

## **Swedish Baileytown: A Nineteenth Century Rural Enclave**

### **Introduction:**

With the establishment of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore in 1966, the National Park Service acquired several properties associated with a large and active Swedish community established in the nineteenth century. The area around the Little Calumet River, originally settled by fur trader Joseph Bailly during the 1820s, was referred to as Baileytown and the Swedes were distinguished locally as the ‘Baileytown Swedes’ so they would not be confused with Swedes who lived in the nearby towns of Porter or Chesterton. The Baileytown Swedes left a lasting legacy: a permanent imprint on the landscape, visually evident in their houses, churches and cemeteries. The Swedish properties located within Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore are the remnants of a once large and vibrant rural enclave. The purpose of this document is to provide a historic context as well as a framework to evaluate five Swedish properties for the National Register of Historic Places. These include the Gustav Lindstrom, C. P. Nelson, John Borg, C. Johnson and Peter Linden properties. Determinations of Eligibility were prepared for all five sites. The Anders Chellberg and the Peter Larson properties have previously been evaluated by the Indiana State Historic Preservation Office and have been determined eligible for the National Register. Because of their role in Baileytown, information on the Chellberg and Larson families will be mentioned throughout the text.

Each of the Baileytown Swede properties has a strong association with the area’s ethnic history. More Swedes lived in Porter County than any other county in Indiana from 1880-1900; the Baileytown area was not a typical urban area like nearby Porter or Chestertown, but a rural enclave where the residents were a close-knit group who worshipped, socialized and worked together. This context documents the role the Baileytown Swedes played in Westchester Township and the identity that the Baileytown Swedes created for themselves by retaining their ethnic customs for a longer period of time than other immigrant groups. Three properties are judged to be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A: Charles A. Johnson, C. P. Nelson (Sugar Bush) and Gust Lindstrom properties are significant because of their ethnic heritage and association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history in Westchester Township and Indiana. The Linden Cabin is eligible for the National Register under two criteria, C and D. The cabin is architecturally significant and clearly illustrates its “Swedishness” with its construction techniques. Since the cabin is currently covered with novelty and asbestos siding, it is difficult to actually see the details of the log craftsman’s work. Once some of the siding is removed, the intricate corner joining, and the hewn log work will become evident even though at the current time they are not visible. Therefore, the Linden cabin is also eligible Under Criterion D for its likelihood to

reveal information once the structure is partially exposed. Because the cabin was moved twice, Criteria Consideration B applies to the Linden cabin.<sup>1</sup>

Although this study is restricted to the evaluation of Swedish properties within Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, there are several extant properties outside the boundaries that were once key components of the Baileytown community. For example, worshippers attended Augsburg Church in Porter and many Baileytown Swedes are buried in the Augsburg cemetery. Others are buried in the cemetery along Oak Hill Road-sometimes referred to as the Burstrom Cemetery-located behind the Svenska Skola, or Swedish school. The Svenska Skola, also known as the Burstrom Chapel, was originally an outbuilding donated by prominent Swede Frederick Burstrom to the community for educational efforts. The building was used for both religious services and educational purposes and has a distinctive nineteenth century appearance that provides a link to the Swedish occupation of the area. Yet, the purpose of this study is to evaluate only those properties located within the boundaries of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.

The temporal parameters of the study, 1870 to 1941, are defined by two events: the settlement of the Swedes and the beginning of World War II. For the purpose of the context, material culture evidence begins in 1870 with the establishment of rural Swedish residences. The beginning of World War II and the accompanying industrialization of Porter County mark the end of an era. By the war years, agriculture was no longer a primary source of income for most of the Baileytown Swedes.

There are no exact boundaries for the Baileytown settlement. Generally the geographical boundaries for the contextual study of Baileytown consist of the area around the Little Calumet River where Joseph Bailly established a fur trading post. The study area involves parcels in Sections 26, 27, 28, 34 located in the vicinity of present day US Routes 12 and 20 and Howe, Mineral Springs and Wagner Roads. The Westchester Township plat map of 1895 indicates a preponderance of Swedish names in Sections 27 and 34.

## **Background**

The Swedish people who immigrated to America during the nineteenth century and settled in Baileytown were part of a substantial mass migration of Europeans. Conditions in Europe as well as American economic opportunities and other freedoms drew record numbers of immigrants who occupied American cities and rural areas. The number of immigrants increased substantially after the end of the Civil War in 1865. The Swedes were only one of several immigrant groups who chose to live in Baileytown, Porter and Chestertown, but the Swedish made a lasting imprint in terms of local history.

During the nineteenth century people left Sweden for different reasons. Some, such as those who founded Bishop Hill in Illinois in the 1840s, were motivated to leave due to religious intolerance in Sweden. Many of these earliest migrants were skilled workers or farm owners, members of the middle class in Sweden. As the century progressed, Sweden struggled with the effects of an economy that was slow to industrialize while the population was rapidly growing. Generally, Swedes first moved to larger industrial cities within their home country in search of employment opportunities, and then began to look towards America. Certain provinces in Sweden, especially Halland, Varmland, and Smaland, lost substantial numbers of residents during the last half of the nineteenth century. It is estimated that over 1.2 million Swedes emigrated to America between 1851 and 1930. The mass migration represented approximately twenty five percent of the population of Sweden in the late nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

After the end of the American Civil War, the pace and number of Swedish emigrants increased. Many of the Swedes who traveled to America in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, although literate, were landless rural or industrial workers who chose to move for economic reasons. A number of sources encouraged Swedes to emigrate. American transportation companies, both rail and steam, published and disseminated information while company representatives traveled to Sweden to recruit people. Both American and Swedish newspapers printed stories about life in America and its “rewards.” More compelling informants were letters or actual visits from friends and family members who had already settled in America.

During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, a large percentage of Swedes first traveled either to Minneapolis or Chicago. As a result, the states of Illinois and Minnesota had the largest number of Swedish-born residents. Many chose to stay in larger urban areas. By 1900, Chicago had more Swedish residents than any other city except Stockholm. It is estimated that one out of every ten Swedes who lived in America between 1890-1930 chose to live in the windy city. Chicago grew exponentially after the Civil War and the great fire of 1871. Many of the Swedish men worked in the construction trades while others labored in factories or meat packing plants. Some estimates indicate that by 1929, men of Swedish heritage had constructed thirty five percent of the buildings in Chicago. Single Swedish women were frequently employed as domestic servants, an occupation less lucrative than factory work but seen as more respectable. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, many single women chose to work in the industrial sector because they earned more money as factory workers and enjoyed more individual freedom. Some immigrants chose not to stay in cities and moved to smaller cities or rural areas to establish farms.<sup>3</sup>

Indiana's rich farmland drew settlers, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. By the time many of the Swedes arrived in Indiana and other parts of the Midwest in the second half of the century, a large percentage of the best farmland was already occupied. Northwest Indiana was an exception and was not an active farming area. The land in Porter, La Porte and Lake Counties was not particularly conducive to traditional crops. The sandy soil, interspersed with swamps, bogs, and sand dunes drew few settlers in the first half of the nineteenth century. Those Swedes who initially came chose logging timber as a means to make a living. Later Swedes relied on farming as well as the industrial sector to support themselves.

## **Baileytown**

The story of Baileytown begins with a French fur trapper, Joseph Bailly, who came to the region in the 1820s and established a fur trading post near the Little Calumet River. Although Bailly wasn't the only fur trader to explore the area and harvest beaver pelts, he is the person that is remembered locally as the most influential person in the settlement of the area. (Historic buildings associated with the Bailly family are interpreted by Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. The Bailly Homestead is a National Historic Landmark although none of the buildings from the fur trapper era remain; the site commemorates Bailly's role. Local school children continue to study fur trading and Joseph Bailly's role in the area.) Bailly had grand plans for the area and established his family at the trading post. He wanted to create a town in his own name. The "Town of Bailly" was officially platted and registered in the Porter County records during 1834, but the "town" itself was rural in character and never developed according to the idea of its founder. Joseph Bailly resided in the area for only a few years before he died in 1835, but his children and grandchildren continued to live in the area until the twentieth century and owned large parcels of land. Although originally platted as a town, Baileytown was most likely located in Section 27 in the vicinity of Joseph Bailly's fur trading post near the Little Calumet River. Some researchers have suggested that Baileytown was located in the southeast corner of Section 28 "where the stage road along the north branch of the Sauk Trail crossed the Calumet Beach Ridge road." For reasons unknown, the surname of Bailly and Baileytown are spelled slightly differently. <sup>4</sup>

What in essence became Baileytown in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was a rural settlement with Swedes and other residents located to the north of Porter and Chestertown. The Swedes who chose to live in Baileytown made a conscious decision to buy agricultural acreage instead of lots in town. Baileytown did not resemble an urban settlement in terms of the density of population but instead was characterized by scattered buildings, agricultural fields and woodlands. The area was interspersed by dirt byways including Oak Hill, Mineral Springs and Howe Roads.

Commercial establishments were not common in Baileytown but they were in Porter or Chestertown. In addition to stores, various types of manufacturing took place in the larger towns of Porter and Chestertown. The first brickyard opened in 1872 and was soon followed by others. The Chicago Hydrologic Brick Company of Porter was located very close to Baileytown and employed numerous Swedes. The Hillstrom Organ Company, owned by Swede C. O. Hillstrom, moved to Chesterton from Chicago in 1880. The Baileytown Swedes relied on Chestertown and Porter for groceries, building supplies, the local newspaper and medical assistance; there were links that connected the Baileytown Swedes to those in Porter and Chestertown and those links were commerce, jobs, religious and social activities.

Oral tradition indicates that Joel Wicker, son-in-law of Joseph Bailly, recruited Swedes to harvest lumber and work at the sawmill he established in Westchester Township, Porter County, near Baileytown in the 1840s-1850s. This area was also known as “Slab City” because the log remnants, leftovers from logging, were used to construct crude buildings. Local stories indicate that Swedish-American Joseph Asp traveled to Chicago to assist Wicker with recruitment efforts, so at mid century Swedes came to Baileytown to work for Wicker. A visiting Swedish minister, Reverend Eric Norelius, recorded his memories of the Baileytown Swedes as “penniless workers who came from Chicago and found work in the woods and in tree cutting around the sawmill in Baileytown.”<sup>5</sup>

Early character observations of the Baileytown Swedes were not positive when one visiting clergyman noted around 1855, there is “a good deal of apathy [regarding spiritual matters] about Baileytown’s Swedes and not a small number loved the bottle.” To serve the local population, the original Augsburg church was located in Baileytown, in a former store. In 1864, the congregation constructed a church located approximately one mile away in Porter.<sup>6</sup>

Augsburg Lutheran Church, established in 1858, held religious services in the Swedish language until the late 1920s. It is believed that Augsburg retained the tradition of Swedish language services longer than others in the Augustana Synod. (The Augustana Synod was a Midwestern regional assembly of Evangelical Lutheran Churches with congregations in parts of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and other states.) Beginning in 1885, Augsburg Church sponsored Swedish language classes designed for children but open to anyone; that tradition continued until 1912. These classes took place at a building known as the Svenska Skola or the church itself or the pastor’s parlor. Generally the Augsburg Church Pastor taught religious lessons in Swedish as part of the language school. The lessons lasted for several weeks each summer and consisted of information on Swedish culture, history and geography as well as the Bible.<sup>7</sup>

Local Swedish churches used the Swedish language and actively promoted the retention of culture. According to older Baileytown residents, the church was the heart of their social world; social activities sponsored by the church as well as the services themselves reinforced a sense of Swedish culture.

Augsburg began adding English to their Sunday school curriculum and an occasional English sermon to the Sunday service in twentieth century. Irene Johnson Nelson, born in 1910, was in the 1924 class of confirmands; she and a female friend chose to answer religious confirmation questions using the native language of her parents while the boys in the class chose to use the English language. The class of 1915 confirmands were the last class to be solely instructed and questioned in Swedish. <sup>8</sup>

The complete transition from Swedish to English during Sunday services was problematic. A pastor resigned as the language change symbolized a rejection of the traditional manner of church business. According to researcher Wendy Ann Buckley, “The reaction of the congregation was more severe and the violence in the church, fights, throwing of hymnals was simply beyond what was happening in most churches (Augustana Synod) facing the language transition. To this day members of the parish are embarrassed by this period of the church’s history. Miss Margaret Larson calls it a ‘dark blot’ on Augsburg.” World War I and its resultant patriotism may also have influenced the church in its decision to adopt English for services. After church services were delivered in English, occasionally hymn and favorite prayers were said in Swedish on special occasions. <sup>9</sup>

In 1923, the word ‘Swedish’ was dropped from the official name of the Augsburg Church in Porter. The Augustana Synod itself officially adopted the English language in 1931 after years of struggle with the role that the language played in the church. <sup>10</sup> The Swedish population of the area grew significantly so another Swedish Lutheran congregation was formed, Bethel Evangelical Lutheran, in Chesterton in 1879. They constructed a church around 1909. To serve the spiritual needs of Methodists, the Swedish Methodist Church was established in Chesterton in 1879.

In the U. S. Commerce Department’s population census records from 1870, 1880 and 1900, occupations for male Swedes living in Westchester Township included: brick maker, brick layer, railroad laborer, organ tuner, organ polisher, organ maker, farmer, carpenter, painter, tailor, cigar maker, shoe maker, harness maker, undertaker and day laborer. The census listed far fewer occupations for women and most were listed as either “keeping house” or “domestic servant.”

As a result of the local employment opportunities, the number of Swedish residents of Westchester Township as well as Porter County continued to rise during the last part of the nineteenth century. Porter County had the largest percentage of Swedish-born residents in the state, 21.5 per cent, in 1890. By 1900, due to industrial opportunities found in La Porte, Lake and Porter Counties, the majority of Swedes in the state, approximately 44 per cent, were clustered in those counties.

US Population Census Data: Porter County, Indiana

	Porter County	Indiana
1870	561 Swedes & Norwegians	2303 Swedes & Norwegians
1880	812 Swedes & Norwegians	3303 Swedes & Norwegians
1890	974 Swedes	4512 Swedes
1900	712 Swedes	4673 Swedes
1910	636 Swedes	5081 Swedes
1920	596 Swedes	4942 Swedes
1930	473 Swedes	4666 Swedes
1940	382 Swedes	3565 Swedes <sup>11</sup>

The Baileytown Swedes were part of a larger community of Swedish immigrants. Although they lived outside of the towns of Porter and Chesterton, they worked and worshipped with Swedes and others from the Calumet region. Their lives included frequent contact with friends and relatives living in Chicago. The windy city provided an important cultural outlet for the Swedish community, many who lived in Swede-Town. Some of the Baileytown Swedes subscribed to the Swedish newspaper from Chicago. Occasionally articles in the *Chesterton Tribune*, the local newspaper, were written in Swedish.

The Baileytown Swedes formed a community, a rural enclave, which had a separate identity from the Swedes in the adjacent towns. Newspaper articles in the *Chesterton Tribune* differentiated between the Chesterton and the Baileytown Swedes. This practice was important because the Lutheran churches in Chesterton and Baileytown had separate locations for their celebrations. Noted in the paper were the Baileytown Swedes' celebrations of Midsummer's Eve, the Fourth of July and Christmas. The July 8<sup>th</sup> 1904 issue of the *Chesterton Tribune* described the Fourth of July celebration on the front page of the paper. The story indicated that over 1500 people attended the event that included addresses by Lutheran pastors in Swedish and English. There was singing, debating and, of course, refreshments. The article said both "dinner and supper were served" and the congregation earned about \$175. The festivities took place at Samuelson's Grove, a frequent place for picnics.<sup>12</sup>

Notices in the paper specifically mentioned if a speech was delivered in English in addition to Swedish. During special services, such as the dedication of the new Baileytown Lutheran Church, the services were to be held in Swedish by one minister and a sermon delivered in English by another minister. There was a section entitled “Neighborhood News” in the paper where information “from the various towns and villages of Porter County” was described and Baileytown was listed as one of those entities. The paper consistently mentioned details about the Swedish singing and debating societies.<sup>13</sup>

Life in Baileytown involved substantial interaction among the Swedes living there. During the seasonal harvest of grains, the Swedes went to other farms to assist each other. Bob Wahl, grandson of Gust Lindstrom, worked so hard helping Bill Nelson during the harvest that he succumbed to heat stroke in the hay loft of the Sugar Bush barn. Wahl recovered but fondly remembered the Swedish families helping each other with agricultural tasks and then eating afterwards. The Baileytown Swedes worked together in other ways by making “Swedish” cheese at the Larsons or at the church each fall (mentioned in *Chesterton Tribune*). Women assisted each other with childcare. Mrs. Wahl, the daughter-in-law of Gust Lindstrom, watched the Larson twins. Margaret Larson, Peter Larson’s daughter, taught many of the children such as Irene Nelson at the Baileytown Elementary School. Irene Nelson’s husband Oscar built sidewalks and the sugar shack for the Chellbergs during the 1930s. William Linden, Peter Linden’s son, leased agricultural land from Peter Larson. Intermarriage among the Baileytown Swedes was common since they worshipped and went to school together. For example, Alfred Borg, John Borg’s son, married Emily Chellberg, the daughter of Anders Chellberg. Alfred Borg led one of the singing societies. Mrs. William Linden’s sister married into the Chellberg family.<sup>14</sup>

During the holidays, the Swedes assembled to socialize by singing, dancing and telling ghost stories. Walter Chellberg said in a 1979 interview, “We celebrated Christmas and Easter like other Lutherans.” The Swedes opened their presents on Christmas Eve. Oral histories indicate that most Baileytown Swedes rose early in the morning on December 25, drank coffee, ate buns and went to a special early morning church service, Julotta. According to Margaret Larson, the Christmas celebration lasted for twelve days after Christmas day and the Swedes spent time drinking glogg and eating Swedish delicacies with other members of the Baileytown community.<sup>15</sup>

A Swedish celebration that is becoming increasingly popular in the United States today is St. Lucia Day, held in December. There are St. Lucia celebrations held at the Chellberg Farm as part of the National Park Service’s interpretive program. The traditional celebration, which originated in Sweden in the nineteenth century, included young girls



who wore a crown of candles on their head as a celebration of light in the dark winter months. In Sweden, the girls circulated through schools and towns and visited friends enjoying refreshments along the way to commemorate the bravery of St. Lucia. A 1979 oral history with Naomi Chellberg, granddaughter of Anders, indicated that she was familiar with the St Lucia custom; “I used to get up and fix the coffee, but I never walked around with any candles.” According to folklorist Larry Danielson, St. Lucia celebrations are part of a broader ethnic revival that occurred to commemorate Swedish culture. Danielson, a Swedish-American who grew up in Lindsborg, Kansas noted a broad increase in Lucia celebrations throughout the United States during the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>16</sup>

The preparation of traditional foods reinforced the Swedish culture at Baileytown. The food component of Swedish culture has been a continuous link to the original Baileytown Swedes. Three generations of Hokansons owned a meat market and eventually a grocery store in Chesterton; an oral history with Virgil Hokanson in 1992 mentioned that his family sold thousands of pounds of potato sausage for the holidays. His family retained the traditional sausage making activity through the 1990s as a family get-together although the grocery store is long gone. The Chellbergs grew rye for their bread called limpa. The Swedes made oostkaka, a cheese mixture that becomes like a pudding. Oral histories indicate that the Swedes reputedly loved fish, including lutfisk, and parsnips. Until recently Irene Nelson, Charles Johnson’s daughter, offered Swedish pepparkor cookies to her guests; Mrs. Nelson used the recipe that her Swedish-born Mother gave her. Mrs. Nelson kindly shared her recipe with the Friends of the Lakeshore, a non-profit organization established to assist the Indiana Dunes. Since some of the descendents of the Baileytown Swedes were still alive when research began on this context, they shared important cultural information that could not be found in published historical sources. A combination of language, religious traditions, social activities, especially those sponsored by the churches, holiday and community celebrations helped Baileytown maintain its identity as a rural Swedish enclave.<sup>17</sup>

## **Assimilation Questions**

The adaptation of individual ethnic groups to America is a complicated task and many variables affect the assimilation process. Frequently the manner in which a group assimilated pertains to the time they arrived, their ethnic group, their location (rural vs. urban) and the number of other immigrants residing in the vicinity. Immigration historian Marcus Lee Hansen, founder of immigration history, developed a theory of acculturation during the 1930s. A simplified version of his theory follows a well-recognized explanation of acculturation: the first generation struggles in the new land and retains some cultural aspects from their country of origin as they strive to perpetuate their language, customs, relationships; the second generation regards such manifestations of

tradition as embarrassing obstacles to being accepted as full-fledged Americans and rejects some of their parent's culture and may not be fluent in their language; the third generation undergoes a change, and becomes interested in their heritage and tends to revitalize the past. Hansen's theory was well accepted over the years but academics have discovered that there are complex, non uniform responses to acculturation.<sup>18</sup>

Scholars have found that assimilation happens more quickly to individuals if they are alone and do not reside within a group of people of the same ethnicity. There were enough Swedes in Baileytown to maintain certain elements of Swedish culture such as language and religion. At work, and in the markets of Porter and Chesterton, in spite of the fact that many merchants were Swedes, the Baileytown Swedes probably learned some English and certainly adopted some American customs as discussed in the architecture section.

Some Swedish families in Baileytown ensured the retention of language by sending their children to the Swedish language school, others did not. Attitudes toward Swedish culture within a family were not necessarily consistent. Although the oldest Larson girls, Margaret and Agnes, were sent to the Svenska Skola, the younger five children were not. Their brother Fritz Larson, who was eleven years younger than Margaret, said, "I was not brought up as a Swede." The only time Fritz learned the Swedish language was during holiday celebrations at church and he relied upon his parents to explain the stories to him. His parents only spoke Swedish at home when they wanted to conceal the meaning of their conversation. Interestingly, Margaret Larson was in many ways the "keeper" of local Baileytown Swedish culture and was instrumental in implementing Swedish activities at the Chellberg Farm-in contrast to her younger brother. Many issues influenced how and when various Baileytown Swede families became acculturated to America; the challenge of adapting to a new country was complicated and varied from family to family.<sup>19</sup>

The 1960s heralded the establishment of a broad cultural movement that examined ethnicity and heritage issues, leading to a renewed interest in the exploration of ethnic roots. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Swedish heritage of Baileytown was researched and discussed within the Duneland Historical Society and other groups; that revival in Swedish culture survives to this day. Commemorations of Swedish heritage sometimes take place at the Lakeshore's historic Chellberg Farm. In reviving and celebrating Baileytown's Swedish heritage, Swedish rural traditions as well as those associated with the urban environs of Chicago are utilized by the Lakeshore.

## **Chicago, the Stockholm of North America**

By the time the “White City” of the Chicago Exposition in 1893 was unveiled to a curious public, the city had become the second largest urban area in the United States. That same year, Chicago was home to more Swedes than any other city in the world except Stockholm. Like a phoenix, Chicago recovered from the 1871 fire and grew significantly as an industrial center that was served by a growing immigrant population. There were numerous ethnic groups that arrived to work in the windy city. Although there was “Swede Town” on the near north side, Swedes also lived on the south and west sides as well. They tended to live in enclaves until about 1880 and then, as the city and their numbers grew, the Swedes started to disperse throughout the city and eventually to the suburbs. By 1890, Swedish immigrants and their children were the third largest ethnic group in the city, only Germans and the Irish outnumbered them.<sup>20</sup>

In adapting to a new land, it was important for the Swedish immigrants to be able to read publications in their native language; various Swedish newspapers and magazines were published in Chicago and distributed throughout the Midwest. The Chicago Swedes developed an extensive system of voluntary associations some of which were mutual aid societies that helped Swedes establish themselves. Professional groups organized to assist certain occupational groups such as Swedish civil engineers. Churches played a key role in the social life of many Swedes. In addition to their religious institutions, the Swedes formed traditional groups organized around singing and debating; they also formed social clubs that focused upon their cultural heritage. The Svenska Teatersällskapet was an immensely popular Swedish theater company who served the community for years. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chicago became a mecca for Swedish-American intellectuals.<sup>21</sup>

The Swedes of Baileytown traveled to Chicago to take advantage of the cultural and social opportunities. Irene Johnson Nelson met her future husband at a theater performance in Chicago. They also, on occasion, sought more sophisticated medical treatment there. When Margaret Larson injured her hip as a young child, her Father took her to a hospital in Chicago for treatment where she stayed for several weeks. Traveling the forty-five miles to Chicago from Baileytown was not a problem; there was a train station in Chesterton before 1908 and the South Shore Railroad started serving Baileytown in 1908. The fact that Baileytown was not an isolated rural hamlet but an area with available rural land close to a major metropolitan area and smaller towns, must have made it attractive to the Swedes who settled there.<sup>22</sup>

## Agriculture

Residents of Baileytown depended on nearby Porter and Chesterton, as well as the railroads, for necessary supplies and other amenities. By 1880, Baileytown was a rural enclave with dispersed residents and few commercial enterprises. Although many Swedes and other non-Swedish Baileytown residents owned land that was listed as a “farm” in agricultural census records, the marginal nature of the soil forced farmers to pursue additional income at the brickyards or other local factories. For example, Anders Chellberg worked occasionally at a brickyard to supplement his income as did other Baileytown men who listed their occupation as ‘farmer’ in the population censuses. Since land in Sweden was scarce by the second half of the nineteenth century, it is assumed that the Baileytown Swedes relished the opportunity to own land in the United States. Some Swedes such as Anders Chellberg, John Borg, C.P. Nelson, Gust Lindstrom and Peter Lindeen purchased rural acreage for subsistence farming. Others residents, such as Peter Larson and Charles Johnson, more recent émigrés from Sweden, never considered themselves farmers although they owned land and had agricultural outbuildings on their properties; Larson was employed in construction work while Johnson worked for the railroad.<sup>23</sup>

The soil, only two miles from Lake Michigan, is traversed by sand ridges and sloughs and was problematic for farmers. One person interviewed said that C.P. Nelson, owner of Sugar Bush Farm had “Lousy, lousy land for his farm.” Although wild strawberries, huckleberries and cranberries grew abundantly, it was harder for farmers to successfully grow typical crops such as wheat. One can speculate on the use of the word ‘farm’ in official records and its meaning to Baileytown Swedes. Some of the “farms” listed in the agricultural censuses had less than ten acres of tilled land. Perhaps any property with more than two or three acres in a rural area was considered a farm.<sup>24</sup>

The 1870 Agricultural Census listed Baileytown Swedes Gust Lindstrom and Peter Linden. Linden’s farm included ten acres of improved or tilled land and ninety acres of “other unimproved land.” Lindstrom cultivated less, with only six acres of improved land and twenty acres of unimproved land. These farms were generally smaller than most in the 1870 Agricultural Census. Records indicate that Lindstrom was just beginning to farm and did not own significant amounts of land or livestock. In 1869, Linden produced ten tons of hay and 300 pounds of butter. He was the more prosperous farmer and owned two horses, three milch (sic) cows and two swine.<sup>25</sup>

Agricultural statistics from 1880 for each state and county utilized information collected in the individual agricultural census. There were 1,793 farms in Porter County in 1880

and their average size was 128 acres. All of the Baileytown Swedes included within this study owned less than the county average. Non-statistical evaluation of the Swedish sounding names located in Westchester Township indicates that the Baileytown Swedes were typical, most Swedes owned less than 100 acres of land. According to the *Statistics of Agriculture* compiled by the Department of Commerce in 1880, 418 Porter County farms were between twenty and fifty acres in size while 520 farms were between fifty and one hundred acres. Most of the county's farms, 707, were over 100 and under 500 acres. By 1880, Lindstrom had increased the size of his farm from twenty six to forty acres of improved land. Lindeen still owned ninety acres and Chellberg owned fifty five. Statistically the Baileytown Swedes were not huge land owners in 1880. <sup>26</sup>

In 1879, Porter County produced over 666,000 gallons of "milk sold, or sent to butter and cheese factories in 1879" more than any other Indiana county. Allen County had more milch (sic) cows but Porter County was shipping more milk products, probably to Chicago, for processing. Of the Baileytown Swedes that are mentioned in the 1880 agricultural census, Anders Chellberg owned one cow and Lindstrom owned two. Instead of being large milk producers, Lindstrom, Linden and Chellberg planted Indian corn, wheat, hay and Irish potatoes. Lindstrom and Linden planted rye while Chellberg planted oats. It appears that Lindstrom may have sold eggs; his farm produced over 150 dozen eggs. Linden and Chellberg sold butter instead. The actual value of their farms, including the land, fences and buildings, was comparable. Lindstrom's farm was highest in value at \$1900, Chellberg's farm was valued at \$1600 and Linden's farm was appraised at \$1500. <sup>27</sup>

According to an annual report written by State Geologist W. S. Blatchely in 1897, the prairie regions of Lake and Porter Counties produced timothy hay in substantial quantities; among Indiana Counties they ranked second and third respectively. The hay was shipped to Chicago. Next to hay, the most valuable farm product for Lake and Porter Counties in 1896 was milk; Lake ranked third in production while Porter ranked fifth among Indiana Counties. The trains that crisscrossed each county made shipping daily to Chicago a regular activity. He also wrote, "Much of the sand-covered area of the two counties, now considered waste land, will be found to be admirably adapted to raising of small fruits and certain vegetables. Wherein wild berries and wild grapes grow luxuriantly, there with a little care, can tame ones be successfully cultivated." <sup>28</sup>

Individual agricultural census records are not available after 1880 so comparisons among the Swedes can not be made. Statistics analyzing Porter County's production are available. From 1900 to 1930 the *Statistics of Agriculture* do not indicate a dramatic change in the number of Porter County farms or their size. Many more counties began producing large quantities of milk products so Porter County was no longer first. In the early part of the century, the Larsons and the Johnsons grew and sold their own

vegetables, eggs, and butter to tourists as well as to locals. They harvested large quantities of berries and sold them as well. Without local industries offering employment, the families of Baileytown could not have survived on what they grew.<sup>29</sup>

## **Architecture**

Over the years the communities of Porter and Chesterton expanded while Baileytown did not. Steel mills occupied the Lake Michigan shoreline in areas near Burns Harbor after 1900 and the landscape of the area continued to change with the increased population. United States Steel established a huge steel plant in Gary in 1908 that accelerated the pace of industrialization. By the time the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore was authorized by Congress in 1966, there had been losses to the architectural fabric of Baileytown. Yet within a small radius of the Lakeshore's headquarters several Swedish properties remained, some still occupied in 1970 by the descendents of the original Swedish families (Chellberg, Lindstrom, Johnson). These people offered significant insights into the culture of the Swedish occupants of Baileytown.

The Swedes had an interesting dichotomy within their local culture. Although their religious services and private celebrations retained strong cultural traditions, the Swedes' public face, their architecture, generally was different. The Swedes quickly embraced fashionable middle class architecture popularized in American publications and pattern books for domestic architecture. They covered their log cabins with novelty siding (Johnson, Lindstrom and Linden) and utilized house types that typified the period. Among the properties, there are common threads that draw the settlement together. Baileytown's historic Swedish buildings are vernacular; some began as handcrafted buildings while others were solely the products of pattern books. The log cabins relied on construction techniques passed along verbally through the years, while magazines, books and catalogues inspired other buildings. Baileytown's historic architecture includes domestic and agricultural buildings.

Some of the buildings are examples of folk architecture especially in the intricate log cabin construction found in the Linden and Johnson properties. Of all the buildings belonging to the Baileytown Swedes, the Linden cabin exhibits its cultural origins in the most straightforward manner. In spite of its dilapidated condition, the Linden is the most "Swedish" of all the historic Lakeshore buildings. The form as well as the construction techniques, evident in the loft, are visible in the Linden cabin unlike the other two log cabins.

Architecturally the Linden and Johnson houses began as log buildings in the form of hall and parlor structures; it is assumed that the Lindstrom house also began in the same form,

but at the moment, this assumption cannot be tested because of the additions to the house. (The Lindstrom house encapsulated an earlier log cabin.) The U.S. Department of Commerce's population censuses in 1870 and 1880 for Westchester Township occasionally lists the occupation "house carpenter" but the name of the log craftsmen who built the Baileytown Swedish structures remains anonymous.

All of the following building techniques offer evidence that the craftsmen who built the Linden and Johnson cabins were probably Scandinavian. Scholars from diverse disciplines such as historical landscape architecture, cultural geography and folklore have evaluated log building techniques and identified similar construction techniques among Scandinavians and in some cases among the Swedes themselves. In the Linden and Johnson cabins a shallow V channel was inserted into the bottom of each log so minimal chinking was necessary to make the building weather tight. The V channel also assisted in stabilizing the log wall. Cultural geographer Allen Noble identifies this technique as Fenno-Scandinavian. The V channel is readily viewed in the loft of the Linden cabin and Irene Johnson Nelson has a log piece, excavated by a furnace repairman from her log wall, that illustrates the same wide V channel.<sup>30</sup>

Swedish Scholar Lena A Palmquist studied log architecture in a predominately Swedish area in Minnesota, Chisago and Kandiyohi Counties. She compared the Minnesota log buildings to those in Sweden and found examples of where the building techniques were easily transported between continents. Palmquist discovered that the Swedish builders in Minnesota used dovetail corner notching as they did in Sweden. Additionally, in both Sweden and Minnesota, the logs were hewn on four sides when dovetail corner notching was utilized. In the case of the Linden and Johnson log cabins, hewn oak logs were carefully joined at the corners, indicating that the craftsman was highly skilled due to the challenge of working with hardwood oak logs. Oak is incredibly difficult to work with and requires extra skill. Although the joining on the Johnson cabin is hidden, the notching technique used in the Linden cabin appears to be either half or full dovetail notching. (Currently siding covers the exterior of the Linden cabin and only a small portion of the cabin was temporarily viewed.) According to Palmquist, log cabin construction in Sweden and Minnesota was similar but not identical; for example, in the wooded areas of Sweden chinking was generally not used as it was in Minnesota. Chinking was found on the Linden cabin when the siding was removed.<sup>31</sup>

The Baileytown log cabin builder continued construction of the walls up to the eve line in a traditional Scandinavian manner unlike Germanic log construction. Professor Arnold Alanen identified this technique, as well as all the previously mentioned construction details, as a Scandinavian form of building. The continued use of logs to the roof is visible in the loft of the Linden cabin.<sup>32</sup>

Novelty siding now covers the exteriors of the Johnson, Linden and Lindstrom/Wahl cabins; the wood siding applied on top of the logs offered an ordered and regular surface appearance to the buildings. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was a common American practice to cover log cabins with siding once the owner could afford the construction materials. Therefore, the Swedes were following American architectural tradition by obscuring the logs and applying the siding.<sup>33</sup>

The Chellberg barn with its heavy timber frame, pinned mortise and tenon joints and hand-crafted beams may indicate the barn has folk origins although it is similar to others throughout the Midwest. The Nelson barn located across the road was supposedly quite similar to the Chellberg although somewhat smaller.<sup>34</sup>

There are common architectural themes among the houses belonging to the Nelson, Chellberg and Borg families. All three houses are extraordinarily similar and are located within one quarter mile of each other. The houses were built within eight years of each other. The buildings are attributed to A.

J. Lindquist, a local Swedish builder and farmer. He utilized a very popular house form of the upper Midwest known as a gabled ell or an upright wing. According to art historian Fred Peterson who surveyed house types in four upper Midwestern states, the gabled ell was the most common house type constructed in the upper Midwest during the 1880s. An example from an 1882 issue of the *American Agriculturalist* illustrates a sketch and floor plan for a gabled ell. All three Swede houses are balloon frame structures with a brick veneer. They are not particularly large and are characterized by small kitchens, which for the time were mechanized. There was a large parlor in each but a limited number of bedrooms. Each had a porch with slightly decorative porch posts and fretwork accented the top of the porch. One can speculate as to why all three families chose the same house type constructed with the same type of brick. Perhaps Lindquist suggested the gabled ell to the Swedes and was selected as the builder because of his native tongue. The Borg, Nelson and Chellberg families indicated their fashion consciousness and their ability to afford a house that other Americans embraced when they decided to build a gabled ell.<sup>35</sup>

The Peter Larson family also chose a popular house type of the period when they purchased a 'modern suburban' home from the Sears, Roebuck and Company. Although the Swedish women gathered in the Larson kitchen to make traditional Swedish cheese, the house's exterior appearance visible on Howe Road indicated their familiarity with the most popular house types of the early twentieth century. Peter Larson was so busy working in Chicago, in spite of his profession as a carpenter, he hired someone to build his house with the Sears plans and materials. According to Margaret Larson, the arrival of



two railroad cars from Sears filled with building materials for the Larsons generated excitement in Baileytown. No one else in Baileytown had a Sears, Roebuck house at that time and it was considered to be quite prestigious. The Larson house, finished in 1910, had some of the same features as the gabled ells located along Mineral Springs Road. It had a formal parlor, large front porch and restrained exterior decoration. The Larson house is a balloon frame structure with wood siding, unlike the gabled ells which were balloon frame structures with brick veneer.<sup>36</sup>

The barn at the Larson property looks as if it is straight from a pattern book or catalogue although its exact origins are unknown. Several companies sold agricultural buildings including Sears, Roebuck. Agricultural extension offices circulated specialized plans for various types of agricultural buildings including barns, chicken houses, dairy barns and abodes for swine. None of the other outbuildings associated with the Baileytown Swede properties exhibit this type of “from a book” appearance.

All of the construction materials utilized in the buildings were readily obtained locally. Many of the out-buildings were constructed by their owners and have a utilitarian quality. The most complete collection of buildings is found at Charles Johnson’s (Irene Nelson’s) property along Route 12 while the Linden cabin is the sole remnant from Peter Linden’s occupation. The only building considered to be architecturally significant is the Linden cabin, the others are considered to be historically significant using National Register Criterion A. The strong ethnic community of Baileytown is an important part of Westchester Township’s evolution.

## **Conclusion**

The Swedes were not the only ethnic group to settle in Westchester Township during the last half of the nineteenth century, the heyday of northern European immigration; Germans and the Irish were mentioned in the Chesterton Tribune and identified in the population census. Many Swedes chose to live in the urban areas, but the decision of some Swedes to live outside Chesterton and Porter and to purchase land were decisions that ultimately set the Baileytown Swedes apart from others in the township. Newspaper articles and community announcements identified Baileytown as an entity separate from Porter or Chestertown. The closely knit rural agricultural community was linked by the Swedes who lived, worked and worshipped together. They formed a community that encouraged the retention of their Swedish language and culture. Generations of Baileytown Swedes stayed in the immediate area. When Naomi Chellberg Studebaker was asked during an oral history in November 1979 about what should be conveyed to children who visit the Chellberg Farm she responded, “Well tell them we had a happy life. I can’t remember a sad thing about it. We had joy to see the things that grew there and how they progressed. I can’t remember anything unhappy about it.”<sup>37</sup>

## **Associated Property Types**

**Property Type:** Baileytown Swede Properties located within Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. **Subtype:** Houses, outbuildings, acreage

## **Description**

The Baileytown Swede property type is defined by its association with the rural enclave of Baileytown in Westchester Township (1870-1941). Each property consists of a residence and surrounding acreage and/or associated outbuildings. The surrounding acres, houses and outbuildings are spatially connected but the land is physically and functionally distinct from the structures and is therefore considered a subtype. The houses are divided into two subtypes depending on the origin of their design: those designed in a popular manner contrasted with those built in a traditional or folk manner. The Swedish houses were constructed between 1870 and 1910.

Some, but not all, of the properties have associated outbuildings. The outbuildings, including the ones at the Chellberg Farm, date from the late 1870s to 1937. The outbuildings fall into three subtypes: utilitarian, popular and folk. The vast majority of outbuildings can be described as utilitarian but there are a few examples of folk and popular subtypes. Among the outbuildings, four summer kitchens still remain; the Swedes chose to cook and eat outside during the hot Indiana summers and constructed separate buildings for that activity.

Vegetation, especially mature second and third growth trees, tends to define the boundaries of each property along with the township's paved roads. Each of the Swedish properties is located along roads that have existed since the mid-nineteenth century. The houses face the road and each property has a driveway that provides access. Swedish property yards tend to include a mix of mature shade trees and shrubbery, remnant fruit trees, flower and vegetable gardens, and more recent individual plantings indicative of current owner's intentions. Other features representative of long-term use include wells, pumps, fences, root cellars, privies, and cisterns.

The majority of Swedish properties that remain within the Lakeshore are located close to the park's headquarters on Mineral Springs Road. The area is located approximately two miles from the southern shore of Lake Michigan. The C. A. Johnson property along Route 12 is separated from the others near park headquarters and is only about one and a quarter miles away.

*Houses.* The houses associated with the Baileytown Swedes can be divided into two categories-folk and popular. The important criterion for determining whether a house is folk or popular relates to where the form or design originated. In popular houses, the design or overall appearance of the house originated outside the Swedish community in a commercial setting. Most of the Swedish houses are popular in origin. Folk houses are built based upon knowledge passed verbally from craftsman to craftsman. The division between folk and popular architecture, both considered vernacular, is an arbitrary one. (The Vernacular Architecture Forum (VAF), a professional organization, takes a lead role in defining vernacular architecture in the cultural resource profession. The VAF web site says, “Scholars and field professionals now apply the term “vernacular architecture” to traditional domestic and agricultural buildings, industrial and commercial structures, twentieth-century suburban houses, settlement patterns and cultural landscapes.” Vernacular architecture is conceived of as everyday or ordinary architecture.) There are houses that combine elements of both folk and popular architecture. For example, the Lindstrom house began as log cabin ca. 1870 but was substantially enlarged and given a suburban house appearance around 1910. The houses date from 1870 to 1910. Within this study the earliest houses began as log cabins.<sup>38</sup>

*Houses: Popular.* Builders and architects have offered the lay person as well as architectural professionals assistance since the time of Vitruvius. As a result of the Industrial Revolution, the manufacturing of paper and transportation of goods became significantly less expensive so the number of books and journals that offered house and commercial designs grew phenomenally in the last half of the nineteenth century. Newspapers, magazines and books published house designs illustrating the basic appearance of the building and its floor plan. Mail order architectural firms flourished, such as George Barber of Tennessee, who altered plans to fit his clients’ needs. Agricultural extension agents in some states distributed plans. By the early twentieth century, the plans as well as the construction materials could be purchased from suppliers like Sears, Roebuck or Montgomery Wards. Sears even offered suggestions on interior design and furnishings.

The Baileytown Swedes illustrated their success in adapting to America by constructing houses that were fashionable at the time. Gabled ell houses, found at the Borg, Chellberg and Nelson properties, were constructed within eight years of each other and were exceedingly popular in the upper Midwest during the 1880s and 1890s. Instead of creating a house that reminded them of Sweden, the Baileytown Swedes adapted their lifestyle to the interior arrangement of spaces in the gabled ells. The houses are each attributed to the same local Swedish farmer and builder, A. J. Lindquist. At the current time, it is not known where Lindquist obtained the design or plans.

When Peter Larson decided to build a house for his expanding family in 1908, he chose a firm located in Chicago, Sears and Roebuck. Larson chose a plan entitled the *Silverdale* that closely resembles many suburban houses of the period. He also ordered all the construction materials from Sears and they arrived in two railcars. A local carpenter erected the house with a few changes from the original Silverdale plan. The house is situated on the lot to ensure a large front yard and a setting far enough from Howe Road to catch the eye. The Larsons took the procurement of a popular house type one step further than the Borgs, Chellbergs and Nelsons by ordering construction materials and the plans from a commercial establishment.

Further down Howe Road, the Lindstroms decided to substantially enlarge their residence. They incorporated the original log cabin, ca. 1870, into their new house. They chose a design that was popular during the period and had certain similarities to the Larson house. The Lindstroms created a house with porches, an upper story, a front facing gable and few decorative elements. Although the origin of the design is unknown, the Lindstrom's suburban house type was common in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

All of the popular houses were visible from the road and the Baileytown Swedes, who were located relatively close together, could easily visit their neighbors. The walk to church in Porter was not lengthy, only about one mile.

*Houses: Folk.* Folk houses sometimes fall into easily recognizable forms established by scholars. There are numerous forms but some are more common such as hall and parlor, I-houses, shotgun or central hall plans. Two cabins of the Baileytown residences easily communicate their original form. The Linden cabin without its rear addition is a prototype for a hall and parlor house. The two room house has a sleeping loft above the main floor. The hall and parlor form itself has European origins and was brought to North America and utilized in many different locations. The design or form for the house was transferred from one generation to the next in a traditional manner. So were the construction techniques. Constructing a log cabin with oak logs, a V channel and intricate corner notching required special skills that are normally associated with Scandinavian craftsmen. The Linden cabin appears to have full dovetail notching, a method of joining the walls that is particularly sophisticated and strong. The Linden's logs are hewn and a broad channel was cut into the bottom of each log so it fit tightly against the next log. The logs were stacked to the roof in a typically Scandinavian manner as previously discussed in the architecture section. Although the Linden cabin has an addition and is in poor condition, in the loft and underneath the siding it communicates its European origins unlike any other building in Baileytown. If the asphalt and novelty siding were removed, then the Scandinavian construction techniques would be readily apparent.

The Johnson house also started as a hall and parlor cabin. Casual observation from the exterior indicated its origins. Further research, measurements and discussions with the owner confirmed that the house was originally a hall and parlor cabin. A chunk of log taken out by a furnace installer, who had great difficulty removing the piece because the oak log was so hard, illustrates the skill of a log craftsman with the V channel on the bottom of the log. Mrs. Nelson, daughter of Charles Johnson, kept the piece of log. When the Johnsons decided to enlarge their house around 1910, they constructed a wing on the back of the house and added bedrooms in the upper half story. Unlike the Lindstrom or the Larsons, the exterior of the Johnson house has the appearance of a folk structure; it does not look as if the Johnsons were expanding their house in a manner to illustrate that they embraced American culture. The house does not resemble a suburban house of the period and the interior floor plan still has the hall and parlor in the front of the house.

Both the Johnsons and the Lindens did cover their log cabin with siding which helped to insulate the houses in winter and gave the buildings a more uniform exterior appearance. Additionally the siding helped to preserve the log structure of the building by covering it. This treatment of log buildings is very common throughout the United States.

*Outbuildings: Utilitarian.* The outbuildings associated with the Baileytown Swedes generally are simple structures built for a specific function. These buildings played key roles in the lives of the Swedes. These out buildings include barns, outhouses, sheds, chicken coops and windmills. They all were constructed in a straightforward manner and utilized wood construction materials that could be obtained easily. Some of the buildings have foundations, most do not. Many have asphalt shingle roofs but some have roll roofing. Their designs or forms are not particularly distinctive and are neither folk nor popular in origin. The four summer kitchens, two located at the Johnson, one at the Lindstrom and one at the Larson properties, are utilitarian in appearance but also have a purpose associated with Swedish culture-cooking outside the main house in hot weather. When the summer kitchen was no longer used at the Lindstrom property, it was moved to the rear of the main house and provided a small addition to the house.

*Outbuildings: Popular.* The barn at the Larson property has the appearance of a pattern book or catalogue building. Not only is its appearance that identifies this building as popular, but its small size makes it appear more like a stable. Because of the location and number of the doors, the barn appears less functional than other barns in Baileytown.

*Outbuildings: Folk.* The Chellberg barn, built ca. 1878, has folk origins. The construction techniques with the hand hewn beams and mortise and tendon joints indicate that the building has antecedents in Europe.

## *Surrounding Acreage: Written by Geoffrey Burt*

### **Significance**

The Baileytown Swedes' earliest residences (Linden, Johnson, Lindstrom) are reminiscent of log building techniques utilized in Scandinavia and the Linden and Johnson houses are strong examples of folk architecture. As the Swedes continued to settle in the area and their influence grew in both Chestertown and Baileytown, they soon chose to construct some of the most popular American types of buildings of the era. The Nelson, Lindstrom, Larson, Chellberg and Borg houses all have designs that were conceived in a commercial manner to meet their social and physical needs. While embracing American architectural fashion, they continued to form a strong knit rural Swedish enclave by retaining their language in church and at social events. They reinforced their Swedish customs by performing tasks as a community such as making cheese at the Larsons or at church. Their holiday celebrations at church, their singing and debating societies, also reinforced Swedish culture. Because of their association with a strong ethnic heritage, the properties are eligible for the National Register because of their "association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns" to the local history of Westchester Township and Porter County which is the Register's Criterion A. Each property is representative of that period of immigration and adaptation to a new environment. The period of significance starts with the earliest settlers in 1870 and ends in 1941 with the tremendous industrialization that occurred in Porter County due to the war.

The Linden cabin is architecturally significant, using the National Register's Criterion C, because of its Scandinavian construction techniques. The cabin's construction indicates it has strong Swedish antecedents. The hewn logs joined with dovetail notching is a highly sophisticated task for a log craftsman. The V channel, crafted in the Fenno Scandinavian tradition on the bottom of the logs, ensures a tight fit between the logs. Narrow chinking is another indication of the building's ethnic origins. The log walls were built to the roof line in a Scandinavian method. The overall form of the original cabin is hall and parlor, a traditional European form brought to North America by northern Europeans. Because of its ready associations with the Baileytown Swedes, the cabin is quite unusual, if not rare in northern Indiana. The Linden Cabin is close to the Lakeshore's headquarters and is adjacent to the Bailly family cemetery.

The Linden cabin is also eligible for the Register for its potential to yield further information, Criterion D. Once the asphalt siding is removed, along with the rear addition, the cabin will be enhanced physically and will illustrate the fine craftsmanship of the early log builder. Some of the log construction techniques are evident in the upstairs loft as well as in the basement.

Criteria Consideration B, “a building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value,” is applicable to the Linden Cabin. The Linden cabin was moved from its original location on the north side of Route 12 most likely due to the arrival of the South Shore Railroad and the establishment of the Baileytown Station. It was relocated to the corner of Route 12 and Mineral Springs Road and was adjacent to other houses that are now gone. Around 1938, the descendants of Peter Linden, the Lawsons, moved the cabin a second time up to the top of a sand dune less than one eighth of a mile away. In considering integrity issues, the cabin has always remained close to Route 12 and Mineral Springs Road, within the rural enclave of Baileytown and the same general sandy setting. The hall and parlor portion of the cabin, the log portion, is in better condition than the addition that was completed after the first move.

## **Registration Requirements**

As specified in federal regulations and National Register Bulletins, a property must possess integrity and significance to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. For the purposes of the National Register, integrity is defined by seven aspects: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. Each Baileytown Swedish property: the residences, outbuildings, and surrounding acres, and any other property discovered and surveyed in the future, must have sufficient integrity and significance in terms of its ethnic heritage and/or its architecture to be deemed eligible for the National Register.

The Baileytown Swedes’ properties are identified by their location within the rural enclave of Baileytown in Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana; for the purposes of this study, all are located within the boundaries of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. The period of significance, 1870-1941, provides further parameters for registration requirements. A property had to be occupied by a Swedish individual or family during the period of significance. The documentation on the property must provide sufficient evidence of occupation by Baileytown Swedes during the period of significance. Each property has strong associational qualities with the ethnic heritage of the Baileytown Swedes for the property to be eligible to the National Register under Criterion A. If Criterion A did not apply to the property, additional Criteria, C and D,

were utilized. A property may possess outstanding significance in vernacular architecture (Criteria C) or may have the potential to yield information in the future (Criteria D) about Scandinavian construction techniques. All three criteria may be appropriate for other properties that may be surveyed in the future.

## **Geographical Data**

All of the properties in this multiple property group are within the boundaries of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, located in Porter County in northwest Indiana.

## **Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**

### **Methodology:**

Cultural resource personnel from the Midwest Regional Office of the National Park Service along with resource specialists from Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, surveyed the Swedish properties as part of the List of Classified Structures and Cultural Landscape Inventory programs. In 1994, the Midwest Regional Office of the National Park Service sent a survey team to Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore to prepare the initial List of Classified Structures (LCS) for properties in the Lakeshore. The survey team consisted of several cultural resource professionals including Architectural Historian Dena Sanford, Historical Landscape Architect Sherda Williams, and Historical Architect Ellyn Goldkind. Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Historian Dori Partsch shared research information with the LCS team. Members of the Midwest Regional Office LCS team continued the work in 1995-96 and were assisted by Historical Landscape Architect Brenda Williams. After completing the initial survey and evaluation field work, a list titled "Historic Properties Summary" was prepared in 1996 that identified all structures that would be further evaluated because they met the age requirement and seemed to have some integrity. In mid 1994, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore staff became more actively involved with the survey process and hired additional cultural resource management personnel to continue the evaluation work begun by the regional office as part of the LCS program.

Historians Dori Partsch and Janice Slupski, who began working for the Lakeshore in 1994, identified themes as the basis for historic contexts to evaluate properties within the Lakeshore: transportation/industry/commerce developments, agricultural/settlement developments, state park development and conservation, recreational/residential development of the dunes, and artists of the dunes. Ms. Slupski wrote several contexts



and prepared determinations of eligibility (DOEs) for several different types of resources but no additional work was done on the Baileytown Swedes. Regional office Architectural Historian Eileen Starr, a member of the LCS team, began primary and secondary research on the Swedes. It was necessary to perform additional survey work at Indiana Dunes for the evaluation of the Baileytown properties. In 2001, representatives of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore cultural resources staff and Ms. Starr met with the Indiana SHPO to discuss a number of eligibility issues pertaining to the residential structures at Porter Beach and Beverly Shores as well as the Swedish resources in the park. The SHPO recommended preparing a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) to assist in the evaluation process of the Swedish properties.

Over the years, information concerning the Chellberg family was collected from a variety of sources including numerous oral histories with relatives and friends. Fortunately recent studies of the landscape and structures, by Brenda Williams and Amanda Holmes, have offered detailed analysis and expanded understanding of the Chellbergs and their life at the farm. Amanda Holmes wrote a very detailed HABS report on the Chellberg Farm that was completed in the late 1990s. Her work in transcribing numerous oral histories from the 1970s and 1980s was a an incredible act of generosity and helped to preserve valuable information for the future. She also completed additional oral history interviews with local informants and transcribed those interviews. Brenda Williams working for Quinn Evans prepared the *Cultural Landscape Report* for the Chellberg Farm in March 2000. These documents provide strong documentary evidence of the Chellbergs' lives and are invaluable resources for the Lakeshore. It became apparent as the project progressed that information on the Chellberg farm was abundant while information on the remaining six Baileytown properties was scant.

Historian David McMahon in 1993 evaluated the role of ethnicity in his study of religion of the Baileytown Swedes and the retention of Swedish culture. His study emphasizes the role of the Swedish Lutheran Church in the lives of nineteenth and twentieth century Baileytown Swedes. McMahon's intelligent study assisted in the discussion of Baileytown but additional research was needed to answer property-specific questions about the structures and the families who built them. Research was necessary to document broader issues concerning the Swedes, their material culture and the role ethnicity played in their lives.

A research design identifying geographical boundaries and temporal boundaries was created. Ultimately the objective was to collect enough information on history, architecture, and folk culture on the Baileytown Swedes so that National Register documentation could be prepared. In doing that, certain questions had to be answered. What were the acculturation and assimilation issues as they related to material culture?

Were there examples of ethnic architecture or landscapes? Was Baileytown a typical or unusual ethnic enclave? Were the Swedes successful full time farmers? Did the local Swedes have and maintain Chicago connections?

A variety of primary and secondary sources were consulted to investigate the history and architecture of the Baileytown Swedish community. Research took place in Porter County as well as Indianapolis. In the Porter County Courthouse Assessor's Office, plat maps, deeds and transfer books were consulted. The Indiana State Archives and the Genealogy Division houses United States population and agricultural census records on microfilm for Indiana. Other primary sources at the Indiana Archives such as agricultural reports written in the 1890s help document what crops were grown in Porter County during the period. The USDA Office at Purdue University graciously provided copies of agricultural statistics for Indiana based on the United States Census taken in 1880 through 1930.

Research was conducted and Augsburg Evangelical Lutheran Church records were consulted. Wendy Ann Buckley's study of church records highlighted the challenge the church experienced during its language transition. Remarkably, four individuals of Swedish descent who grew up in Baileytown still lived in the area and graciously answered numerous questions; interviewing Irene Nelson, Margaret and Fritz Larson, and Bob Wahl about their families' properties was incredibly helpful and was the high point of the study. Chesterton resident Eva Hopkins, who has done extensive genealogical and cemetery research on Swedish families, was also very informative.

Indiana, Chicago and Calumet histories, architectural history, and folklore texts were some of the secondary sources that provided data for the context. A complete list is found in the bibliography.

In terms of evaluating and documenting the cultural landscape, interest in the Larson property began early. In 1992-93, the field test phase of the nationwide Cultural Landscapes Inventory Program (CLI) was initiated. As part of this effort, an historical landscape architect with the National Park Service, Midwest Regional Office, conducted a preliminary survey of the Larson property. The CLI is an evaluated inventory of all cultural landscapes having historical significance, in which the National Park Service (NPS) has or plans to acquire legal interest. Information compiled during this landscape reconnaissance survey was used to determine which landscapes at Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (INDU) were potentially eligible and retained sufficient integrity, and would ultimately be evaluated as part of a more detailed inventory. An updated survey of the Larson property was conducted in November 2001, by Eileen Starr and Historical Landscape Architect Geoffrey Burt in conjunction with the DOE effort and to

provide additional information to the park. Further survey and documentation of the Linden, Johnson, Nelson, Lindstrom and Borg properties took place by Mr. Burt and Ms. Starr. Their objective was to produce Determinations of Eligibility (DOE) that simultaneously evaluated structures and landscapes; this was a new approach for the LCS and CLI programs within the Midwest Regional Office. Ultimately six DOEs were produced in addition to the MPDF.

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Alan H. Windquist “Scandinavians” in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, Robert M. Taylor Jr. and Connie A. McBirney, Editors (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996): 476-496

<sup>2</sup> Stephan Thernstrom, Editor, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980): 971-973.

<sup>3</sup> Windquist *Peopling*, 481. Thernstrom, *Harvard Encyclopedia*, 975.

<sup>4</sup> The topic of the exact location of Baileytown generates spirited debate among the locals and Park Service interpreters. According to some informants, and perhaps the most logical explanation, Baileytown was located between Joseph Bailly’s homestead and the current town of Burns Harbor in the vicinity of Route 12. Margaret Larson in her memoirs offers a slightly different explanation. Researchers Sarah G. Cook and Robert Jackson in an unpublished manuscript ( p. 36) *The Bailly Area of Porter County, Indiana: The Final Report of a Geo-historical Study Undertaken on Behalf of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore* use Frances Howe, Joseph Bailly’s granddaughter’s, *The Story of a French Homestead in the Old Northwest*, written in 1907 as their source of information. Due to its rural character and its lack of success as a town, the exact location of Baileytown will probably remain speculative.

<sup>5</sup> Windquist, *Peopling*, 481.

<sup>6</sup> Windquist, *Peopling*, 481.

<sup>7</sup> Wendy Ann Buckley, “The Language of Transition in the Augustana Synod: One Church’s Experience.” 9-17. unpublished manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> Buckley, “Language in Transition,” 13.

<sup>9</sup> Buckley, “Language in Transition,” 23.

<sup>10</sup> Buckley, “Language in Transition,” 23

<sup>11</sup> Taylor and McBirney, *Peopling*, extrapolated from Appendix #2.

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<sup>12</sup> *Chesterton Tribune* July 8, 1904, page 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Chesterton Tribune* April 12, 1901, 4:2.

<sup>14</sup> One of the richest sources for information on the Swedish Baileytown are the residents and their descendents. Personal or telephone discussions with Irene Johnson Nelson (Interview with E. Starr, 2001, 2002), Bob Wahl (Interview with E Starr March 12, 2002), Margaret Larson (Interview with E. Starr May 2002) and Fritz Larson (Telephone interview December 2001), Olgie Lawson (Telephone interview and correspondence w/ E. Starr March 2002), Eva Hopkins (Telephone interview summer 2001), and Henry Studebaker (Telephone interview fall 2001) provided a valuable sense of the rural life in Baileytown. Over the years, oral histories were collected from a variety of residents; some were transcribed, many were not until historian Amanda Holmes wrote her HABS report on the Chellberg Farm in 1998. This collection of oral history transcripts resides in the collection at the Lakeshore and is a goldmine of information. The following are a list of the individuals who supplied information for this paragraph: William Ahrendt (no interviewer listed) March 20, 1979; Walter and Helen Chellberg (no interviewer listed) March 26, 1979; Naomi Chellberg Studebaker (interviewers not identified) February 17, 1979; Naomi Chellberg Studebaker (no interviewer identified) July 6, 1978; Naomi Chellberg Studebaker (no interviewer identified) August 11, 1975. Naomi Chellberg Studebaker (no interviewer identified) October 1979; Naomi Chellberg Studebaker (no interviewer listed) November 26, 1979. Although other oral histories were conducted over the years in conjunction with research on the Chellberg Farm, the preceding list identifies those that the author found most helpful.  
*Chesterton Tribune* Oct. 14, 1904 4:2.

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Larson, *Memoirs of Old Baileytown "Plus."* Private Printing 1998. Oral histories and interviews as listed in previous note.

<sup>16</sup> Naomi Chellberg Studebaker (no interviewer identified) St. Lucia information, October 1979 pages 9, 10. Larry Danielson, "St. Lucia in Lindsborg, Kansas" in *Creative Thnicity: Symbols and Strategies of contemporary Ethnic Life*. Edited by Stephen Sterna and John A. Cicala. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991: 187-202.

<sup>17</sup> Oral histories and intervivevs as listed in xiii.

<sup>18</sup> Marcus Lee Hansen. *The Immigrant in American History*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948.

<sup>19</sup> Fritz Larson (Telephone Interview with Eileen Starr) December 13, 2001.

<sup>20</sup> Anita R. Olson, "The Community Created: Chicago Swedes 1880-1920" in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago: Cultural and Urban Aspects of an Immigrant People, 1850-1930* edited by Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck. Urbana and Chicago: University of

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Illinois Press, 1992: 49-59. Lars Furuland, "From Vermlandingarne to Slavarna pa Molokstorp: Swedish-American Ethnic Theater in Chicago" in *Swedish American Life in Chicago*: 133-149.

<sup>21</sup> Anita Olson in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*: 49-59; Lars Furuland in *Swedish American Life in Chicago*: 133-149; Sten Carlsson, "Swedish Engineers in Chicago" in *Swedish American Life in Chicago*: 181.

<sup>22</sup> Interviews with Irene Nelson and Margaret Larson.

<sup>23</sup> Occupational information was obtained from population censuses as well as oral histories and personal interviews.

<sup>24</sup> Naomi Chellberg Studebaker Oral History.

<sup>25</sup> U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau Of Census, *Ninth Federal Census of Agriculture*, 1870 for Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana.

<sup>26</sup> U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Tenth Federal Census of Agriculture*, 1880. Westchester Township, Porter County, Indiana. *Statistics of Agriculture*. Table V. Number and Size of Farms with Average Size and Classification According to Tenure by Counties, 1880; *Statistics of Agriculture*, Table VII-Farm Areas and Farm Values by Counties: 1880. Obtained from the U. S. Dept of Agriculture at Purdue University, IN.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> W. S. Blatcheley, State Geologist. "Indiana Dept. of Geology and Natural Resources Twenty Second Annual Report." Indianapolis: Wm B. Burford, 1898. Located at Indiana State Archives in Indianapolis. 68.

<sup>29</sup> *Statistics of Agriculture*. 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1925, 1930. Tables sometimes given different names but contain similar comparative data. Obtained from the U. S. Dept of Agriculture at Purdue University, Indiana. Oral Histories with Larson family members.

<sup>30</sup> Allen Noble, *Wood, Brick and Stone: the North American Settlement Landscape, Volume 1: Houses*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984:121-122.

<sup>31</sup> Lena A:son Palmquist, "Buildings on Swedish-American Farms in Two Minnesota Communities." *Swedish American Historical Quarterly*. 38 (Jan. 1987):13-28.

<sup>32</sup> Arnold Alanen, correspondence with Eileen Starr, Spring 2002.

<sup>33</sup> Warren Roberts, *Log Buildings of Southern Indiana*. Bloomington, Indiana: Trickster Press, 1984: 75-86.

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<sup>34</sup> Allen Noble and Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, "The Farm Barns of the Midwest" in *Barns of the Midwest*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1995:1-20. Interview with Bob Wahl, March 12, 2002.

<sup>35</sup> Fred W. Peterson, *Homes in the Heartland: Balloon Frame Farmhouses in the Upper Midwest 1850-1920*. University Press of Kansas, 1992: 121.

<sup>36</sup> Margaret Larson, *Memoirs*: 45.

<sup>37</sup> Naomi Chellberg Studebaker oral history, November 26, 1979: 36.

<sup>38</sup> Vernacular Architecture Forum web site: [www.vernaculararchitectureforum.org](http://www.vernaculararchitectureforum.org)

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