generally observed by the settlers in the early period of immigration, has fallen more and more into disuse; and among the families founded by the pioneer immigrants, few pay any attention to it; except that many <sup>preference</sup> give to names that had been in use a long time in their ancestry.

Some of these given names were common to all the families in a given community, while a few might be in use only by certain families but owing to intermarriage the common given names were well distributed. Though the stock of names was fairly large, the fact that new names rarely found their way into a community that had such a hard and fast system of inheritance, tended to make the number of persons bearing the same given name large.

To distinguish such namesakes from one another, a patronymic was employed, consisting of the father's name with the ending -sen or -datter, according to the sex. Thus Erik Knutsen meant Erik the son of Knut, and would distinguish him from Erik the son of Lars. Kari Nilsdatter would distinguish this Kari from daughters of Ole and Mads.

Further to set off and identify the bearers of any given name, a place-name was added to indicate the individual's residence, home, or origin. The place-name consisted of the name of a farm or specified division of a farm. Thus, Thoms Olsen Helle was Thoms the son of Ole and had his home at Helle or was born there or owned or leased Helle. In short the place-name signified some distinctive relation to Helle. Or, to make the distinction more definite the place-name might specify what division of Helle, as Mer-Helle, North-Helle, etc. South-Egge, Stor-Oygar, and the like were used.

The most common uses of a farm-name indicated either birth on that farm or residence there. Of course if the person using a farm-name was the owner or user of the farm his use of its name would be a matter of course; and even so, the name of the farm on which he was born might be added or inserted, like Knut Pedersen Røn Lerol. But such devices were not frequent.

Sometimes it even happened that a servant would be called by the name of the farm of his employer. Thus, in the case of father's grandmother Marit Torkelsd. Baggetun, who was "tenistjente" (maid) at Egge when she married the widower Haldor Haldorsen Oigar, appears in the parish record of the marriage as Marit Torkelsdatter Egge, a maid-of-all-work.

By this rule or custom, when a woman married she assumed the farm-name of her husband. Thus, if Perit Olsd. Egge married Tosten Østensen Bunde, her name became Perit Olsd. Bunde. It happened in her case that her husband died. By some provision of the law, she retained a right to residence at Bunde, and continued to reside there, and her name continued to be the same, Perit Olsd. Bunde. After a time she married Fner Halvorson Grøven. He came to Bunde and shared her residence there. This had no effect on her name; it remained unchanged. But because her husband changed his residence to Bunde, he became known as Fner Halvorson Bunde. He became naturalized here under that



name, except that the spelling was changed to Bonde. We see that by the rules of personal nomenclature, the husband assumed the farm-name of his wife, if she owned a farm and he took up his residence on her farm, just in the way that a woman assumed the farm-name of the husband. It was simply a name indicating place.

If a man traded farms, or sold out and bought another farm and took up his residence on the farm acquired he assumed that farm-name. The farm-name was changed every time a change of residence was made, unless it was only a temporary change. Such things happened that the original farm-name was retained on assuming a new one, for purposes of convenient distinction. Thus, Jon Knutson Røn bought Lerol, and is afterward referred to as Jon Knutson Røn Lerol. It is seen that the farm name is used in any convenient manner, as a part of the appellation of persons.

Brothers owning different farms would of course have different farm-names. The brothers Ivar Gudbrandson Ringstad and Jørgen Gudbrandson Lømen came as early immigrants, from the farms Ringstad and Lømen. They of course used their old-country names and were naturalized under them. There are descendants of each, known as Ringstads and Lømens, though descendants of the family that for centuries owned Ringstad.

The farm-name was not, either by law or custom, considered an essential surname. Individuals might get along without any reference to their birthplace or residence, by using only the patronymic, in addition to the given name, as Gulbrand Iverson, Lisbeth Nilsdatter. In fact it was the custom of military officers to require sergeants to omit the farm-name to which they were entitled, and to use only the patronymic. Sergeant Gulbrand Iversen Løken was practically forbidden to use his farm-name officially in the service, being listed and recognized simply Serg't. <sup>G.</sup>Iverson. The official title, Sergeant, serving the same purpose as Løken, in setting him off among the Iversons.

Sometimes the farm-name was omitted for the sake of the distinction the omission occasioned. The son of Thomas Hougen was always referred to as Ole Hougen, while a nephew, <sup>Ole Torkelson Hougen,</sup> living with the family, was called Ole Torkelson simply; so that it is doubtful that the neighbors were aware that his name was Hougen. At least I was not aware of the fact until I learned it after several years' acquaintance.

In business and social intercourse the patronymic was omitted, and only the given and place names used, as Thomas Veblen, or Haakon Roble. Usually the signature made use of simply the initial of the patronymic. As Thomas A. Veblen, Haakon K. Roble; or initials of baptismal names would suffice, like T. A. Veblen, H. K. Roble; quite as in American names consisting of given, middle, and surname.

This long digression, discussing the system of personal nomenclature that the immigrant had been accustomed to, <sup>at home</sup> has been made in order to give some idea of the nature of the difficulties that beset him on his being obliged to change to a different system.

The system in use here recognized two elements, the given name and the surname. There was sometimes, if not always, a middle name, so-called, but it was only a part of the given name, which might consist of two parts, forming a sort of compound given name. But the surname was predestined and unchangeable, and was sometimes called the family name. It was perpetual, except that a woman changed it on becoming married.

On coming here the immigrant was obliged to abandon his old system and adopt that which he found required by custom and law in his new home. Often, or in many cases, the process brought grievous results.

The emigrant about to leave his home procured a document which recited his standing and status as a citizen and member of the community, and which served to establish his identity. It contained his legal name written out in full. This testimonial was most often made out and signed by the pastor of the parish, and was called the Emigrant's "Preste Attest". He showed it at all the steps in the process of his departure.

When he arrived, an immigrant on this side, the Attest was his credential that he showed to all authorities with whom he had to deal in entering this country.

When the immigrant had arrived at his destination, the chief occasions on which he used his Attest, were when he declared his intention to become a citizen, and when he preempted land. Clerks of court and registers of land offices must be presumed to have done their best in making a correct record of names; but often it happened that errors were made, which no doubt were oftenest due to misunderstanding the showing of the attest or the immigrants personal statement.

If the official made a faithful transcript from the Attest before him the Norwegian form of the name became part of the legal record. But this was not always done, as the results too plainly show. It seems that the chief errors arose where the official tried to interpret the statement of the Attest or the immigrant's own <sup>oral</sup> declaration; and the difficulty appears to have arisen out of the official's misdirected effort to deal with the combination of patronymic and farname, which of course he should have accepted as it stood, or <sup>as it</sup> was given, <sup>by the immigrant</sup> and without considering himself called on to interpret. That is, things went wrong when these officials became officious.

When the newcomer laid before such an officious clerk a document showing the three names (given name, patronymic, and farm-name) or pronounced the three parts of his full name, such as Ole Christophersen Soine, it struck him that Christophersen was like a good many American surnames. Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Harrison, names of four presidents, and any number of surnames that he could think of were like this Christophersen. There were plenty of Dobsons, Hobsons, Emersons, Gleasons, that he knew. This man before him must have the given name Ole and the surname Christophersen where he came from. It would be the same here except that it would end in -son, in American. And Soine might be some immaterial addition that for some reason was added according to Norwegian usage, but surely could not be the real surname; for was not there a sure enough surname that ended in orthodox American manner?

Soine was left out, and a "first paper" was issued to Ole Christopherson; or it was certified that Ole Christopherson had preempted a parcel of land. When Ole afterward opened the neatly folded document, <sup>and found it wrong</sup> he may have gone back to the office and tried to get the error corrected, only to be told that no correction could be made in the record, which showed that he had made oath that Ole Christopherson was his name, which was true enough; for according to his name-consciousness he was both Ole Christopherson and Ole Soine. Ole did not, likely, realize <sup>that</sup> Ole Christopherson could not also be Ole Soine, in America; or that Ole Soine could not obtain title to the parcel of land that Ole Christopherson had preempted. And after he had bought his preempted land he could not sell it legally as Ole Soine. Ole Soine's experience was duplicated by many an early immigrant.

What clerks of courts of record sometimes did to Norwegian immigrants who appeared before them to take the first step in naturalization would be incredible if it were not for the irrefutable evidence in the results. Peder Guttormsen Stavn became Peter G. Thompson. Ole Herbrandsen Sire became Ole Pronson. Any number of Gudbrandsens became Pronsons. Some few doubtless willingly left off their farm-names in assuming American citizenship, as in the cases of Stephen Olson and his brothers from Helle, and others that did not wish to use their farm-name as a surname. But it is no exaggeration to say that nine-tenths of Norwegian surnames ending in -son, in America, are the result of difficulty in getting the farm-name accepted as the surname, by the immigrant ancestor.

No other nationality than Scandinavians (Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Icelanders) had this sort of difficulty about their personal nomenclature, on coming as immigrants; for none used a patronymic compounded out of the given name of the father, as in Scandinavian countries.

Even so late as when marriage licences had become a requirement the most egregious and most unbelievable mistakes could come to pass. The word naturalization was undoubtedly pronounced with the *i* long, by the Americans with whom the settlers had dealings. For, in the Norwegian which the settlers continued to speak among themselves, and in which they adopted American words to express new concepts for, <sup>which</sup> they had no word or phrase in Norwegian, they coined the expression, "natur-leisn" to denote a naturalization paper. Naturalization sounded much like that, *to them*.

When marriage licences came into vogue, here was a concept for <sup>which</sup> they <sup>settlers</sup> had no Norwegian name or word. So they adopted the word licence; and in adapting it to their Norwegian speech they called this sort of paper likewise a "leisn". Not natur-leisn, but a leisn to be allowed to marry.

Now it happened in Iowa, that a young man was about to marry; and he went to the county seat to get his "leisn". The clerk of court seems to have misapprehended the situation, and to have put the young man through the wrong legal procedure, which the young man, in his ignorance of English, did not realize was not what he desired. For when the minister who was to officiate, called for the "leisn", it appeared the clerk had given him a "natur-leisen" and made him a citizen, instead <sup>of</sup> <sup>-ing</sup> allow<sup>-ing</sup> the clergyman to marry him. Of course the young man was compelled to make another hurried call upon the clerk for the right "leisn". This incredible incident is fully authentic, and was one of the outstanding anecdotes related by the officiating minister, who was the late Rev. Nils Brandt.

Father's Preste-Attest I remember well was a good piece of penmanship, written in a small handwriting, with the names written out in Latin script. Father's name at the beginning was written out in full, Thomas Andersen Veblen. The document has long been lost. I am not sure that he had <sup>it</sup> after the removal to Minnesota, in 1865. Father habitually kept his important papers in a leather pocket-book that he brought from Norway; and this wallet had become quite bulky with its contents of documents by 1865.

I remember quite clearly the appearance of father's first paper. It was taken out soon after his arrival, in 1847, I believe; certainly before my birth. In the space for the name, in the printed form, Thomas Anderson had been written so as to be centered in the blank space, and Veblen had been written in on the right, plainly crowded in. It had marks of having first been first misspelled and afterward having been corrected, but in such a way as to make it poorly legible.

I can not say that father displayed his Attest when he declared his intention to become naturalized and obtained this first paper; But most likely he did, according to his habit. If he did not show his Attest, he would give his name orally. In either case the clerk, as clerks too often did, entered father's name as being Thomas, given name, and Anderson, surname; and left out the farx-name, Veblen. When father saw that the full name had not been written, or his interpreter saw this, (newcomers generally had to employ interpreters in dealing with officials) the clerk would have to make a correction, and rather than making out a new paper, he wrote Veblen into the paper that had been made out. Whether he also corrected the record, is another question.

If the paper did not agree with the record, when father appeared for obtaining his second, or naturalization, paper, there would of course be trouble. But naturalizing foreigners in those far-off days was a perfunctory procedure, and not as carefully conducted an act as the making of citizens has become now. Most of the candidates were not ready in the understanding and use of English. Nor were they generally accustomed to procedures of courts.. It is no wonder that errors were made that were due to ignorance both on the part of the immigrants and on the part of the officials.

About father's second paper I have a less distinct memory than of the Freste-Attest and the intention paper.

When these documents were last handled in my distinct recollection was during the civil war. When the first draft for the civil war took place, father was still within the 18-45 age limit, and stood the draft, as it was phrased, like all able-bodied citizens above 18 and below 45. I can well remember the relief that mother expressed when it was known that father had not been drafted.

When the second draft took place he was 45; but when the lists were published father's name appeared on them. In order to get his name off the list he was obliged <sup>to go</sup> to the proper office; and it was at that time that the naturalization papers and the attest were examined and he took them with him. I remember he told that he was required to make oath to the genuineness of the documents that showed his age.

I have a belief that Father's naturalization paper was lost in this handling during the war. Some document was then sent away for some official scrutiny. I remember that Mr. Knapp, whom father used to employ to do writing in English and which required a knowledge of law and legal forms, once during that time, did some writing for him, and that I was dispatched to Clarks Mills to mail a large, bulky envelope, in which were some papers of father's. These papers were not promptly returned or heard from. There were later conferences with Mr Knapp;

and he was disappointed and puzzled. I do not remember that any satisfactory return was received; and the document was never heard from.

Late in father's life, while he lived at Blooming Prairie, Orson told me that father's citizenship paper could not be found. Some inquiries that were made as to records regarding them led to no results. He did not tell me where the inquiries had been made. It was more than fifty years after father's immigration; and in view of the great irregularities and carelessness that were common during father's early experiences in America, I do not wonder that the inquiries led only to disappointment. The appearance of his first paper is convincing proof of gross carelessness, if not fraud, on the part of the clerk of court.

The land bought in Town of Cato, Manitowoc County, in 1854, was, I believe, "speculator land", held by an absentee owner; And when he received his deed it was made to Thomas Anderson. It was so listed in the assessor's books and those of the Town Treasurer, who was also collector of the taxes. For a long time Thomas Thornton collected taxes.

Of course the same form of the name was used on all official lists, voters in the town, road districts, and the like. Among the Norwegian of the neighbors and of the whole settlement, he was known as Thomas Veblen; by the Valdrises as Vøvlø; by the others as Veblen, as written. Some of the Vestlandings said Vøvle, or Vovle. But the Americans and Irish consistently and steadily refused to call him anything but Anderson. For that matter they called none of the Norwegians by any surname but their patronymic. The Kjaras were Salvesons or Larson. Ole Aabol was called Olson. Berge was Thompson. On the school register every child of a Norwegian was a -son.

When I first went to school, and the teacher asked me my name. I gave it as old Berge, my tutor wrote it, in full. The teacher, Mr. Crocker, who had no knowledge of Norwegian customs, seemed puzzled. When I started to repeat, Salve Larson, a young man who happened to sit next me nudged me with his elbow hard enough to hurt, and told the teacher my name was Andrew Thompson, after the Norwegian method of nomenclature. And the teacher wrote it down that way; and that was what he called me. I believe the next term, when Retsey and Orson also were sent that Miss Knapp entered us all as Thompsons; but father made remonstrances, and afterward we were listed as Andersons at school.

So, in all official matters Father was Thomas Anderson; and I am quite sure all other Norwegian residents in the town of Cato submitted, or were made to submit, to be known by their patronymics. I do not recall a single exception. I remember that two sisters of Rev. O. Juul, once attended our school; and the teacher compromised on Juuls. The same teacher made a somewhat similar concession, in calling Mrs. Haakon

Roble Mrs. Hawkins. The German Wagner was allowed to retain his surname, as were other Germans and Bohemians. But it seemed no Scandinavian in our town was allowed to be anything but a -son. In the towns of Liberty and Eaton Norwegians controlled the town organizations and held town offices. There the settlers had such names as Berge, Robley Skattebu, Weblen, Oppen, Gigstad, Schus, Dovre.

This was the condition the ten years we lived there. Now it is quite different.

When we moved to Minnesota, My uncle Ole Bunde, who acted as father's representative, saw to it that father acquired title to the land in his proper name; and we were no longer called anything but Weblen. It is a sort of remnant of the Anderson regime, that when we children began to attend Carleton College we were listed as Anderson Weblens. Such a practice had grown up among Norwegian families, that the children adopted a "middle initial" or "middle letter" in their names, to agree with the patronymic of their father, as it served as a mark of identification. Andrew A. Veblen, Orson A. Veblen, as being the sons of Thomas A. Veblen. A custom like this had been evolved among settlers that had had an experience similar to father's, <sup>as a sort of measure to establish full identity as offspring,</sup> in the registers of the College all names were written out in full, as is the usual practice. So we three, appear as Andrew Anderson Veblen, Orson Anderson Veblen, Emily Anderson Veblen. But when Thorstein and later ones registered, <sup>he</sup> they broke with this rule, and registered as Thorstein Bunde Veblen. After 1865 there has been no further trouble about the surname.

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Mother did all the sewing for the family including what the men wore. She cut and sewed all the clothes they wore. It is to be remembered that after Haddor came, in 1848, he continued to be a member of the household until his death, in 1905. I believe they had a supply of cloth of various sorts, home-woven stuff from Norway, which supplied them for the first years; and this included quantities of Vadmøl, or Norwegian frieze, out of which the men's clothes were made. As early as I can remember mother cut and sewed the complete suits for them.

In time the supply of cloth gave out; and after that she spun and wove the wool that went into the making of the clothes. Of course she first clipped the wool from the sheep. That was never men's work in Valdres. But I can remember in early years that the men would help with the carding, in this way that they would coarse-card the wool (grøypø); and mother, or her help if she had any, would card into the rolls from which the spinning was done.

When they came, 1847, they did not bring a spinning wheel, but had one brought by later comers. The first wheel did not prove satisfactory in that it growled slightly in running. This they were unable to remedy. After our removal to Manitowoc County. The wagon maker Lubrand Hanson, who had a lathe, made new spools for the wheel head; but the wheel growled the same as before. So a new wheel was brought from Norway by some newcomer; and this second wheel ran noiselessly. This first wheel is the one now in Princeton with Oswald. The second is at Harold's.

Mother also got herself an American spinning wheel, of the large wheel variety, which is operated standing up. She used it a great deal as it will spin much more rapidly than the smaller wheel, at which the spinner sits down.

Of course father made her a loom in his best style of workmanship. The loom was in such nearly constant operation that it stood almost all the time in the southwest corner of the large living room. For winding warp, ready to be wound upon its cylinder in the loom, there was a ree about four feet diameter and some seven feet high. When it was used it had its place in the <sup>down</sup>stairs hall. It was collapsible and could be put away in a corner. Reeds for the loom were obtained from Norway.

The weft was wound in bobbins for the shuttle, upon a spindle made of wood and projecting from the spinning wheel head. A cylinder of ~~st~~ stiff paper, as writing paper, was first wound on the spindle, and on this was wound the bobbin of weft. I was early trained to bobbin the weft yarn. The first spinning wheel was relegated to this use after the second had come; and I have made more bobbins of weft than I like to think of. Winding bobbins was not considered as much of the work of producing cloth, and the thanks or rewards were not profuse, as I remember it.



Reeds were obtained from Norway, at first, at all events, by getting immigrants to purchase them there and bring them with them. Reeds had to be spaced, or graded, for the different spacings of the warp; and naturally it took a large number to fit the varieties of weaving to be done; so that there were dozens of them in mother's outfit. As I remember it, it was not until the close of the civil war, that they got in touch with American concerns that could supply acceptable reeds.

All the harness used was made by hand, by tying twine on a form made out of a board, called a høvold-fjøl (harness-board). The harness had to be made with great care, each harness tied with three double knots, and under equal tension, else the shuttle would have an uneven floor of stretched warp-threads to travel over, with chances of making mis-weavings in the web.

Another part of the weaving outfit were several reels to hold the skeins of warp during the process of reeling the warp on the large reel, preparatory to winding the warp on the back cylinder of the loom, from which the warp was paid out in the process of weaving. There were two of these, in particular, that were made of a large number of sticks joined, three and three, at the ends in a peculiar arrangement, of which I have seen no specimens other than such as were brought from Norway. One of these father had made before their emigration. The other he made in Manitowoc County. There were usually four of these small reels used in filling the large reel.

It is thus seen that a complete weaving outfit involved a large number of parts. First there were the three spinning wheels. The large collapsible reel, with the four small reels, one of which was made so as to be convertible into a skeining reel, to skein the yarn spun on the spinning wheel. Then there was the loom, a fairly intricate machine, made in knock-down manner, so that it could be taken down, when not in use; and all its parts had to be made with great exactness in order to work smoothly. There were the supply of reeds, of which there were at least two dozen. Then the harness, one complete set of which sufficed for the different varieties of weaving; but which in time had to be replaced, as it wore out. There was the harness-board on which the harness were made by tying. There were shuttles suited to different grades of coarse and fine weaving. Finally, there was an instrument called spjøl in Valdris, which was adjustable to the width of the web, and which served to keep the woven web stretched, to an even width, as it was made up stroke by stroke by the reed.

It is seen that a complete outfit for doing all sorts weaving, from carpets to all-wool frieze, was a somewhat formidable affair. Not many women even in the Manitowoc Valdris settlement, had looms; though they were doubtless all trained weavers from home. I am very sure, there was no outfit in the county that was as complete as Mothers. All, but the reeds and spinning wheels had been made by father.

In the outfit should be mentioned a particularly well-made reel for winding yarn from the spinning-wheel spools into skeins, the "hespetre" which had been made by father, and made in his best workmanship. It was of course convertible, by placing the reel horizontally, into a reel from which skeins could be unwound, in filling bobbins for the shuttles, winding yarn into balls, reeling it unto the large reel for the loom, etc.

Much of the weaving was done to produce cloth for various uses that needed to be only part wool, and for which cotton warp was bought. But the production of Norwegian frieze, which was all wool, represented the most formidable task in mother's weaving. First, all the warp and the weft had to be spun, to the proper standard of fineness so as to produce fabric of the required weight. The spinner was expected to feel between her fingers just how fine the thread should. There was also the question of giving the right twist to the thread in order to give the fabric the right degree of softness. In short, the spinner had to make the yarn just right to meet ultimate requirements in the cloth. Also different characteristics were demanded for warp and weft. I remember that there was a twist called "vefta-snu" for the weft, and a "varpø-snu" for the warp. One required the spinning-wheel to revolve righthandedly, the other the opposite. I can't venture to say which was which. But I am positively sure these terms were used.

Of course most yarns and fabrics had to be dyed; and an adequate description of the dying processes practised by mother would require several pages. This was an art in which properly trained young women immigrants were expected to be trained, educated, in fact. Knowledge of the various dye-stuffs, as indigo, cochineal, logwood, etc., and the processes of their preparation, and at last the process itself of application, all had to be known minutely and accurately. There were no handbooks with set, printed rules.

The frieze, "vadmæl", or "vødmæl" (in Valdris), was as a rule woven white, or undyed, unless it was made from black wool. After it was woven it had to be fulled, to develop the nap which characterizes the stuff. This is usually done in a stamping mill. There were no such mills available, and stamping mills were too formidable to build for the uses of a single family or even a limited neighborhood. The production of frieze was not practised generally by the settlers. They got along without. But mother was not satisfied to make clothes out of ordinary stuff that could be bought, because it did not have the strength of what she could weave herself.

So, the fulling of the frieze had to be done by hand, or, properly speaking, by foot. Any working of the cloth, especially in warm water, would full it. Rolling or twisting newly knit mittens, of wool, would full them and make them more substantial; and this was done by hand, on a corrugated surface such as a common wash-board. Woollen mittens and

socks were often fulled in this way, by hand, in order to give them softness and substance, to increase their warmth and strength.

But a piece of woollen cloth of several yards' length could not easily be manipulated in this way. So it was stamped by the feet. Sometimes the men, father and Haldor, especially when the winter weather was too bad for outdoor work, would stamp such cloth. It would be placed in a tub with a quantity of warmed water, and the operator would work the bundle by standing on it and tramping on it, giving it any rolling motion that the process called for, and he knew how to give.

After the fulling process the frieze was usually dyed; and the cutting and sewing of all the working clothes that the two men used, down into the years of the war, was done by mother. She spun, wove, dyed, cut, and sewed the clothes for us children, though not of frieze for us. Until after we had moved to Minnesota, I had not worn trousers or coats that mother had not produced out of wool grown on our own sheep.

She had a reputation for such skill in weaving, that Irish and Americans came from distant parts of the county, bringing yarn out of which she wove cloth for them. And for such weaving as she consented to do, they paid her very good prices. In fact, she did not encourage people to bring her work of this kind; and charged them good, stiff prices. Father used to remonstrate against her doing so much of it. I remember once that an Irishman living more than 15 miles away, paid her for a piece of weaving a sum that the folks afterward estimated would have bought him more yards of standard woollen blanketing at the store.

The weaving was not confined to cotton and wool; for she wove toweling of homespun flax. We generally had a patch of flax. Thread spun from flax was used in sewing things that were subjected to the roughest use, like the leggings the men wore in the snow, while clearing land, and other work in the timber.

The preparation of the flax for spinning involved a series of processes. First the ripe flax was pulled up by the roots, which was not difficult, since the roots had become brittle and weak. A piece of smooth meadow with second growth of grass was selected; and the flax was spread out in light rows, to lie and rot the woody stalks. When, in a few weeks' exposure to the weather, the stalks had been rotted sufficiently, the rows were rolled up and tied in neat, small bundles, and dried in the sun. Next, the seed was threshed out with flails. The stalks were then roasted near an open fire till they became brittle. If small quantities were to be spun, this roasting might be done before one of the fireplaces; but for large quantities the flax was spread upon a platform built open of poles. Under this a fire was built, taking care that it did not burn with much flame. The hot air and smoke, passing up through the spaces in the top, then roasted the stalks and

and rendered them brittle for the next process, the Breaking of the flax. For this an upright plank, with a sharpened edge was used. Across this edge, which of course lay horizontal, a bundle of the roasted flax was held by one hand, while the bundle was beaten by a cudgel in the other hand, until the woody part of the stalks was beaten up into small fragments, some<sup>or most</sup> of which fell out during the breaking.

The fragments of the stalks which were sticking among the fibres of the stalks, were combed out in the next process, of Hackling. The hackle consisted of an array of upright sharp pointed wires of several inches across. By drawing the handful of fibres through the hackle, the fibres were cleared of fragments of stems, and became a fine, fluffy mass of linen fibres, ready for the spinning. A few such hackled bundles were tied about an upright rod standing up from the spinning-wheel head; and the spinning was done from this mass, the spinner drawing out the right amount of fibre for the rate at which the spindle revolved.

It is seen that even for the simple operation of providing a little flax for thread and for toweling, a special equipment of implements was required, and a series of processes was involved. Curiously enough, such a roasting platform of open pole-roof had been erected on the farm of Lars Kjæra, a mile or so south of us, in a most peculiar natural formation. There was there a fault in the limestone, which there came to the surface. The fault left a perpendicular wall of rock some six to eight feet in height. From the upper level the platform of poles had been built cut, so that one could walk out on the platform from the level of the upper ground, and spread the flax in place. Underneath, at the lower ground level was built the roasting fire. This served the whole neighborhood for the flax-drying. The roasting fire was largely kept up from the stalk fragments produced by the preaking process that went on about the platform; for the best flax-breaking was done while the flax was still warm from the roasting.

In time a great quarrying industry developed at this spot; for it was found that the rock was a very valuable limestone formation; so that a railway spur was run out from the near by station at Valdera, which in time was built by the railway, when it was laid.

It is my impression that when we moved from Sheboygan County, no sheep were taken along. If we had sheep the first year, they were disposed of to give way to a new enterprise of father's; for I remember well when he bought two ewes and a ram of pure-blooded Spanish Merinos, and from this beginning developed a unique wool industry in that community. For the ram he paid the unheard-of price of twenty dollars. The ewes were four or five dollars each. The ram soon died of some disease. It was found that a more serviceable wool was produced by grades of merinos not pure of blood. At the time of our removal to Minnesota, in 1865,

father sold his entire flock of a hundred-odd sheep to Mr. Gabriel Morbeck. They were half to a quarter merino grades.

This Merino wool was, on account of its fineness, more difficult to card than coarser wool; and father used to take the wool clipping to a carding mill some distance away; and what he did not sell he brought home carded ready for spinning and weaving. There was a ready sale of what surplus wool<sup>was</sup> produced on the farm. This high grade of wool of course enabled mother to make a superior quality of cloth on her loom.

In all this<sup>was</sup> weaving and spinning that mother did, she of course had help in the ordinary household activities and in the spinning; but it was rarely that any one other than mother sat in the loom and wove. It would be only as a rare experiment, so rare that I always noticed it particularly, because it was uncommon. Any aid she got out of her help in operating the loom did not amount to anything, practically. Mother was, in fact, ever embarrassed by the plenitude of help at hand, which arose out of the number of newcomers from the old home community.

All the settlers who could find room<sup>in their houses</sup> for newcomers were obliged to give them shelter until they could find homes for themselves. Those that had built commodious houses invariably had newcomers living with them during the first months after their arrival.

As father had built a fairly large house on his arrival in the settlement, before but a very few had been able to replace the first small log house with a more pretentious frame dwelling, we housed newcomers those first years to the capacity of the house.

First of course relatives or near neighbors from the home bygd had to be considered. I have told of my grandmother Bunde's family living with us in Town thirteen and of the arrival of mother's cousin Embrik Egge. He continued to live with us many years after our coming to Town of Cato. His sisters Sissel and Ingri with her daughter "vesle Sissel, were with us from the beginning in Manitowoc Co. They soon got active elsewhere; but they, like their brother, made our house their headquarters and were with us often for considerable periods before the war.

Guri i Støle, a relative of mother's, was early with us and was a most helpful girl. There was a Guro, who married a widowed neighbor. Later came Marit paa Ala-Øygare and her grown daughter, who were with us for quite a time, until her haughtier had become quite educated in American ways, and made a fortunate marriage.

Astri i Dokken was not a relative but a sister of some neighbors. She was with us one of the first years or two, and was a very strong and industrious woman. She was an "outstanding" woman in fact and one of the most genuinely helpful newcomer women. In time she married the widower Lars Kjørra, on whose land was the flax-roasting platform in the geologic fault in the limestone rock.

Toward the time of the war came an old chum of mother's, Anne Bunde, and her nearly grown son Mads, who enlisted in the 15th Wis. under the name Mads Williams. Anne married Lars i Ringe then near Clark's Mills, but later owning land on which limestone was quarried.

Three or four years before the war came the Vaarumsengen "Vøllsengen" family, consisting of the widowed mother <sup>and her</sup> of eight children, ranging from young manhood to six years. Father and mother joined other neighbors in securing for them a primitive log cabin which happened to be unoccupied. Though in great need, this family supplied a lot of life and energy to the immediate community. Several of these young people got houseroom and employment at our house. The son Nils became almost a member of our household for several years, until he enlisted in the 15th Wis. in which he became Lieutenant Nils I. Gilbert.

All of these that have been mentioned were more or less constantly attached to us as much as three or four years in some cases. But there were many others. Trond Kattevol, who was harelippped, cleared land one winter. Erik i Engen was with us a year, perhaps. Gubrand Haslebrek, the painter often was a welcome guest. Hølji Mosaase, with his twisted foot furnished a lot of cheer and amusement. Often we had Knut Grønole, who had borrowed some money, and worked small instalments when extra help was needed; but hardly took care of the interest. He always got out of chewing tobacco; and then he could not work. It made him too sick; and there was no tobacco to be had at our house, unless Embrik happened to be about. Father and Haldor did not use tobacco in any form.

There were many others who got jobs of clearing land during the winters, and staid with us, often for months at a time. Then there were other house-guests, often for a week or two. Such were my tutor Perge, who returned each winter for a somewhat prolonged stay, and who was a most welcome guest. Capt. Rode, the fat, retired old salt, with his elaborate yarns, was always good for at least two weeks. (See Samband, Nov. 1915/25) Once Endre Torstad, a student and a distant relative, who became a Methodist preacher of prominence, spent a vacation with us while he was studying. The theological student, George (or Gjerulld) Olsen, a Dane, who got a pastorate at New Denmark, often came by as a colporter of religious books; and he invariably staid a while, often making our house a headquarters while he canvassed the settlement. He sometimes preached. Once he got a hall at Clarks Mills, and gave the audience their choice of hearing about Heaven or Hell. I recall the amusement with which the folks received his report, that they voted for Hell, and he gave them all they wanted of it. Fille Hendre, the German peddler, who spoke a very fair Norwegian, invariably managed to stay overnight. He knew all the news and gossip of the settlement and imparted his information gratis while he convinced the women that they needed large supplies of his wares. He was a superb raconteur.

Almost important enough in the Væblien family life, to be considered an institution, was Mads paa Moe (Tveitmo'n), who was our family shoemaker. He came to the house every fall and spring, and staid the two or three weeks until he had repaired the worn shoes, and had made the new shoes that were likely to be needed for the next half-year.

He was a rather small old man, living two or three miles from us; and served in the capacity of family shoemaker to several families of the settlement, who observed the old-country custom of having the shoemaker come to the house and doing the family cobbling at stated times. He carried a kit of all the implements of his trade, including a large string of lasts of all sizes. He had a positive genius for making lasts. After making measurements of a pair of feet, he could take a rough block of wood (usually basswood) and hew and whittle it into a last that might fit any individual characteristic of his client. Always, when he did not have a pair of lasts that would fit a case, he would make a last to fit.

He not only made shoes, but he would dress and prepare the leather, according to custom in Valdees. The procedure at our place would be typical. In the fall butchering of perhaps a steer or heifer and a couple of calves, the hide and skins would be saved for leather. The hide was served with a coat of lime on the flesh side. The lime acted to loosen the hairs so that they could be scraped off. Then the flesh side was scraped clear of any adhering flesh. For this process a peculiar bench or "horse" and a spade-shaped scraping knife were required; and this equipment we had on the farm.

Next the hide was put into the prepared tanning mixture. This was contained in a large cask or tub which father had coopered, and the long hoops for which had been made by Poyer Amunds. At first we used a mixture of birch and oak bark, which was preferably stripped from the trees in the early spring, when the bark was loose with the sap inside. But we changed to using hemlock. The hide was left for weeks and months to tan. After it had been tanned it was left to dry, before being "dressed" or made into leather.

When Mads had come, in the spring, I was told off to assist him. First we built a fire in the workshop fireplace, and held the moistened hide between us before the fire until it was quite warm; then we smeared on it a mixture of tar and grease, usually lard and tallow. Having again heated it we rolled it up tightly, and took it on a bench between us and beat it with cudgels, timing our strokes to alternate. After repeating this process, and twisting the roll between us as hard as we could, the hide became fine, pliable leather, usually containing grades of thickness suitable for men's shoes down to those for children. The calfskins yielded stuff for the lightest requirements. All leather for soles was bought in town, a whole half-hide at a time.

..After the leather had been prepared, Mads would take up the work of repairing and making shoes. I was not a large boy when he suggested that I might be given a seat near him as a sort of helper; and the idea appealed to me. He taught me to peg on half-soles on the plainest repairing. Before long I could sew on patches acceptably. I learned how to make waxed-ends, so that I could make them for his own sewing. I got so skilled that I could sew any new work to his satisfaction. In fact I could under his watching do any of the operations of his trade. But by this time I had got tired of being amateur cobbler, and so told father, whereupon he said, that he would excuse me from further requiring me to assist Mads, when I had made a pair of shoes entirely by myself that Mads would pronounce all right.

So it was decided that I should make a pair for my own wear. But Mads required that I should make the pair of lasts on which to make them. In this I had good luck. I took my own measure, which he checked over; and when I had done the lasts he pronounced them as good as <sup>if</sup> he had made them himself. The rest of the job was easy enough. I had selected the most fitting portion in the whole hide; and when the shoes were finally passed on, they were considered to be a good pair. They proved quite comfortable. And I got a lot of wear out of this pair, made out of leather that I had helped to tan and dress, and from an animal I had assisted in butchering. But it was the last of my cobbling. I believe I afterwards halfsoled a pair of boots of mine; but that is all. This was in 1865; and as we that year moved to Minnesota I wore this pair of shoes out on Gopher State soil. But, no doubt, this training under the kindly but critical eye of a skilled master was very valuable and gave me training of lasting benefit. Mads paa Moe was one of my benefactors. I put him beside old Berger as a real friend.



With all these newcomer people and the occasional visitors, and such as were helping with the clearing of land, though not much outside help in clearing was hired after the earliest years, we were a good table-full at meals, and particularly in the winter time. We were not a small family without the addition of such outsiders as I have mentioned. There were the three grown-ups, father, mother, and Haldor. and by the time we moved from Manitowoc Co., eight children, Andrew, Petsey, Orson, Emily, Thorstein, Mary, Thomas, and John Edward who died small, *in 1865*

But it was the gathering of the family in the long winter evenings that was particularly memorable. In the large living room, it was a busy <sup>semi-</sup>circle that gathered about the blazing logs or blocks in the large fireplace. The women spinning or sewing, or it might be knitting, which was hardly regarded as work but rather as a "pick-up" matter to occupy the fingers when not doing formal "work". The men would be doing repairs on gloves, leggings, shoes and the like; or they might be whittling axehandles either to replace broken ones or to sell. No one sat exactly idle. Some one might be reading aloud from the newspaper. This would be father. He was by all odds the best reader in the house. He had a singularly clear and rapid enunciation. The paper was *Emigranten*, which we took in a club got up by Erik Erickson (i Rennun). The evening reading would be especially the <sup>current</sup> instalment of the story by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, that ran as a serial in the paper. In this way he read to us, Synnøve Solbakken, En Glad Gut, and Arne; at least such parts as ran during the winters. In the summertime there would be no such evening gatherings about the blazing hearth, of course.

But the paper came but once a week and the most it could do would be to claim attention for one or two evenings. But the folks and all these late <sup>new-</sup>comers ~~from home~~ had a lot of interesting reminiscence from "home". The newest newcomers would retail the latest news from home. There would be comparison of memories and experiences that might be of common interest to the gathering. But what held unfailing interest for us youngsters, were the relation of all sorts of tales of fairies, or the hill-people, and all the mysterious beings and powers in the stock of folklore that all these old-country people held stored in the memory.

Some one would relate one of the old tales while the others would give close attention, not because the tale was new to them; but in order to see whether the raconteur was giving a version new to the others, or be on the look-out for any inaccuracy in an accepted version. All knew the entire stock of tales, it seemed. Many of the "Fvinty" in Andras Vang's collections were retold there; and variations in them closely considered and their merits critically weighed.

Several versions or variations of the goat "Sprov so kji vildø kaama hain te rettans duggur idag" were compared and discussed. I know it was by the majority of the company considered better Hørisbygging to say "rettans duggur" than "rettan duggur" as it is given by Vang. Of course there were bound to be many versions and variations in the tales as related and remembered by a forum made up from representatives of Vang, Høre, Slire, Austa Aasn, and from far Aurdal.

Then there would be the variations in these vernaculars that might come up for consideration. Of course the standard of our family was Hørisbygging; for the old folks were all raised right in the centre of Høre.

There would also be more modern matter told and discussed, such as the adventures and incidents of the immigrants themselves. Stories of the customs observed in travels in different parts of Norway and in Sweden, would be told. And there were not a few experiences told from personal contact with people of all sorts of nationalities in this country, and situations that arose out of misunderstanding the language of the people encountered.

Sometimes it happened that in the circle might be one or more that could sing entertainingly some popular song, while the others listened. But such occasions were rather rare. Music and singing did not play a major part in these winter evening gatherings. Of course many matters of the hurdrum, family interest would come up for talk, naturally enough. But matters such as I have described, gave a special character to the sessions of the Veolen household.

This was partly owing to the happy plan followed in building the house whereby the whole family had only a single logical gathering place. There was the spacious living room, with the broad and deep fireplace, for which there need be no economizing of fuel, which was present in fairly embarrassing abundance. Here was abundance of room for all. There was no need nor inducement to divide the family between the sitting room and kitchen, according to tastes and occupation. The arrangement in our house invited all to share the society of the whole household together. A more modernly planned home, with its greater number of rooms, favoring differentiation of groups and pursuits, would have promoted a quite different family life, with less solidarity and community of sentiment.

It may be said that the folks carried out an old acquired and inherited instinct from the homeland. While the winter evenings are proverbially long in the north section of our country, they are much longer in central Norway. The latitude of Manitowoc is 44; while that of central Valdres is 61°. The day in winter is there much shorter; and the hours during which may be done out of doors are so few, that much of the waking and working time must be carried into the long night time.

The resulting night-timesession that has grown out of this need has produced the institution of the "kvældsetø" as it is there called. It means literally, evening sitting. And it implies or connotes that sedentary part of the evening that follows the outdoor day and precedes bedtime. In other words, it is what we try to express by "the long winter evening" but for which we have no definite word. (In Hørisbygging, kvældsetø, indefinite; kvældseta, kvældsetun, the Kv.; kvældseto, kvældsetudn, plural).

The inherited feeling of a home of the family as a common hall, may have grown out of this eventide part of the active waking time, as a fitting period common to the family or household. I have a feeling akin to this from some of the saga traditions. At any rate, I feel that the community of habit and sentiment engendered by the kvældseto in the old Town of Cato house had a happy influence on the Veblen Family; and promoted a certain solidarity.

As previously noted (p. 50) all cattle and other farm animals ran at large; and they were fenced out of all cultivated land. Even pigs and sheep were allowed freedom. But on account of the risk to sheep, which were not fit to fend for themselves, they had to be pastured. This was one reason that not many sheep were kept in the settlement in its early history. A single sheep would be kept in the homestead yard as a sort of pet animal; or at most two or three such might be cared for, as a source to supply wool for the knitting of mittens and stockings. There was very little weaving done in the settlement, except by mother; and only a very few had looms.

Pigs were generally abundantly able to take care of themselves at large. Each farm's flock of hogs fought off all stray pigs that invaded the zone they had set apart for themselves, about their own homestead. They centered easily enough about the trough in which they were fed the swills from the kitchen. But the main part of their feed they procured by rooting among the trees of the nearest timber; and these pigs were of a more rangy growth than the hogs of the fancy breeds of today. They could outrun most other farm animals; and the battles between the fighting leaders of different flocks, were fought with a fierceness that can not be easily described. In the fall of the year they got very fat from feeding on acorns, but especially on the abundant beech mast, or nuts, which literally covered the ground under the beech trees; and beech constituted about half of the timber in our neighborhood. The care of the pigs constituted no problem, except in so far as they had a gift for discovering holes in fences that admitted them into forbidden fields. A pig was not allowed at large until he had reached a certain age.

The cows and calves on a farm usually stuck <sup>together</sup> fairly well, and were led by the bell cow, which was chosen to bear the bell for her size or for her growess or cleverness. Any particular flock was located, in the timber by the tone of its bell. An effort was always made to secure a bell that had a tone distinctive from all the other bells in the region. It is really incredible what ability to distinguish between cowbells, and to identify bell cows, the boys developed who herded the cows. And in addition they acquired an uncanny ability to determine the direction in which a given bell sounded. To understand the difficulty to be overcome it must be borne in mind that the timber was so thick that generally a cow could not be seen more than a half-dozen rods away, unless it happened to be in a glen such were of rare occurrence. The cows of a given flock acquired a similar skill in identifying their particular bell; for they ranged so far apart in the timber and underbrush that they could keep together as a distinct flock only by keeping within

hearing of their own bell. And at that, <sup>the</sup> several flock would be intermingled or overlapping. Apparently flocks made no effort to keep apart or to themselves; but if the bell cow was driven or led away the members of the flock took up the march in the same direction. There were cases of a sort of breachiness in cows, which lost themselves, and caused trouble by refusing or failing to stick to their own bell cow. Such cows sometimes bore an individual bell by which they could be detected and identified.

During the winter and earliest spring the cattle were turned out to browse on the "brush" from the tree tops that were felled in clearing land. The twigs and smaller branches, as they were trimmed from the felled tree were piled into huge brush-piles. At these piles the animals fed on the buds and smallest twigs quite to repletion on sunny days. Even the wild deer would come into the clearings to browse on the brushpiles. I have seen them mingle with our cows about the same piles of brush.

But as soon as the frost was out of the ground vegetation started among the timber, which tempted the cattle out to feed upon it, probably the youngest small twigs, at first; but grass grew also in scant tufts, and they soon found a sufficiency of feed, grew sleek and the cows gave good messes of milk. At first the cows would not range far from home, and it required no great effort to drive them home to the barnyard, in which they were shut up for the night.

But as the summer advanced the herding and bringing home of the cows became more of a problem. While they at first would generally return to the yard of themselves, for the salt that was sprinkled out for them, and the cows to the milking, as the summer advanced they would range further into the timber and would become indifferent to coming home for the night. This would happen especially if the weather turned stormy, in which case they would seek a sheltered spot and lie down for the night.

When we came into the settlement we not only came into the far north edge of the Valdris settlement, but in the edge of the then settled land. Back, north, of the river road flowed the river, about a mile away. The settled eighties of Amunds, Veblen, and McGlaughland, and the settlers further westreached approximately to within half a mile of the stream; and beyond the river was wild land, all heavily timbered and much of it hilly, for miles. In this region was open grazing through which the cows of our whole neighborhood ranged. It was the occupation of the boys who were not old enough for real farm work but large enough to know the woods, to herd the cows and bring them home at night.

The several boys on the neighboring farms had become trained in this and had developed a system and technique and skill in "watching the

cows". All these boys were older than I, when in my eighth year I became charged with watching ours. Some of them had been hired by families that had not boys of suitable age; and in some cases one boy might have the care of the cows of two or three near neighbors. In the afternoons the six or eight boys would meet at the river back of our eighty.

First we located our respective bells, generally in the hills north of the river. The task then was to keep account of the direction and distance of the bells, until it became time to start the flocks home. Meantime the boys would be occupied in activities of various kinds. I had never learned to swim; and these boys were all good swimmers. Much time was spent in the river at any one of several good swimming places. I can not remember just how I learned; but I soon found myself swimming with the rest and soon, like them, had no thought of keeping within "touching bottom" depth, which any small boy tyro was obliged to do.

For one thing we became masters at throwing stones far and straight. Our group was singularly free from bullies, and there were no fights or quarrels, except when we encountered the boys from the Mills. But they were too few to give us any serious trouble. There were some steep and hills on either side of the stream; and the ability we developed to run races up these hills was notable. Often the endurance thus acquired was useful in racing fractious heifers and steers that might refuse to cross the often swollen stream on the way home in the evening, and would make their best speed back up the hill on the north side of Mc Kee's landing, at which was our usual fording place for the cows. This was below the rapids called Cato Falls, at which in time a dam was built and mills erected by the Newells and Evanses.

Another matter in which the boys came to be skilled, was the handling of the dug-out canoes made by the Indians that fished along the river. There were reservations on Lake Winnebago far west, and toward Green Bay in the north. The principal thoroughfare between them was by way, in part, of that part of the river road that traversed our settlement. The first years we lived there, Indians very frequently traveled along the road past our house; and at one time the entire quarter mile across the farm seemed filled with Indian men, squaws, dogs, ponies, papposes hurrying eastward. The first years there were many Indian camps in the timber back of us. We boys saw them daily, and visited their camps. They used dug-out canoes, round bottomed, and very narrow of beam; but they were very thin and light. Two or three that had come down stream, perhaps lost further up the river, had been secured by the cow-watching gild of boys, and others that used to congregate about the swimming places; and these canoes we kept in hiding and used, and we learned the trick of paddling them without upsetting, which was no mean accomplishment, as could be demonstrated by getting such as were not used to them to try paddling them. They would be sure to upset.

As the wild land became occupied and the grazing became more limited, as after the development of Cato Falls, the number of flocks in the timber fell off. I grew too large to waste my working ability in watching cows; but my brother Orson never got into the herding to any extent. The west eighty, which had been bought, was fenced in and the cattle were pastured there the last years of our residence in Town of Cato.

For the boys that got experience in herding cattle in the timber it proved a valuable training in woodcraft that developed resourcefulness in a number of directions, not to speak of the hardening and toughening of the physique by the sometimes strenuous outdoor life.

In the beginning the Indians were quite numerous during the spring and summer. Of course they were peaceful and harmless, though they could be annoying beggars at times. Many an Indian was fed at our house. Both men and squaws peddled various trinkets. The staple article offered was baskets, large and small, made out of bast or the thin split ash. Sometimes the ash splints had been dyed in bright colors, making checkered patterns. They proved neat and convenient receptacles to carry; and served especially to carry our school lunches in.

In time the Indians confined themselves more strictly to their reservations and ceased camping in the timber; but even as late as the close of the war bands of them strolled about the settlements, and occasionally became noisome by reason of drunkenness.

When we moved from Town Thirteen we had only one ox-team and one wagon; but after beginning operations in Town of Cato a second team became a necessity, and this involved the need of an additional wagon. To supply this father got in touch with Gulbrand Hanson, who was an skilled wagon-maker and had established his <sup>self</sup> just east of Clarks Mills. He was a single man; and his house was a combined residence and shop. He had a lathe on the first floor, which was driven by a large wheel on the second floor and belted to the lathe below. The wheel was turned by a helper, and by hand, of course.

The wagon was made during the winter. Father worked on the making of this wagon as Gulbrand's assistant. At times Haldor also helped, to drive the lathe, I have reason to believe. When the woodwork had been done Boyer Amunds "ironed" it. But in assisting Gulbrand (as we Valdrises called Gulbrand) father had learned the process so fully that he afterward made our first buggy and in 1864 made two wagons, that he took along to Minnesota and <sup>which</sup> served us there for a long term of years. The finest white oak timber, suitable for wagonmaking grew in abundance on the farm.

At first, in Manitowoc Co., father hired the threshing of the grain done by the machine that threshed for the neighbors. It was a large, eight horse power thresher of the walking-power type. It threshed rapidly, and well enough. But the assembling of a crew sufficiently large to work such a machine for the few hours that it took to do the small jobs that the settlers generally had, seemed to father a wasteful and objectionable way of threshing for farmers in such circumstance. Besides the large number of horses were idle during the relatively long time consumed in moving and setting up the machine, in changing from one job to the next. As a consequence these large machines made a high charge for their work.

p.15 He thought a smaller machine could successfully compete with the large machines, even at a lower charge; and he looked into the matter to such purpose that he procured a two-horse power thresher. It was "The Combined Thresher and Winnow", manufactured by Wheeler, Melick & Co., of Miller's (?), Falls, N. Y.

The machine was driven by the sort of horse-power that drove the thresher described as used in Sheboygan Co. (A. 15) in which the horses walked up an inclined plane, consisting of an endless track that drove a wheel belted to the cylinder of the thresher. This Wheeler, Melick & Co. "separator" blew the chaff out of the threshed grain and delivered it separated from straw and chaff. When the machine was set up for operation, the separator was set on the barn floor, and the horsepower stood at such a distance before it as the length of the driving belt required. If the machine was operated out of doors, a platform of planks was laid on the ground and the separator set on it.

For transporting the power, Gubrand Hanson made a special truck, or wagon, somewhat wider than an ordinary wagon, so as to hold the somewhat wide power. When the power was set up for operation, the forward pair of wheels, with the tongue and draft gear, was removed, and the power given its incline by resting on the rear wheels at one end, while the other end rested on the ground. To move or transport the machine the separator was loaded into the power on its truck. It made a very compact outfit, requiring but small space.

This thresher was bought while the barn still stood south of the road but after the stables wing of the ell, north of the road had been built or was building; that is, the summer, 1857, or perhaps 1858. Until this time we had used only oxen for traction on the farm. The patient, slow-moving, but strong oxen were better adapted to the work among the stumps of the first years of the clearings than were the quicker but more impatient and high-spirited horses. About this time some of the older settlers, who had preceded us by several years, had procured horses and



were using them on the road and for such farm work as they were adapted to. But no farmer in the timber country could dispense with oxen for the first years' operations in the stump-filled clearings.

For the operation of the threshing machine father had to have horses. First he bought a medium sized gray mare, named Sippy. She was a healthy animal, high-spirited and quick in her motions. She had a peculiar dislike of Indians, and was almost unmanageable when any of them were about and appeared ready to attack them. Later he bought a black mare, Fanny, of the same weight. She was an uncommonly gentle and steady animal, very gentle as a saddle horse, while Sippy had a harsh gait, and was not in favor for horseback riding. They were a well-matched team in harness. They proved well adapted to driving the thresher.

The threshing machine proved a decided success. First of course our own grain was threshed. The whole machine might be operated entirely within the barn; and rainy weather did not interfere with its running, as with the other machines. A small crew sufficed, which found favor with both master and mistress of farm households. Its working capacity was about one-fourth of the large machines; but jobs were small and a farmer's threshing would be done in two or three days for even the oldest settlers.

The performance at our own threshing pleased the neighbors so well that father had steady work threshing out in the settlement until so late in the season that he wished to quit before all jobs were done that were waiting. He even threshed as late as after New Year's some winters. All the help required was himself and a youth to measure the grain and tend the machine, oil it and the like. As helper he employed Nils Gilbert, who in the war became Lieut. Gilbert.

So popular did this threshing outfit become, especially with the "smallest" farmers, that he was obliged to keep on much later than he wished. After the war had begun and Nils Gilbert had enlisted, father hired as helper Knut Jome. That winter they threshed until late in the winter, and for the most part for Irish settlers, northwest of us, even as far as fifteen miles away.

In time father tired of threshing out, and perhaps felt that he really did not need, economically, to undergo the rather strenuous work it proved to be. The last two or three years of our residence on the farm he used the machine only for our own threshing, and did not thresh out at all.

After father had bought horses he provided a buggy. This he made for the most part himself; but got professional advice and a little help from Gulbrand Hanson. Fanny was the favorite buggy horse. This was the first buggy owned by any farmer in our part of the settlement. Of course buggies were used by such as the minister and one or two residents at the Mills. But this was the first buggy on any farm in our neighborhood.

The possession of a buggy and a buggy-horse like our Fanny, made for increased sociability on the part of our parents. They could go to church much more comfortable. Errands could be done much more expeditiously. Mother could go to see friends she was interested in more than before. She never got confidence in her ability to drive, and I often drove Fanny for her. Along the established highways this was easy and pleasant. But along some of the settlement roads driving the buggy was excruciating. There was a good deal of swamp country through which roads were in process of development. Through swamps corduroy roads were built. When a corduroy had been completely finished it would be a good and attractive road enough. But generally such a road might be years in the making.

Meantime it might be serving in its own excruciating way as a means of traffic. The foundation of this class of road consisted of <sup>small</sup> logs or large poles, cut in lengths the width of the road, and laid tightly and transversely of the road, and forming a sort of floor of the road. Next the road was built up by covering the corduroy with earth. When sufficient earth had been packed hard and smooth on the logs, it made a good road through the swampy land. But it might take all the resource of the road district might barely accomplish as much laying the corduroy one year. covering up the logs might have to wait a year or two, before it could be completed.

In the meantime necessity would be so great that, impossible as it may seem, the bare corduroy would have to be used. With the patient oxen unbelievable things could be done, and they could be made to draw loads over the bare logs. Such a road mother and I encountered on a trip we were making to visit a friend, Halstein Fystro, who was lying sick. Fanny picked her way over in her patient way. The logs were of a thickness that spaced them so the front wheels passed the summit of a log while the rear wheels were at the lowest in the valley between another pair. Thus the buggy was rocked violently up and down in front and rear; and the progress that the mare made seemed just right to make this rocking motion as violent as could be.

Several times our buggy was borrowed to haul invalids or people hurt in accidents. John Gilbert enlisted in the first call for volunteers in the war, that for the hundred day men. He was hurt in the first Bull Run battle (I think it was). He came home "on furlow". He had managed to

<sup>get</sup> as far on his way home as about half from Manitowoc and home. There he stopped unable to ride farther. In the lumber wagon he had got a ride in; but had got a message sent his parents. His mother came to our house at daybreak on the Sunday morning it was, and begged father to go and fetch him in the buggy, which of course he did.

In the fall of 1864, when father made his trip to Minnesota to buy land in Rice County. He drove Fanny and the buggy to Fond du Lac, the nearest point at which he could take a train to take him westward; and I accompanied him to drive the buggy home the next day. Even by the "angling" Calumet road the distance was 42 miles, as I remember it. But Fanny made it nicely each way in a day. As we were driving along the road in the beautiful farming country sloping west into Lake Winnebago, we encountered one of the original hitch-hikers. We caught up with a 14 or 15 years old, well dressed boy, who limped most awfully; and as he stopped us to ask for a ride his face showed that his foot (or something) was causing the most excruciating pain. He was going to "Cheedy", a few miles further on. We gave him a seat on a bag in the buggy box behind the seat. When a little later he got out at Tachedah, he ran lightly up to a house before which he had asked us to stop. Father made a brief remark at the short time it had taken him to get cured of his lameness.

It was during the evening of our stay in Fond du Lac, that father bought me Andrews's Latin Grammar and Caesar, as previously related, to start me in the classics, with a view to entering college.. Fanny and the buggy were retained to the very day of our departure from the farm in July following. But Sippy was sold to Rev. George Olson, who had settled down as preacher to a Danish congregation at New Denmark, not far from Green Bay, and who had always greatly admired the mare, as he had been riding her sometimes while he was "colporting" religious literature in his student days. I rode Sippy out to Mr. Olson's one day, late in the fall, 1864, to deliver her to him; but bare-back except for a sack tied on her back. It made me somewhat stiff; for Sippy had a harsh gait. After a night's entertainment at the Olsons' I walked home the following day, arriving tired and hungry while the folks were at supper.

It may be pertinent <sup>to say</sup> that the saddle was not sold either with Sippy or Fanny, but taken along to Minnesota, where it was often used on another Fanny, which was a most gentle and attractive riding horse, and a worthy successor to the Gentle Fanny of Manitowoc memory,

Any one seeing the region of the Manitowoc County Valdris Settlement at present with nothing to obscure the horizon, except planted groves, orchards, and stately residences, and with good roads traversing the country in all directions, and every square mile yielding to modern ways of cultivation, will find it hard to believe that seventy years ago, it was all covered by the densest and heaviest timber to be found anywhere in the midwest. That the view was limited, except up, to the confines of clearings of a few acres in area, none affording a clear view of a half mile. The eye everywhere met the giants of the forest, with the spaces in between filled closely with large and small timber and younger growth, so dense that the timber growth that limited the clearings formed a practically solid wall that returned the words of any call with the sharpness of echo that mountain-sides produce.

"The swamp" could not be passed or crossed except in winter. The "Marshes" about the river and its tributaries could be crossed only at the time they were flooded deep enough to allow canoes to traverse the flags and rushes. There were two drownings in the marshes that I remember. There were the terrible makeshift corduroy roads. But the settlers went around the swamp if they must go to the other side; and they kept away from the marshes. Until the time came, late in the history of the county, when the swamps and marshes were drained, the early settlers at any rate confined their activity to the dry land, of deciduous timber.

The important matter to settlers was to get the land cleared, and as soon and fast as possible. Each settler would devote his time and energy to clearing as many acres as he could during the year. If he could manage it he hired clearing done. This was done by the day; or it might be by the acre. Young men would clear land for others and save their earnings to get the means of starting for themselves.

In our settlement I never saw a saw used to fell trees. It was done by the axe; and first a vedge-shaped cut was made on one side of the tree, say, half way through, Then a similar cut was made on the opposite side until a straight streak of wood remained; and when this got narrow or thin enough to allow the tree to topple over, it would come down with a crash that in the case of a three or four foot tree would shake the earth like a small earthquake. The chopper's art and skill needed to be such that he could determine to great nicety, by starting his cut aright the direction in which the tree should fall. If he failed in this the tree might be hung up by getting tangled with standing trees, and this was always a difficult matter to straighten out. The sole control that the chopper had over the direction of the felling lay in cutting correctly at the stump. For one thing, he must select such a bed

as to give him freedom of space in trimming away the branches and in cutting it into proper lengths for the "logging".

Branches that were not too large to be handled were piled into a brushpile, of course at the site of the crown of the felled tree. Branches that were too large and heavy to pile up, must be cut into smaller sections and piled. Other individual trees would be felled toward the same brushpile, so as to have their brush piled on it. A good chopper would avoid cluttering up his clearing with many small brushpiles; for these would make logging difficult. The stems of trees must be cut into manageable lengths for logging, a sort of accepted standard length.

One sees that clearing land had its points, critical requirement, as well as points of art and skill that would enable the chopper to work efficiently. Skillful choppers would generally prefer to take jobs by the measured acre; and then the price would depend on the density and character of the timber to be cleared. The question of cutting a certain portion into fence-rail lengths, would enter into the account. A standard height of stumps might, and would, be insisted on as not to be exceeded for saplings and small trees. The job must be done in a workman-like manner.

After the timber had been cleared, the brush might first be burned, if it had become sufficiently dry. But it happened that logging was done with the brush still in piles. A logging crew would consist of an ox-team with its driver and at least four men. at times, and in heavy timber five loggers might make up a crew; and of course in handling the heaviest logs the driver's aid might be called in. The team was equipped with a logging chain, fastened at the point of traction of the yoke. The logging chain was made of short links, and ended in a large hook. The logs were "snaked" by wrapping the chain about the end so as to form a sort of slip-noose about the log end, by hooking the hook over the loop of the chain. A pile having been started, logs are added by being snaked up beside the pile, and being rolled upon it by the crew, until it has been built up as large as can be conveniently done by the crew. The loggers are armed each with a handspike, consisting of a smooth pole of the requisite strength to avoid bending or springing, say three inches thick, and somewhat wedge-sharpened at the end. These are used as prying and lifting levers. Of course skids are used as may be found serviceable. Strength is a prime requisite in a logger, as well as skill in applying strength efficiently. The action of a good logging crew in action provides a first-class exhibition of human power and prowess as can be seen in any game or sport.

Fewer than four men can not handle logs in logging. A settler could hire extra help to make up a crew; and much logging was done thus by a single team and crew. Father did much, and most, of his logging by hiring a couple of men to make a team with himself and Haldor. This he found

more desirable and economical than resorting to a logging-bee, as was the practice of a large number of settlers, though he participated in logging-bees, or sent his team or a man to many a bee, and would have been fully entitled to similar help in return. The truth is that he and Haldor were so strong and knew how to apply their strength, besides being more than ordinarily efficient planners of work, that a crew of which they were the directing and leading pair, would far exceed any crew working in a bee in performance.

I believe that a couple, or very few times, he asked a team or two to form a small bee to assist him. But it was only such as he had himself helped so much as to be abundantly entitled to their return of help. Father had no taste for the excitement and fuss incident to logging-bees.

A logging bee would usually bring together a large number of teams and men. It would be a sort of social function, at which several families would cooperate with the family that held the bee. The housewife would provide a great feast of good things for the gathered men; and in this her friends in the neighborhood assisted her with their help. In fact a logging bee not only assembled the men-strength of the countryside, but a large part of the women, especially those most socially inclined and energetic; so that the occasion became a general community merrymaking. Whiskey was cheap and was sold at every store, without any requirement of license; and enough of it was expected to be supplied to satisfy all reasonable desire. No logging bee of respectable proportions would be conducted without having a man circulating the bottle and glass and affording plentiful opportunity for the slaking of any thirst. There was an individual in the settlement who could fill this position with great efficiency; and he usually served all the large logging bees. He was a man of extraordinary readiness at repartee, and kept the hard-working crews in cheerful mood. In the evening, after the sweating and tired workers had been washed up and fed <sup>on</sup> the well-prepared food, and the bottle and glass still circulating, a fiddler was usually handy with his instrument and on the cleared floor the dance would proceed some-<sup>times</sup> till late or even early hours. Thus besides being a cooperative institution, the logging bee was a function of gaily and good cheer. The trouble was that the Veblens were not devoted to that sort of stimulated gaily sufficiently to care greatly for it. It happened once that Haldor participated in such a logging bee. When the dancing began Haldor got his lantern that he had taken to light him home, and some one attempted to hinder him from going so early. It was told that Haldor <sup>sat</sup> the man down so firmly on a bench by the door that the fellow thought he had better not try further to detain him. "His hand is heavier than I like" he commented..

After the logging the piles of logs were burned, and the ground was cleaned for the planting, by raking up and burning all leaves, chips, and any other rubbish that the former operations might have left among the stumps. Practically every square foot had to be raked over. all rubbish was burned. After the clearing had been cleaned in this way, grain, usually wheat or it might be rye, was sown or scattered by hand. Then the grain was harrowed in, or more properly, it was dragged in.

The harrow used in new clearings, was a "drag", which was shaped like a capital A, made of two pieces some six or seven feet long, meeting at an acute angle and held apart by cross-piece, making the maximum width some four feet. In the side-pieces were driven several sharp iron teeth. The drag was drawn by the ox-team, as well as could be between the stumps, criss-cross until the surface was so scratched that the grain was more or less fully covered by the scratched up soil. Some times the drag encountered stumps so near together that it could not pass; the driver then would lift up one side or limb, and hold it up till the drag had advanced into open ground, when he would drop it flat and continue on. All small growth, saplings, and small trees <sup>had been</sup> ~~were~~ cut as close as could be to the ground. But on the roots left by this trimming, as well as on roots running out from large stumps, the drag, on its five or six <sup>inches</sup> long teeth would dance a fantastic and wild dance; so that the only safe place for the driver was well up by the heads of the oxen. He would stay there, too, except when the drag got stuck between stumps and it became necessary to lift up one side of the drag to pass it through.

This process would be carried out on winter clearings that were logged in spring, in time for spring wheat. But on summer clearings, logged in the fall winter wheat was sown, which of course was harvested next season. Winter wheat usually ripened earlier than the spring wheat and was first harvested. On the earliest summer clearings, if they were logged as early as the beginning of July, a crop of rutabaga and turnips would be sown. Besides the feed value of such a crop, this use of the ground prevented the growing of weeds on the cleared <sup>land</sup> ~~ground~~, and helped in making it specially fit for a crop of spring grain.

The grain grown on new cleared ground was quite free from weeds of all sorts, and presented an ideally clean appearance. Looking out over a first-crop field of rye or wheat, one saw only the waving, absolutely clean grain, which concealed the many stumps from view. Such a field, of golden-ripe grain, likely bounded on all sides by the tall and thick forest, was a sight to gladden the struggling settler, and left impressions that he could not forget.

The grain was cut with a cradle, and cutting around the stumps might be a precarious matter. Unless the cradler took good care, he might snap off a cradle "finger" or even the blade. It required both strength and

and skill to do clean cradling among the stumps of a new field; and there would be situations that the most expert craler could not reach. A sickle might be found useful to secure such leavings. The craler laid the grain in a continuous windrow ready to be raked into bundles and bound. Norwegian settlers made every effort they could to build barns for housing the harvested grain. This was quite necessary because of the need of shelter under which to thresh with flails; and open stacks were difficult to keep safe in case of storms. Norwegians had not acquired the knack of building grain stacks in the home-land, as grain never was stacked there except in case of extraordinary need. But Irish settlers quite frequently stacked grain, which was in accord with practice in Ireland, as told by them.

The usual procedure was to sow timothy along with the first grain crop. This produced a crop of hay, egnerally for two years following a crop of grain. Or a year might be given to pasturing sheep on the timothy sod. Either method would help in the further cultivation of a clearing. It would be impossible to plow a clearing immediately following the first crop, because all roots and stumps would still be too fresh.

During the two or three years of grain and hay culture the smaller stumps and exposed or superficial roots would be rotting and become brittle. The smallest stumps might become so rotten that they could be knocked out; and the roots at or near the surface to a large extent became so brittle as to break before the plow. Plowing a field for the first was a strong man's work, in the frequent lifting of the necessarily heavy plow. And only the patient and deliberate ox could be used for such plowing. At the best that could be done, the first plowing of a clearing was a sorry looking result, being done among most of the stumps that the chopper had left.

Gradually the stumps decayed so that they could be knocked over. Large stumps of oak and other resistant varieties would take many years to become rotten enough to go without a lot of work put on their removal. Our first eighty was rapidly cleared; about half of it in two or three years, say in 1857; but only portions of the eighty were stump-free by 1965, when we moved away. No farmer in the settlement had yet begun to use mowing or reaping machines, though by that time such had come into use in the prairie country, as in Minnesota, where we settled on our moving from Manitowoc Co.

The stumps were dealt with by allowing them time to rot. They could have been removed by blasting or by grubbing, no doubt. But as long as we farmed there, the problem of clearing the land was still was a major requirement, so that it was better policy to devote man-power to it and let natural processes, of rotting, take care of stump removal. Nature was taking care of the stumps, if slowly, while human effort was required to deal with the timber.



Socially the settlers were in close contact. Much more so than the prairie settlers, where each family, or settler, "took" at least a quarter section. In the timber country, as in Manitowoc County, a man could at best clear not many acres a year; unless he had money with which to hire assistance in clearing. But most immigrants were poor and if they could procure the means of acquiring a forty they might consider themselves well off as beginners. A forty of land provided sufficient outlet for a strong man's energy for many years ahead. So many settled on a forty. An eighty would be the maximum of the parcel on which any one settled in the timber, except in case a man came with money to invest in land. There were very few such among the Valdrises, or the others who came into the Manitowoc timber to farm.

Thus it was that the majority of the settlers in our neighborhood farmed forties; and there were those that began with only half a forty. As there was no farming land lying idle as far as the settlement reached at the time of our coming, the distances between homes and the surrounding clearings was small, and intercourse was easy to keep up. This was true at all seasons. In the forests no blizzards, such as harried the prairies, ever were felt. Snow might drift in the largest clearings; but snowdrifts rarely obstructed the roads. This accessibility at all times invited and promoted social intercourse; and naturally made for public spirit and a high level of intelligence in the community. This would be true of the whole Valdris settlement, like all Manitowoc communities.

This comparative density of population stimulated interest in schools, and there was no little rivalry between districts. Clarks Mills had an advantage over the farmer districts in having some families where the children had leisure to go whenever the district could afford to have school going. At the "corners", north of the Mills school was kept going nine months; and of course it made a leading educational centre. This rivalry expressed itself especially in the time-honored institution of spelling schools. At the Mills were good spellers; but as usually happens, when there is a prominent champion, the crowd leave it to him to achieve the glory for them, and neglect the training of their own prowess. The champion speller in the Mills school was Nathan Oakes Murphy, who at one time was Territorial Governor of Arizona. In our school Pat Lyons was the best speller; but he was no match for Oaky Murphy. When I began at school, as I have told, I soon became an acknowledged leader in spelling; and before long I disputed the championship with Pat, who was much older. I think he lost interest, or it may have become a trivial matter to a "grown man" to stand up and spell.

Any way I went to neighboring districts and spelled down their bell-

wether spellers. The elder folks of the rival districts would attend; and during the always generous intermissions, they would visit with one another in more sedate fashion than the lively games that the "scholars" indulged in. The fortnightly spelling school was a social function of prime importance for both youths and grown-ups.

At the spelling schools, the two teachers usually present would designate two choosers of sides, fair spellers but not champions. There was a toss-up of a copper cent to see who should have first choice. Then all available spellers were chosen in turn. One teacher would give out the words before the intermission. The other for the contest after. I was never forgiven by the Clarks Mills contingent, when I spelled "a-key" down before the intermission, and repeated the humiliation in the after-recess contest. For a long time it was not safe for me to appear alone among the boys at the Mills; and one evening in the dark I got a "bloody nose" at the Mills.