

Introduction

The Problem and the Method

Abraham Lincoln's first annual message to Congress was conveyed with excitement on the front pages of the Scandinavian-American press.¹ Questions surrounding civil war, military service, and slavery set the agenda for *Emigranten* (the Emigrant) and *Hemlandet* (the Homeland), and their intimate connection to issues of citizenship and American empire were revealed by the president's words on December 3, 1861.²

"Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives," the president began.³ Due to the "factious domestic division," the United States was exposed to a "disrespect abroad."⁴ One strong nation, Lincoln explained, would ensure a more "durable peace" and "reliable commerce" than would that "same nation broken into hostile fragments."⁵ Now that Civil War was upon the United States, however, the president recommended Congress' consideration of a series of war-time legislation.⁶

Mindful of avoiding the term "slavery," Lincoln explicitly addressed the fate of enslaved people. As "the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and services of certain other persons" had "become forfeited" due to the Confiscation Act of August 8, 1861, formerly enslaved people in the

¹ "Præsidentens Budskab [The President's Message]," *Emigranten*, December 9, 1861; "Præsidentens Budskap [The President's Message]," *Hemlandet*, December 11, 1861.

² "Washington," *Emigranten*, December 2, 1861; "The Proceedings of Congress," *New York Times*, December 4, 1861.

³ Abraham Lincoln, "First Annual Message" (online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/first-annual-message-9, 1861).

⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*

insurgent states would have “to be provided for in some way,” Lincoln specified.⁷

To this end, the president proposed that steps toward colonization – the settlement of Black Americans outside the nation’s borders – be taken.⁸ It “may be well to consider, too,” Lincoln added, “whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.”⁹ To realize colonization plans, acquisition of territory and “appropriation of money” would be necessary: “If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here.”¹⁰

Lincoln’s First Message to Congress, arguing for acquisition of land and funding to remove people of African descent to “a climate congenial to them,” revealed important aspects of his administration’s ideas about white citizenship and empire through expansion. Lincoln’s renewed call for colonization built on political ideas stretching back decades, despite Black people’s opposition and search for alternatives.¹¹

In a developing American empire, “ruled in the interests of white people,” nonwhites were, as Steven Hahn reminds us, forced to “leave or submit.”¹² Debates over colonization and acquisition of territory therefore became closely related “intellectually and politically, as well as chronologically.”¹³ The white supremacist ideology underpinning colonization also justified territorial expansion on the North American continent.¹⁴

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. For a discussion of colonization, see Eric Foner, “Lincoln and Colonization,” in *Our Lincoln*, ed. Eric Foner (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 136. Also Sebastian N. Page, *Black Resettlement and the American Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 1–9.

⁹ Lincoln, “First Annual Message.” ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Manisha Sinha, *The Slave’s Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 163–171; Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic: Black and White Virginians in the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 64.

¹² Steven Hahn, *A Nation without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830–1910* (New York: Viking, 2016), 45.

¹³ Ibid. Also Natalie Joy, “The Indian’s Cause: Abolitionists and Native American Rights,” *Journal of the Civil War Era* 8, no. 2 (2018): 215–216. According to Joy, the anti-slavery movement drew important inspiration from opposition to dispossession of American Indians.

¹⁴ Foner, “Lincoln and Colonization,” 137; Michael J. Douma and Anders Bo Rasmussen, “The Danish St Croix Project: Revisiting the Lincoln Colonization Program with Foreign-Language Sources,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 15, no. 3 (2014):

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Lincoln's call for territorial acquisition to ensure "one strong nation" was an idea widely shared among intellectuals and politicians in the nineteenth century and one clearly expressed by influential German-born economist Friedrich List, who was shaped "in a profound way" by his experience in the United States between 1825 and 1830.¹⁵

List emphasized the need to secure "a large population and an extensive territory endowed with manifold natural resources," due to the belief that expansion was needed to establish a healthy nation (and, one might add, empire).¹⁶ The perceived importance of population growth and territorial expansion – what Eric Hobsbawm has called the *threshold principle* – helped guide policy in the mid-nineteenth-century United States as well as in Europe.¹⁷ According to Hobsbawm, nations had to engage in *Grossstaatenbildung* (large state building) or at least maintain a threshold of a "sufficient size" in order to preserve their "historical justification."¹⁸ The alternative, a descent into *Kleinstaaterei* (a "system of mini-states"), was seen as a sure path to foreign domination or annihilation.¹⁹

8–10; Stephen Kantrowitz, "White Supremacy, Settler Colonialism, and the Two Citizenship of the Fourteenth Amendment," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 10, no. 1 (2020): 32, 39–40. As Kantrowitz notes, "the history of settler-colonialism has unfolded in close and complicated relationship with the history of white supremacy with regard to African Americans. The histories are not the same, but they cannot be disentangled from each other."

¹⁵ Gregor Thum, "Seapower and Frontier Settlement: Friedrich List's American Vision for Germany," in *German and United States Colonialism in a Connected World: Entangled Empires*, ed. Janne Lahti (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 18; Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 29; William Notz, "Frederick List in America," *American Economic Review* 16, no. 2 (1926): 260.

¹⁶ Quoted in Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 30–32. My definition of "empire" is inspired by Paul Frymer, who points out that building an expanding nineteenth-century "American empire" was "a project of population control and settlement" with land policy as a central instrument, based on the premise that being American "meant to be white." See Paul Frymer, *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 11, 21–22.

¹⁷ Lincoln, "First Annual Message," 31; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*; Rasmus Glenthøj, "Pan-Scandinavism and the Threshold Principle?," in *A History of the European Restorations: Governments, States and Monarchy*, ed. Michael Broers and Ambrogio Caiani (Bloomsbury Academic, 2019). I am grateful to my colleague Rasmus Glenthøj for sharing his ideas on Hobsbawm and "the threshold principle" with me.

¹⁸ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 30–35.

¹⁹ Ibid.

The importance of a large population had been pointed out at least since Adam Smith's 1776 claim that the "most decisive mark of the prosperity of any country is the increase of the number of its inhabitants."²⁰ As an example, J. David Hacker's argument that "eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political observers equated rapid population growth with economic and political strength" was clearly expressed in the 1850 US census.²¹ The census pointed to an increase in the US population (over five million "whites" between 1840 and 1850) and directly compared its numbers to European powers such as the more populated Great Britain (less than one million people added between 1841 and 1851).²²

Additionally, the republic's "territorial extent" was now "three times as large as the whole of France, Britain, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, together" and was "of equal extent with the Roman empire, or that of Alexander."²³

Indeed, ideas of territorial and population expansion, in Hobsbawm's words, "seemed too obvious to require argument" for nineteenth-century policymakers.²⁴ Still, in his first annual message to Congress, Lincoln expressed pride in the nation's population growth and concluded his address with the prediction that some Americans alive in 1861 would "live to see" the Union "contain 250,000,000" (if it could be preserved).²⁵

In the decades leading up to the Civil War, several ascending and established American politicians either directly or indirectly articulated their belief in the threshold principle.²⁶ In an 1844 speech entitled "Elements of Empire in America," William Seward, the future Republican secretary of state, laid out the themes of nonwhite subjugation

²⁰ James R. Otteson, ed., *Adam Smith: Selected Philosophical Writings* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004), 119.

²¹ J. David Hacker, "New Estimates of Census Coverage in the United States, 1850–1930," *Social Science History* 37, no. 1 (2013): 75.

²² *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), xxxi–xxxiv.

²³ Ibid., xxix; Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen, *Danske i USA 1850–2000. En Demografisk, Social Og Kulturgeografisk Undersøgelse Af De Danske Immigranter Og Deres Efterkommere* [Danes in the United States 1850–2000: A Demographic, Social and Cultural Geographic Study of the Danish Immigrants and Their Descendants] (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2005), 67.

²⁴ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 30; Glenthøj, "Pan-Scandinivism and the Threshold Principle?," 4.

²⁵ Lincoln, "First Annual Message."

²⁶ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 29.

and expansion when he argued that “expansive territory inseparably belongs to the idea of National Greatness.”²⁷ The following year, James K. Polk took office with an Inaugural Address celebrating the new states “admitted,” the territories created, the population expanded, and the “title of numerous Indian tribes to vast tracts of land” extinguished.²⁸

Moreover, in his first Senate speech in 1850, Seward expressed the view that white Europeans, what he called “the ruling homogeneous family planted at first on the Atlantic shore,” was destined to spread “itself westward” through continued population growth.²⁹ Speaking in Saint Paul, Minnesota, an increasingly attractive locality for Scandinavian immigrants, a decade later Seward explicitly mentioned American expansion north, west, and south as part of a crosscontinent national project and reiterated the idea that “this is the land for the white man.”³⁰ Seward, along with Wisconsin Senator James Doolittle, who spoke of “the great national policy which is to control this continent,” also welcomed annexation of Cuba if slavery was abolished.³¹

As it turned out, the deep-seated belief in continued territorial expansion, and the underlying issue of slavery, was a central cause of the Civil War.³²

²⁷ Quoted in Richard H. Immerman, *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 8–11, 106. Immerman notes, “Even as they annihilated or forcibly relocated Native Americans, executed foreign nationals, and conquered territories,” Americans generally perceived empire positively. See also Frymer, *Building an American Empire: the Era of Territorial and Political Expansion*, 12–15.

²⁸ James K. Polk, “Inaugural Address” (online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-30,1845).

²⁹ Quoted in Immerman, *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz*, 112. Seward also expressed the view that the “African race” and “the aborigines, savage and civilized” were incapable of assimilation and thus articulated his and many white contemporaries’ view of territorial and population expansion.

³⁰ George E. Baker, ed., *The Works of William H. Seward*, vol. 4 (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), 333–334. Seward’s speech made such an impression on Swedish-born Hans Mattson that he explicitly mentioned it in his memoirs thirty years later. See Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences: The Story of an Emigrant* (Saint Paul, MN: D. D. Merrill Company, 1891), 56.

³¹ Quoted in Gregory P. Downs, *The Second American Revolution: The Civil War–Era Struggle over Cuba and the Rebirth of the American Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 87. For leading Republican politicians’ support of colonization, see Page, *Black Resettlement and the American Civil War*, 104–114.

³² James Oakes, *Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861–1865* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2013), 78–80; Steven E. Woodworth, *Manifest Destinies: America’s Westward Expansion and the Road to Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2010), 341–358. See also James M. McPherson, “Two Irreconcilable

Fiercely opposed to slavery's expansion but willing to accept slavery's temporary survival inside a "cordon" of freedom, leading Republican politicians in the Civil War era supported an expanding white man's republic.³³

Still, when South Carolina's leaders voted to secede from the Union on December 20, 1860, their decision threatened an American decline toward *Kleinstaaterei*.³⁴ Such fears were articulated by Seward on January 12, 1861, when he warned the Senate of a looming "momenteous and disastrous revolution" that imperiled an "empire" that had grown to "thirty-three parts" and "no less than thirty million inhabitants."³⁵ Seward's trepidations proved prescient as other states soon followed South Carolina's lead. By February 1861, representatives from seven southern states were meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, to form a new nation, and two months later four more joined the Confederate States of America.

Peoples'? Ethnic Nationalism in the Confederacy," in *The Civil War as Global Conflict: Transnational Meanings of the American Civil War*, ed. David T. Gleeson and Simon Lewis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), 89; Stephen Kantrowitz, *More Than Freedom: Fighting for Black Citizenship in a White Republic, 1829–1889* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012), 176–180. See also Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 14–15. In a speech to the Confederate Congress on April 29, 1861, President Jefferson Davis emphasized the Republican Party's threatening position regarding slaveowners' access to the territories as a central reason why "the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced." Also, in his so-called "Cornerstone Speech," Confederate vice president Alexander Stephens in March 1861 described the issue of slavery as the "immediate cause" of secession. See Alexander H. Stephens, "'Corner-Stone' Speech, March 21, 1861," in Brooks D. Simpson, Stephen W. Sears, and Aaron Sheehan-Dean, eds., *The Civil War: The First Year Told by Those Who Lived It* (New York: Library of America, 2011), 226.

³³ Oakes, *Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861–1865*, 42. George Julian, Owen Lovejoy, and Richard Yates, among other Republican politicians, supported homestead legislation in the 1850s. See Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 29, 236. See also Roy P. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, vol. 4 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 203. See as well Hahn, *A Nation without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830–1910*, 196–197, 284.

³⁴ Lincoln, "First Annual Message."

³⁵ John C. Rives, ed., *The Congressional Globe: Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the Second Session of the Thirty-Sixth Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Globe Office, 1861), 39; Kantrowitz, "White Supremacy, Settler Colonialism, and the Two Citizenships of the Fourteenth Amendment," 39–40.

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If states could break away from the Union this easily, then the possibility existed that, in Steven Hahn's words, "the United States might unravel in a variety of ways and leave the North American continent awash in potentially rivalrous states and confederations."³⁶

Scandinavian-born men and women, even if unfamiliar with List's work or Republican oratory, proved receptive to ideas of territorial and (white) population expansion based on free labor, as they generally associated American citizenship with the liberty and equality embodied in landownership but downplayed the violence toward American Indians involved in landtaking.

Consequently, the two main strands of Hobsbawm's threshold principle – the need to attract "a large population and an extensive territory" – coupled with an exploration of citizenship's malleable meaning to Scandinavian immigrants constitute the foundation for the following chapters.³⁷

By analyzing eastern political decision-making and western settlement experience – meaning the chronological, intellectual, and political connections between national policies of an American imperial project and their concrete ramifications at the local level – this book details the lived community experience and worldview among Scandinavian-American immigrants.

These transnational connections are significant in order to understand Civil War-era politics at both the ideological and social levels, and the story that unfolds therefore heeds recent calls to combine "micro-historical work in the archives [with] macro-historical frameworks."³⁸ As an example, foreign-born immigrants resisting military service in their communities took up so much energy in the American Department of State that Ella Lonn later wondered how Secretary of State Seward "had time to attend to any other duties"?³⁹

³⁶ Hahn, *A Nation without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830–1910*, 228.

³⁷ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 30.

³⁸ Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 121. See also Susannah J. Ural, ed., *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 1–8. Also David T. Gleeson and Simon Lewis, "Introduction," in *The Civil War as Global Conflict: Transnational Meanings of the American Civil War*, ed. David T. Gleeson and Simon Lewis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014).

³⁹ Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 469–70.

Civil War Settlers thus contributes to American nineteenth-century historiography along transnational, ethnic, and racial dimensions. First, the book nuances the immigrant populations' role in the Republican Party's Civil War-era coalition. In the existing literature, German and Irish immigrants have taken center stage due to their larger share of the population. However, their experience and at least partial attraction to the Democratic Party does not generally represent European immigrants because of differences in religious background, language, settlement patterns, and Old World history.⁴⁰

Second, despite more than 20 percent of the Union army claiming foreign-born roots, the ethnic aspect of the Civil War has only recently attracted wider scholarly attention.⁴¹ The scrutiny of

⁴⁰ See for example Susannah Ural Bruce, *The Harp and The Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 47; Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 12. Though leading clergymen of the Norwegian Synod, inspired by the German Missouri Synod, argued that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible, their congregations were largely anti-slavery during the Civil War. Brynjar Haraldso, *Slaveridebatten i Den Norske Synode: En Undersøkelse Av Slaveridebatten i Den Norske Synode i USA i 1860-Årene Med Særlig Vekt På Debattens Kirkelig-Teologiske Aspekter* [*The Slavery Debate in the Norwegian Synod: A Study of the Slavery Debate in the Norwegian Synod in the United States During the 1860s Emphasizing the Debate's Church-Theological Aspects*] (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1988), 68–71.

⁴¹ For a valuable overview of the “imperial” trajectory in Civil War-era studies of immigration, see Alison Clark Efford, “Civil War-Era Immigration and the Imperial United States,” *Journal of the Civil War Era* 10, no. 2 (2020): 233–253. Other recent studies of Civil War era immigration include Paul Quigley, ed., *The Civil War and the Transformation of American Citizenship* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2018); Ryan W. Keating, *Shades of Green: Irish Regiments, American Soldiers, and Local Communities in the Civil War Era* (Fordham University Press, 2017); Kristen Layne Anderson, *Abolitionizing Missouri: German Immigrants and Racial Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016); David T. Gleeson and Simon Lewis, eds., *The Civil War as Global Conflict: The Transnational Meanings of the American Civil War* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014); Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Don H. Doyle, *Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2013); David Armitage et al., “Interchange: Nationalism and Internationalism in the Era of the Civil War,” *Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (2011): 455–489; Ural, *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict*; Christian G. Samito, *Becoming American under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship During the Civil War Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Bruce, *The Harp and The Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861–1865*; Dean Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom: Europeans in Civil War America* (Washington, DC: Brassey's Incorporated,

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Scandinavian-American immigrants' ideology adds to a growing body of research examining the evolving definitions of American citizenship and the way citizenship was used to construct, challenge, or maintain racial hierarchies and political power in the Civil War era.

Third, this book contributes to the English-language scholarship of Scandinavian-American immigration where Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish writers have frequently sought to accentuate narrow ethnic and national contributions to American history, not least in terms of patriotism and civic contributions, despite significant evidence of necessary pan-Scandinavian cultural and political cooperation in the years surrounding the Civil War.⁴² This study recalibrates those claims to show that many Scandinavian-born immigrants, often publicly embracing a common Scandinavian identity, were reluctant to accept the citizenship duty of military service and after emancipation remained reluctant to embrace equal citizen rights for freedpeople.⁴³

Lastly, the Scandinavian scholarly contribution to American historiography has mainly been focused inwardly on the Scandinavian communities, while immigrants' encounters with other ethnic groups have taken a back seat. As Gunlög Fur has pointed out, "settlement and [Indian] removal is rarely discussed in the same context, and in most immigration history, these processes remain unconnected."⁴⁴ Building on Fur and other contemporary Scandinavian American historians, this study redirects the historiographical focus in order to emphasize Scandinavian

2002); William Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers – The Union's Ethnic Regiments*, 2nd ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998).

⁴² For a discussion of ethnic categories ascribed to Scandinavian-Americans and the reason they must be studied collectively in the Civil War era, see Jørn Brøndal and Dag Blanck, "The Concept of Being Scandinavian-American," *American Studies in Scandinavia* 34, no. 2 (2002): 4–13; Anders Bo Rasmussen, "Drawn Together in a Blood Brotherhood: Civic Nationalism amongst Scandinavian Immigrants in the American Civil War Crucible," *American Studies in Scandinavia* 48, no. 2 (2016): 8–13.

⁴³ See for example, Waldemar Ager, *Oberst Heg Og Hans Gutter [Colonel Heg and His Boys]* (Eau Claire, WI: Fremad Publishing Company, 1916); Theodore C. Blegen, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Colonel Hans Christian Heg* (Northfield, MN: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936); Nels Hokanson, *Swedish Immigrants in Lincoln's Time*, reprint ed., Scandinavians in America (New York: Arno Press, 1979); Peter Sørensen Vig, *Danske i Krig i Og for Amerika [Danes Fighting in and for America]* (Omaha, NE: Axel H. Andersen, 1917).

⁴⁴ Gunlög Fur, "Indians and Immigrants – Entangled Histories," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 33, no. 3 (2014): 55–56.

collaboration, encounters, and entanglements with other ethnic groups as these interactions became increasingly important in the Civil War era.⁴⁵

Thus, inspired by Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur's effort to investigate "precisely how the changes that rippled out from the Civil War did – and did not – echo in people's lives and communities," the book is guided by the following questions:⁴⁶

- How did Old World ideology, not least related to territory and population, inform Scandinavian immigrants' attempt to navigate life in the New World?
- Why did Scandinavian immigrants overwhelmingly support the Republican Party between 1860 and 1868 when Irish and German immigrants, among other ethnic groups, did not?
- How did implicit and explicit American definitions of citizenship impact perceptions of ethnic identity and belonging among Scandinavian immigrants?

Methodologically, *Civil War Settlers* adapts the German and Italian schools of microhistory (focusing on community studies and marginal individuals, respectively) based on the premise that "microscopic observation will reveal factors previously unobserved."⁴⁷

The following chapters provide a "thick description" of New Denmark, a small immigrant community in Wisconsin's Brown County, by utilizing a previously untapped wealth of letters, diaries, and memoirs, which are bolstered by census data, pension records, and draft rolls.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ The Civil War, for example, forced people of many different backgrounds to serve together or at the very least contemplate serving together. See Rasmussen, "Drawn Together in a Blood Brotherhood": Civic Nationalism amongst Scandinavian Immigrants in the American Civil War Crucible."

⁴⁶ Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, "Echoes of War: Rethinking Post-Civil War Governance and Politics," in *The World the Civil War Made*, ed. Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 3.

⁴⁷ Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 97. See also, for example, Hans Medick, "Weaving and Surviving in Laichingen, 1650–1900: Micro-History as History and as Research Experience," in *Agrarian Studies: Synthetic Work at the Cutting Edge*, ed. James C. Scott and Nina Bhatt (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001). See as well Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982).

⁴⁸ This approach, a combination of letters and diaries with census data and draft rolls, allows for what Hans Medick has called the possibility of pursuing "a qualitative life-history approach as well as a quantitative analysis" of community relations. See Medick, "Weaving and Surviving in Laichingen, 1650–1900: Micro-History as History and as Research Experience," 288. Also Levi, "On Microhistory," 98. Levi stresses the