

Chapter 5

ETHNIC PRESERVATION AND AMERICANIZATION: THE ISSUE OF SWEDISH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN CHICAGO'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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The Swedish population in Chicago peaked in 1910, when nearly 117,000 Swedes and their children lived in a city of over two million people.¹ Most of these immigrants came to Chicago seeking opportunity—for themselves and for their children. One of the best ways for an immigrant's child to advance was through education, and the public schools of Chicago became a vehicle through which immigrant children could learn English and improve their lives. The public schools in Chicago were a forum in which many objectives intersected: the desire of many natives to see immigrant children Americanized into good model citizens; the attempt of many immigrant children to fit in with the other American children; and the hope of many parents to see their children succeed in their new land while not losing sight of their traditional heritage. In most cases, Swedish immigrants surrendered control over education to the American experts. But at the peak of their strength in Chicago, the Swedes chose to wage a battle for Swedish language in the public schools.

The campaign by the Swedish community in Chicago to introduce Swedish language classes in the public high schools, which began in 1911, provides a prime case study to examine the tension between the preservation of ethnic identity, on the one hand, and the desire to succeed in America, on the other. This tension undoubtedly was experienced not only by Swedes but by all immigrants who established themselves in Chicago and in other American cities. This essay explores the role of foreign languages in the Chicago public school system, with particular focus on the introduction of Swedish as an elective course of study in the high schools. The way in which the Swedish community campaigned vigorously for Swedish in the schools in 1911 and 1912, then backed away from their demands in 1917 when the nation was at war, reflects the divided loyalty of a

people with a Swedish and an American identity.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Germans were the largest ethnic group in Chicago. Because of the size of the German community, German organizations effectively lobbied the Chicago Board of Education and convinced it to introduce German as an elective subject in the public schools in 1865. Prior to that time, the public schools taught only the classical languages of Greek and Latin. The Germans hoped instruction in the German language would help their children learn about their ethnic heritage. The Board of Education hoped that German instruction would make public education attractive to German immigrants in the city and increase the likelihood that they would send their children to the public schools, which would in turn increase the opportunities for the school system to Americanize these foreigners.²

Diversity of the ethnic population changed the very nature of the public schools and the educational philosophy of the board in subsequent decades. Julia Wrigley notes that during the 1890s the philosophy of the Chicago schools changed from "an elite training center to that of mass agents of education for hundreds of thousands of children, many of whom spoke little or no English."³ The number of children studying German also grew dramatically. In 1870, eight German teachers taught 2,597 pupils; by 1892 these numbers had grown to 242 teachers teaching 34,547 pupils, nearly a quarter of all the children enrolled in Chicago's schools.⁴ The public schools also began to offer French as an optional modern language. The German community did not take German language instruction for granted, however. When in 1900 the school board threatened to cut back appropriations for German instruction, it lobbied heavily to discourage such action.⁵ As a result, the schools continued to offer and support German language instruction until the dynamics of World War I led them to reconsider their position.

The Board of Education gradually added more language classes to the school curriculum. Spanish was accepted as a course in the public high schools at a meeting of the Board of Education on September 6, 1899. At that same meeting, Polish leaders petitioned the board to provide instruction in the Polish language upon the same basis that German was being taught.⁶ The board did not accept their petition, even though the Poles were the third largest ethnic group in the city, behind the Germans and the Irish. Not until March

8, 1911, more than a decade later, did the Polish National Alliance successfully pressure the Board of Education into allowing Polish to be taught in the high schools. The Chicago school superintendent, Dr. Ella Flagg Young, recommended such action, giving the opinion that "any foreign language which is the medium of a great literature should be offered in the public high schools where the public interest is sufficiently great to make it likely that use will be made of the courses to be offered."⁷ This action turned out to be extremely important to the Swedish community, as it opened the way for Swedish to be taught in the schools and gave community leaders the incentive to launch a major campaign to see that Swedish was adopted in the public school curriculum.⁸

The most comprehensive study of the Swedish language in the public high schools is Esther Chilstrom Meixner's 1941 Ph.D. dissertation, "The Teaching of the Scandinavian Languages and Literature in the United States." According to Meixner's research, the first Swedish language instruction offered in American public schools was introduced in 1910 at South High School in Minneapolis. Minneapolis recorded the greatest longevity of Swedish language instruction, from 1910 to beyond 1941, when Meixner's study ended. Other Minnesota towns such as Willmar, Cokato, Lindstrom, Henning, and Svea also introduced Swedish language instruction, as did Moline and Rockford, Illinois, and Stanton, Iowa. Meixner's survey results indicate that Englewood and Lake View high schools in Chicago offered Swedish language classes from 1914 to 1917.⁹ A closer examination of the Swedish press and the records of the Board of Education shows that Swedish was in fact offered as an elective subject in the Chicago public high schools from the fall of 1912 through the spring of 1917.

The introduction of Swedish into the public high schools of Chicago was achieved only through a carefully designed and orchestrated campaign led by elite members of the Swedish community. Two days before the Chicago Board of Education approved the introduction of Polish into the public schools and less than one year after Minneapolis introduced Swedish in the public schools, Ernst W. Olson of Chicago began to inquire about how the Minneapolis Swedes' successes could be duplicated in his city. Olson was the secretary of the Swedish Historical Society of America, founded in 1905 and based in Chicago. He wrote Dr. A. A. Stomberg, the

Professor of Scandinavian at the University of Minnesota and a leader of the campaign for Swedish in the Minneapolis schools, seeking his advice. Olson wrote, "I believe it might be worth our while trying to do here what you people did in your city. Any tips as to your mode of procedure . . . would be welcome."¹⁰ His correspondence thus set up a direct link between the Swedish communities of Chicago and Minneapolis regarding Swedish in the public high schools.

Stomberg responded promptly to the request for information, sending Olson strategic suggestions about waging a successful campaign for Swedish in the schools. He first of all suggested that Swedes in Chicago try to get the mayoral candidates to promise to appoint one or more Swedes to the Chicago Board of Education. Even if this was not successful, Stomberg believed Olson and his colleagues still had a good chance to have the Board of Education accept their proposal. The key was to have the solid backing of the entire Swedish community in Chicago. Stomberg wrote that "Our petition came before the board with such backing, representing so many individuals and societies, that there was not a member of the board that would have cared to oppose the proposition."¹¹ Stomberg recounted that the Minneapolis Swedes called a mass meeting of Scandinavians who then appointed a committee to wage the campaign. The committee drew up a petition and solicited the broad-based support of Swedish churches and organizations, whose officers eventually signed the petition. The committee then went to the school board, having carefully selected spokesmen who each had a particular point to emphasize. Stomberg commented that "I might say that members of the school board told us afterwards that no matter had ever been laid before them in so dignified and convincing way as ours."¹²

The Chicago Swedes were very good students and closely followed the advice of their Minneapolis cousins. Henry Henschen, a Chicago Swede who was cashier of the State Bank of Chicago as well as Acting Consul of Sweden, took the lead role in the campaign for Swedish in the Chicago schools. Two-and-a-half-weeks after Stomberg wrote his letter of advice, the Swedish newspaper *Svenska Amerikanaren* reported that Henschen called a meeting regarding Swedish in the schools for members of the Swedish-American press, and the Swedish churches and organizations. Those at the meeting approved the following resolution:

WHEREAS, in the opinion of the Board of Education, any foreign language having a rich literature and possessing cultural value, should, where practicable, be taught in the public schools; and WHEREAS, the Swedish language is the medium of a literature and culture the dignity of which is recognized by scholars the world over; and WHEREAS, the Swedish-American citizens are virtually a unit in favor of educational courses affording access to the literary treasures of Sweden, as well as of other countries of a high state of civilization; THEREFORE be it resolved that we, the undersigned, on behalf of a large number of citizens, respectfully ask that Swedish be added to the list of modern languages constituting elective studies in the curriculum of the public high schools of Chicago.¹¹

From then on, a steering committee made up of Henschen, Harry Olson, Pastor C. E. Hoffsten, Professor A. J. Carlson, Olof Nelson, and C. F. Erickson conducted the campaign for Swedish in the schools.

Henschen also worked actively behind the scenes to influence the Board of Education's decision. The key person needing to be influenced was Chicago public school superintendent Young. On April 1, 1911, Henschen wrote an influential Swedish American in Chicago, scientist and educator Dr. Josua Lindahl, informing him that the petition had been filed with the Committee on School Management of the Board of Education several days earlier, with a similar petition on behalf of the Norwegian language. The entire matter had been referred by the board to the superintendent. Henschen remarked that Young would be inclined to report favorably on the petition, but asked Lindahl to "write her within the next two or three days, strongly urging her to give the Swedish language the same consideration which has already been accorded Polish, Spanish, French and German." Lindahl apparently did not take Henschen's advice to heart, however, writing in the margins of the letter in his own hand, "Not deemed necessary to do anything further in this matter. The application was clear enough and to the point. Any personal appeal to Dr. Flagg Young would imply the suspicion that she is open to influences which ought to be beyond her dignity."¹² Indeed, Young was not easily influenced, and as the Swedish-American press reported at the beginning of June, she decided to postpone the

introduction of Swedish in the schools until there was some result shown from the "experiment with the Polish language," which would be introduced in the schools the following fall.¹³

The Swedes were not pleased that the opportunity to teach Swedish in the public schools depended upon the success of the Polish language experiment. The decision seemed to give preference to Poles over Swedes. Henschen, in an article written for the yearbook of the Society for Preservation of Swedish Culture Abroad, reflected on his attitudes regarding the Board of Education's decision and on the battle he and other Swedes were waging in Chicago. He pointed out that, although there were 20,000 more Poles living in Chicago than Swedes, because the Poles were largely Catholic, a large proportion of them went to parochial schools. The Swedes, by contrast, sent most of their children to the public schools, therefore they should be able to exert more influence over the schools than the Poles. "The Swedish children in the public schools," wrote Henschen, "are without a doubt much more numerous than the Polish, just as the Swedish nation in the city, both in reputation and in age, is more than equal to the Polish."¹⁴ Henschen also acknowledged the other, perhaps more significant, challenge faced by the leaders in the Swedish community—convincing their children that they should indeed want to study the Swedish language. He closes his observations in emphasizing that point:

To introduce the Swedish language among Swedish-American children in America is a Herculean task—how big, only those who have long lived in this country can understand. . . . Remember that the Americans only look up to 2 classes of foreigners—those who are rich and those who are lions. The Swedes in America most often are neither one or the other. Therefore their children seek to quickly become Americans. . . . They don't want anything to do with the mother tongue. But times are changing: when they have achieved success, they often turn with love toward their father's tongue and seek to imbue their children with reverence and love for Swedish culture.¹⁵

Henschen kept the language issue alive in the Swedish community. In November he called another meeting of the steering committee

at the State Bank's directors' room; the committee decided that it was time to circulate a second petition regarding Swedish in the public high schools.¹⁸ In December, an "Appeal to the Swedes in Chicago" was announced in the Swedish-American press. The Swedish-American newspapers reported that petitions to the Board of Education were being circulated widely in Swedish churches and clubs. Since Polish had been successfully introduced in the public schools that fall, it was time for the Swedish community to take action so that Swedish classes could begin in the schools the following academic year. The Swedish newspapers emphasized that Swedish instruction in the schools was a most important issue for the expression of the community's Swedish identity and for the future of the Swedish youth.¹⁹ Norwegian community leaders also circulated petitions regarding Norwegian language instruction in the schools, paralleling the Swedes' activities.

A delegation of Swedish and Norwegian representatives brought its petitions to Dr. J. B. McPatrick, the Board of Education president, in January, 1912. The delegation suggested that Swedish be introduced in Lake View and Englewood high schools and the Norwegian language in Carl Schurz and Tuley high schools. McPatrick raised no objection to their request but referred them once again to school superintendent Young, and the delegation subsequently presented its petitions to her. She did not reach a decision immediately, but the *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* indicate that the following May, the board passed a general policy statement regarding foreign language instruction in the schools: "The superintendent of schools reports that many petitions have been received from societies and individuals requesting the addition of different modern languages to the list of optional studies in the high schools, and . . . recommends . . . that any modern language be offered in the public high schools of Chicago when the number of pupils applying for a course in the language is sufficient to warrant the assignment of a teacher who is competent to teach that foreign language." The Swedish-American newspapers interpreted this action as a direct approval of Swedish and Norwegian courses being introduced in the schools the following fall.²⁰

Thus the initiative was back in the hands of the Swedish leaders in Chicago. As long as enough students registered to take Swedish, the Board of Education would introduce it in select public high

schools. In July, the Swedish leaders' efforts were helped when Charles F. Erickson, a member of Henschen's Swedish steering committee, was appointed to the Board of Education. Erickson was publisher of the Swedish language newspaper *Svenska Tribunen Nyheter*, and had been involved with the press since emigrating from Sweden in 1887. "We're sure our countryman shall do as well as any other on the board," reported *Svenska-Amerikanaren*.²¹

In August, 1912, one month away from the beginning of school, the campaign began in earnest. *Svenska Amerikanaren* praised the hard work of those who led the fight for Swedish in the schools. But in reality, only the first battle had been won. Now the Swedish parents had to convince their American children actually to sign up for Swedish class. A minimum of twenty five students needed to enroll at a particular school in order for the board to hire a teacher. The papers urged students to register for Swedish so that this golden opportunity would not be lost. To make it easier to enroll, *Svenska-Amerikanaren* printed a form that the students, their parents, or guardians could fill out with their name, address, and high school, and send it in to the newspaper. The newspaper staff would collect the forms and submit them to the Chicago Board of Education. *Svenska-Amerikanaren* noted: "It is of utmost importance that the question of Swedish language studies in the high schools is embraced with great interest among our countrymen here in the city."²² In America, where there were so many different nationalities, Swedes should encourage their children to study Swedish, one of the "oldest and richest cultural languages."²³

Svenska-Amerikanaren and other Swedish papers in Chicago continued the campaign in subsequent issues, and reprinted the application form, maintaining its pressure upon the Swedish community. By August 22, the editors of the paper seemed concerned that the goal would not be reached. They had not yet received the necessary twenty-five applications to begin Swedish instruction in even one city high school. School would begin on September 3, and some advance warning was necessary to organize a class. The good news was that a Swedish teacher had already been engaged at Lake View High School. C. O. Sundstrom, formerly a professor of modern languages at Monmouth College in Illinois, was hired to teach Swedish and German.²⁴ The Swedish youth were not easily influenced, however, and by August 29 the paper's editors

seemed desperate. Not only had not enough applications been received, but the school superintendent had raised the minimum number of students from twenty-five to thirty. Only twenty-one students had signed up at Lake View High School, as well as five at Englewood, two at Lane Technical, and one at each of four other high schools. With only one week left, the future of Swedish in the public schools did not look bright.²⁵

Apparently the newspaper's final push paid off, however, and on September 5 it reported "a beautiful result" regarding Swedish in the public schools.²⁶ Over a hundred students had enrolled in the various high schools, but only one teacher, Sundstrom, had been hired to teach the single class formed at Lake View High School. The paper reported that another class would begin in the spring, most likely at Englewood or Farragut high schools. The paper was disappointed that the response was not greater, but it remained optimistic. "[Swedish instruction] has begun on a small scale, but once it has begun, the registration will be bigger for spring term."²⁷ Ultimately, thirty-two students pre-registered for Swedish at Lake View High School, and nine enrolled after the first day of class. The interest continued to grow, and by the end of September another Swedish class was added, so that each class had an enrollment of about thirty students. Sundstrom also helped to charter a Swedish Club at Lake View High School in October 1912. The school's student newspaper, *Red and White*, informed its readers that the group planned nine meetings and two parties every year, and that the program was largely conducted in Swedish. It further reported that "All of [the members] understand Swedish to some extent."²⁸

Leaders in the Swedish community undoubtedly were encouraged that their efforts had paid off. Swedish classes continued their success at Lake View and also were added to the curriculum at Englewood High School. What is surprising, however, is how comparatively few Swedish-American students actually were persuaded to enroll in Swedish classes. The number of students taking Swedish each year at the two high schools was at the most two hundred. According to the school census of May 2, 1912, there were 1,413 Swedish-born minors living in Chicago, along with 44,673 minors who were American-born but whose fathers were Swedish. Thus, since this number does not include children whose mothers were Swedish and whose fathers were another nationality, a

conservative estimate of first- and second-generation Swedish children in Chicago is 46,086. Assuming two hundred students enrolled in Swedish classes during each year it was offered in the high schools, only about three percent of the total number of Swedish-American high schoolers signed up for Swedish class each year.²⁹ Some of these students undoubtedly attended high schools where Swedish was not offered. The statistics do, however, give powerful testimony to the fact that despite all the valiant efforts of the Swedish leaders in Chicago, the vast majority of Swedish-American high school students could not be persuaded that the study of the Swedish language was desirable or useful.

Lake View and Englewood high schools continued to offer Swedish classes until the pressures of World War I brought all foreign language instruction into question. German instruction especially was targeted for attack. In the public schools the emphasis shifted toward 100 percent Americanism; the schools needed to mold foreign youngsters into good American citizens. The pressure to conform was great, as reflected in the annual report of the Chicago Board of Education, which noted that "unfortunately, all too large a fraction of the population is still foreign, despite the heroic measures which have been taken to imbue them with American ideals and to instill in them a love for American institutions . . . without a knowledge of our language and an understanding of . . . our institutions, a thorough sympathy with American ideals is impossible on the part of those who have come to our shores."³⁰

During the summer and fall of 1917, the Board of Education vigorously debated the role of foreign language in the public schools. They were especially concerned with German language instruction in the elementary schools, an enterprise that cost nearly \$16,000 per year. The superintendent, at that time John D. Shoop, noted in his report to the board that "in the first 6 years of experience of a child in the elementary schools, there should be no encroachment that would diminish in any measure his opportunities for acquiring mastery of the tools of intelligence, namely, reading, speaking, writing, and spelling of our own language."³¹ He recommended that no foreign language be offered below grade 7; that only French, German, and Spanish be offered in junior high; and that the current policy of modern foreign language instruction be continued in the high schools. After much debate, the recommendation was passed by

the Board of Education. Interestingly enough, the two Scandinavian members of the board, Hart Hanson and Charles Peterson, voted down a proposal that would allow for any foreign language to be taught in the public elementary schools, including Bohemian, Polish, Italian, Russian, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch. Peterson defended his position, claiming that "our school year is too short . . . that I for one felt we were trying to teach too many things."³² Although technically Swedish could continue to be taught in the high schools, it was dropped from the curriculum by 1918.

What were the leaders in the Swedish community doing throughout this debate about foreign languages by the Chicago Board of Education? They were busy jumping on the 100 percent Americanism bandwagon, attempting to prove their loyalty to the United States as the nation went to war. Henry Henschen and Harry Olson, who had been instrumental in rallying the Swedish community behind the issue of adopting Swedish in the schools, were by 1917 organizing a major Swedish-American patriotic demonstration. The meeting was held on September 30, 1917, at Chicago's Municipal Pier Auditorium, which they decorated with over 1,000 American flags for the occasion. Harry Olson began the rally with a resounding speech, emphasizing the link between America and her Swedish sons and daughters:

Chicago has 150,000 inhabitants of Swedish descent . . . and America needs not entertain any anxiety concerning their loyalty. Their faithfulness to the land which has given them such rich opportunities is proven. For nearly 1,000 years, since Leif Ericson landed on our coast, the Nordic men have always been completely welcome to America's soil. This war has bound us all together. Several years ago there existed Swedish-Americans and hyphenated Americans of all kinds. Now all are completely Americans.³³

Those assembled at the meeting went on to pass a resolution declaring their loyalty to the American flag, and supporting the actions of President Wilson and Congress in conducting the war effort. The meeting ended with a short prayer and the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and "Stridsbön" (War Prayer) by the Swedish Song Chorus.

The Swedish-American press concentrated on war coverage—

carefully documenting the Swedish-American boys who went marching off to war, and those who never returned. The language issue was no longer important in the lives of these young people, and it dropped out of sight in the newspapers. In September 1918, the editors of *Svenska Amerikanaren* offered their own explanation of this shift in attitude and priorities:

right before America's entering the war, there was great interest in Chicago and other places for instruction in foreign languages in our schools. In Chicago, where the German language has long had a prominent place among courses of instruction, instruction also began in Swedish, Spanish, French, Polish, and other languages, and language interest was rather strong among the youth. But last year a . . . war of extermination began, so that [now] people want to be against foreign languages, especially . . . the German and that is an easily explained argument . . . times change and we with them.³⁴

The continuation of Swedish language instruction in the public high schools required a sustained effort by the Swedish elite in Chicago, with the support of the churches and other ethnic organizations. But times had indeed changed, and members of the Swedish community found it more politically wise to concentrate on supporting the war and proving their loyalty rather than pursuing the issue of Swedish in the schools and emphasizing their foreignness. Furthermore, many of the Swedish-American young people were taking a direct role in the war effort; it was they who went off to fight the war or who, in the case of the young women, stayed behind and joined war support organizations. Their lives were changed forever by this war, and as a result their identity was even more closely linked to the United States. It was better then to leave ethnic expressions to the community itself—to speak and learn the Swedish language in the homes and in the churches and clubs—rather than in the public sphere of the city's schools where such action could be misinterpreted as anti-American. Although ethnic identity remained important to Swedes in Chicago, they paid greater attention—at least publicly—to fitting in with the American mainstream.

NOTES

1. Population statistics drawn from *The People of Chicago: Who We Are and Where We Have Been* (Chicago: Department of Development and Planning, 1970).
2. Hannah Clark, "The Public Schools of Chicago: A Sociological Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1897), 72. See also Mary J. Herrick, *The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971).
3. Julia Wrigley, *Class Politics and Public Schools: Chicago 1900-1950* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1982), 49.
4. Statistics drawn from Herrick, 60.
5. See *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (July 12, 1899-June 27, 1900 and July 10, 1901-June 15, 1902).
6. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (Sept. 6, 1899): 53, 76.
7. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (Mar. 8, 1911): 724f.
8. Between 1900 and 1911 the Board of Education did not receive a single petition from Chicago's Swedish community for any type of recognition or special action. The Norwegians, however, began in 1905 to lobby the board to excuse Norwegian students to celebrate their annual national holiday on the May 17.
9. Esther Chilstrom Meixner, "The Teaching of the Scandinavian Languages and Literature in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1941), 73-98, 124.
10. Ernst W. Olson, Chicago, Illinois, to A. A. Stomberg, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Mar. 6, 1911, Swedish Historical Society of America Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.
11. A. A. Stomberg, Minneapolis, Minnesota, to Ernst W. Olson, Chicago, Illinois, Mar. 9, 1911, Swedish Historical Society of America Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.
12. *Ibid.*
13. "Svenska språket i skolorna," *Svenska-Amerikanaren*, Mar. 30, 1911: 14.
14. Henry Henschen, Chicago, Illinois, to Dr. Josua Lindahl, 5700 Peoria Street, Chicago, Illinois, Apr. 1, 1911, Swedish Historical Society of America Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.
15. *Svenska Kuriren*, June 3, 1911, as translated in the Foreign Language Press Survey, Section I.A.1.b. See also *Svenska-Amerikanaren*, June 1, 1911: 14.
16. Henry Henschen, "Skall svenska språket införas vid Chicagos skolor?" *Årsbok 1911: Utgåvan af Riksförbundet för svenskhetens bevarande i utlandet* (Göteborg, 1912), 101.
17. *Ibid.*, 103.
18. "Svenska språket i högskolorna," *Svenska-Amerikanaren*, Nov. 16, 1911: 15.
19. "Appeal to the Swedes in Chicago," *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Dec. 7, 1911: 13.
20. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (May 1, 1912): 903. See also "Svenska språket i skolorna," *Svenska Amerikanaren*, May 9, 1912: 15.
21. *Svenska Amerikanaren*, July 25, 1912: 14.
22. "Svenska språket i högskolorna," *Svenska-Amerikanaren*, Aug. 8, 1912: 14.
23. "Svenska språket i högskolorna," *Svenska-Amerikanaren*, Aug. 15, 1912: 15.
24. *Svenska-Amerikanaren*, Aug. 22, 1912: 14.
25. *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Aug. 29, 1912: 14.
26. "Ett vackert resultat," *Svenska-Amerikanaren*, Sept. 5, 1912: 15.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Red and White*, published by the pupils of Lake View High School, June 1913.
47. Also see *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Sept. 12, 1912: 15; and Sept. 26, 1912.
29. School census, May 2, 1912, as reported in *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (July 24, 1912): 55-63. This computation assumes that the age of Swedish-American minors is evenly distributed between all ages under but not including 21. Statistics of Swedes studying at Englewood High School appear in *Svenska-Amerikanaren*, May 31, 1917: 15.
30. *64th Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Chicago: June 30, 1918): 38, 39.
31. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (Sept. 18, 1917): 436.
32. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (Oct. 17, 1917): 559.
33. "Swedish-American Demonstration—Meeting at Municipal Pier," *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Oct. 4, 1917.
34. "Språket och skolorna," *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Sept. 12, 1918: 14.