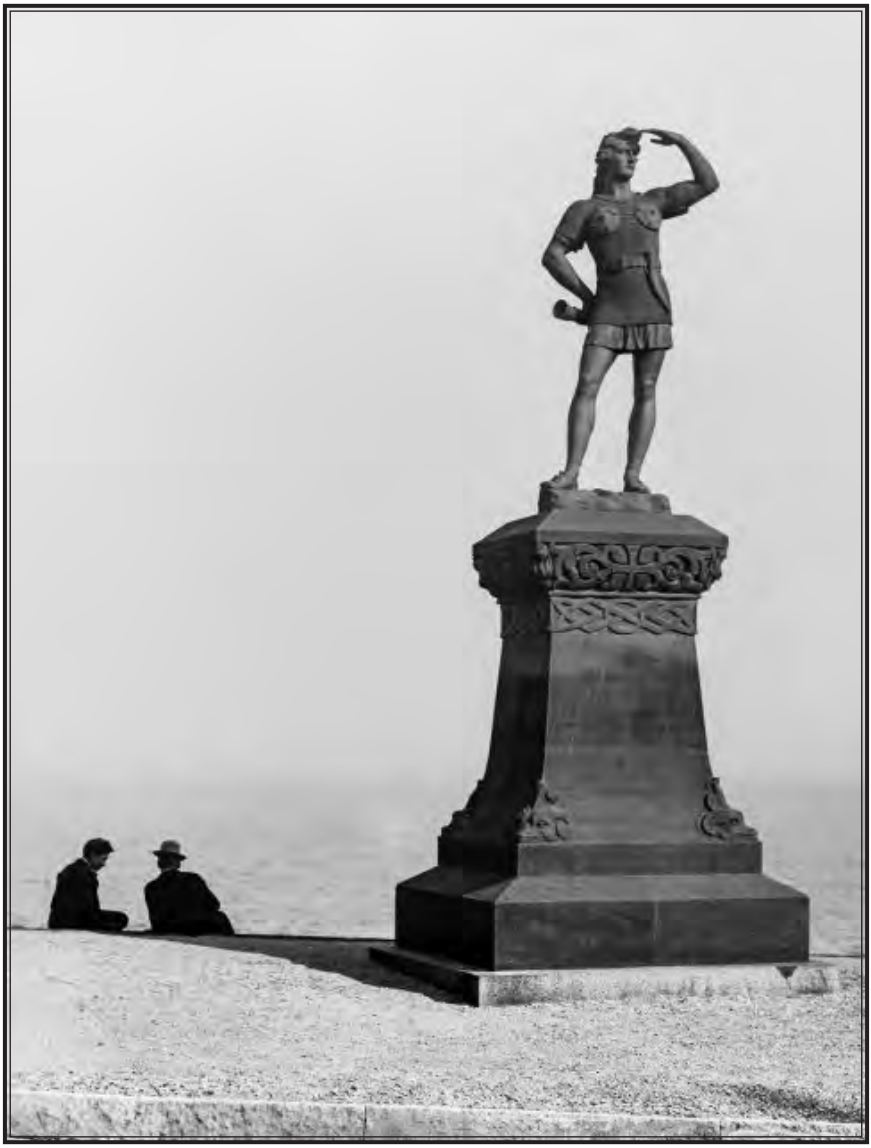

Leif Erikson Statue by Anne Whitney, c. 1910

The Viking Saga Continued:

Leif Erikson, Anne Whitney, Boston, and the Nation

L. Mara Dodge

Introduction: *"Where on Boston's Commonwealth Avenue can this be?!" you may very well wonder when first glancing at the image of the statue on the adjacent page and noticing what appears to be water (an ocean perhaps?) in the distance. The answer is: Nowhere at all. We have arrived at Juneau Park on the shores of Lake Michigan. "How," you may wonder, "Did a replica of Anne Whitney's 1887 statue of Leif Erikson, originally located on Boston's Commonwealth Avenue, make it to Milwaukee?" What follows is part of the back story to Gloria Polizzotti Greis's previous article in this issue, "Vikings on the Charles," as well as a brief probe into Boston (and the nation's) enduring fascination with the (mostly mythical but highly racially charged) Viking discovery saga.*[1]

* * * * *

In 1875 sculptor, poet, and social activist Anne Whitney (1821–1915) won a major competition to sculpt a statue of Senator Charles Sumner to be placed in the Boston Public Garden. The models had been submitted anonymously; however, when the Boston Art Committee's jury discovered that the sculptor was female, Whitney was denied the commission. After much debate the judges had decided that it was unseemly and improper for a respectable, Victorian-era woman to sculpt the legs of a man. Instead, the commission was given to Thomas Ball; his statue of Sumner now stands in Boston Garden. Twenty-five years later, in 1900, a group of Cambridge

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patrons provided the funds to cast Whitney's bronze statue of Sumner for a site in Harvard Square.[2]

Despite this 1875 debacle, in 1887 Whitney was commissioned to sculpt Boston's Leif Erikson monument. Her imaginative depiction of a slim, graceful, scantily-clad youth bereft of either shield or sword was a unique representation of the Vikings—who typically appeared as hardy adventurers or fierce, marauding warriors in the era's popular imagination. Leif's vaguely prancing pose drew attention directly to his legs and thighs while the small "breastplates" and flowing locks added a feminine quality that created the impression of an "Apollo Norseman."

Anne Whitney, c. 1870s

Source: Anne Whitney Papers, Wellesley College Archives.

According to Gloria Polizzotti Greis, "The critics raved, praising the emphasis on the 'classical ideal' over the more typically warlike and barbaric depiction of Vikings."[3] *Harper's Weekly* concluded that this Viking male "was a worthy forerunner of the Pilgrims." Indeed, Leif was being rehabilitated to fill Columbus's shoes in the pantheon of America's "founding fathers." The *Harper's* reporter observed that, "Miss Whitney deserves the thanks of Americans for having chosen as the type of the Northmen ancestors, not the Berserk warrior, but the Iceland merchant, explorer and Christian, *as Leif Erikson truly was.*"[4]

Whitney, however, may have had a personal motive behind her design. As art historian Eleanor Tufts ironically notes:

> The short coat of mail and skirtlike undergarment in which she clothed the Viking explorer revealed his leg far more than did the contemporary dress of the Sumner portrait. This apparently demonstrated that a woman could sculpt a heroic male figure without compromising her honor."[5]

Indeed, one might wonder whether Whitney deliberately thumbed her nose at Boston's "Brahmin" elite by designing a representation of Erikson that revealed the very barest legs possible, openly flaunting Victorian social

Leif Erikson Statue on Commonwealth Avenue, Boston c. 1900

conventions.[6] Whitney was a supporter of radical causes and had an acerbic wit. She lived an unconventional, independent life and had a lifelong relationship with fellow artist Abby Adeline Manning, with whom she lived and traveled. Whitney and Manning had what was then referred to as a "Boston marriage," a term for a long-term relationship between upper-class, educated women, which was generally accepted within the community[7].

Eleanor Tufts writes that Whitney had been deeply "rankled" that she had been denied the Charles Sumner statue commission.[8] Like Sumner, Whitney had been an abolitionist and was also a suffragist and women's rights activist. Rather than quietly accepting her earlier defeat, she exhibited the rejected plaster cast of Sumner at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and in New York City in 1879. As Whitney wrote her family, "It will take more than a Boston Art Committee to quench me."[9] Meanwhile, writer Lydia Maria Child penned some amusing verses on the controversy that were published in the New York *Evening Telegram* mocking Bostonians'

prudery. Its form was a duel between Boston and New York. The last two stanzas concluded:

> BOSTON:
> But we Boston wise men know by heart
> All that is possibly known about art,
> And we have decided that only a man
> Can know how a masculine statue to plan.
>
> NEW YORK:
> And yet in your Hub both the simple and wise
> Deemed this self-same model most worthy the prize
> Till your men discovered—deny it who can—
> 'Twas the work of a woman and not of a man.[10]

According to art scholar Elizabeth Rogers Payne, Whitney was "one of the few successful women sculptors of the nineteenth century, and perhaps the only major one to devote herself to themes of social justice."[11] Her other sculptures included Haitian liberator Toussaint Louverture, abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, social reformer Harriet Martineau, and Lady Godiva, among other champions of freedom. The sculpture "Africa" portrayed a "race rising from slavery"; "Roma" portrayed her sympathetic rendering of a destitute and elderly Italian beggarwoman whom she had encountered on her travels abroad. Whitney was also a published poet.

A lifelong philanthropist and supporter of radical causes, in the late 1880s Whitney became a socialist and served on the board of directors of the First Nationalist Club of Boston. "Nationalist" or "Bellamy" clubs were an organized network of socialist political groups which emerged in the late 1880s to promote the vision expressed by Bostonian Edward Bellamy in his utopian novel *Looking Backward.* Set in the year 2000, the book's hero wakes up in a socialist utopia, which Bellamy described in detail. According to Erich Fromm, who wrote a thoughtful and in-depth introduction to a 1960 reprint, it was "one of the few books ever published that created almost immediately on its appearance a political mass movement."[12] The nationalist clubs' objective was to remake the economy and society through the nationalization of industry; hence their name. Whitney was a public speaker for the cause and was frequently mentioned in newspaper articles.[13] Whitney's jettisoning of conventional depictions of Leif Erikson clearly reflected her maverick personality and may have represented a "sly joke," according to art historian Janet Headley: inventive, subversive, and gender bending.[14]

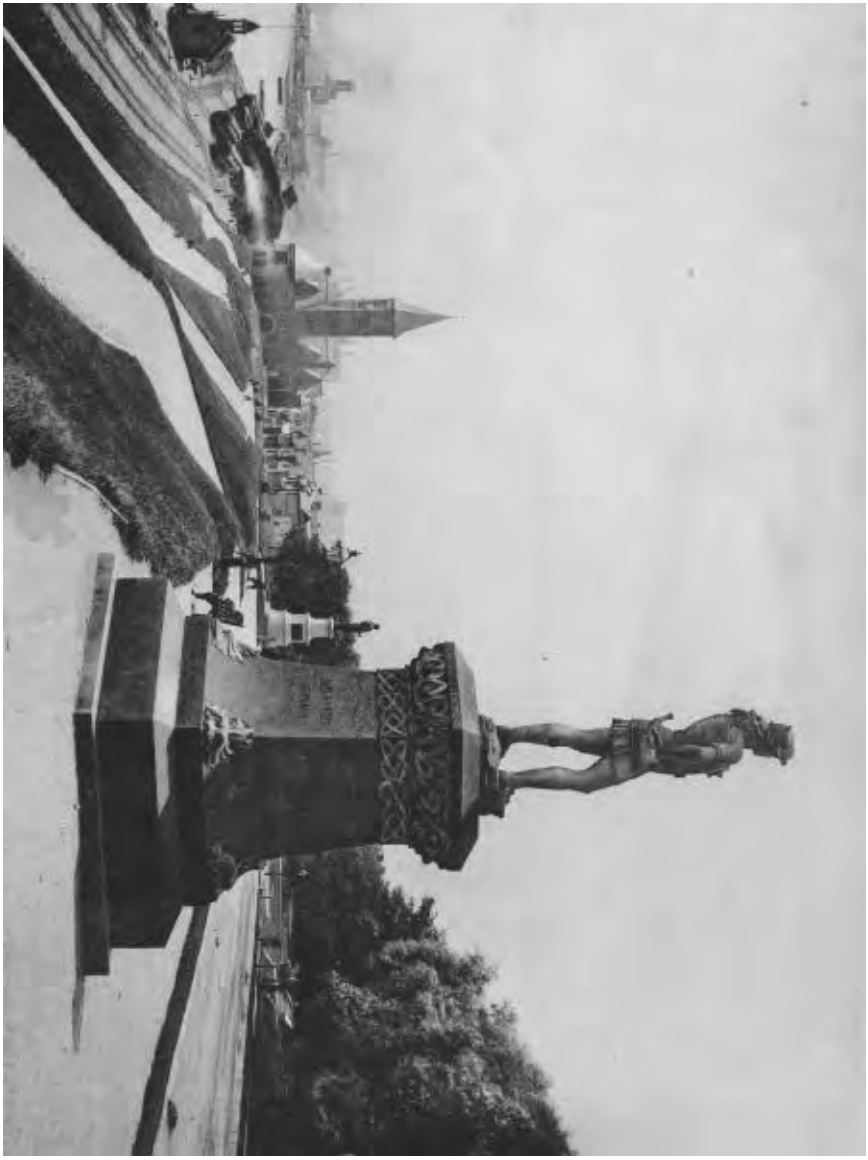
LEIF ARRIVES ON THE SHORES OF LAKE MICHIGAN

Bostonians were not the only ones enamored of the Leif Erikson saga. The claim that Erikson and Viking explorers had not only discovered North America before Columbus, but deserved full credit as America's "founding fathers" (akin to the Pilgrims!) was appealing to many Americans in the late nineteenth century. It was particularly appealing to those elites who trumpeted Anglo Saxon and "Teutonic" racial superiority over the millions of Italians and southern and eastern Europeans then flocking to America's shores. In this narrative, Erikson, rather than the swarthy Italian (Columbus), was the nation's true "founding father." Historian JoAnne Mancini writes that:

> The mainstreaming of Viking discovery in the last quarter of the nineteenth century served a similar purpose . . . At a moment of increasing fear that the nation was committing race suicide, the thought of Viking ghosts roaming the streets of a city increasingly filled with Irish, Italian and Jewish hordes must have been comforting to an Anglo-Saxon elite whose political power . . . was decidedly on the wane.[15]

These racial fears and ideologies fueled the drive to champion the Norsemen as America's true progenitors and helped ignite the campaign to erect a monument to Leif Erikson on Boston's Commonwealth Avenue. However, not all accepted the claim that the Vikings had ever landed in Boston. Indeed, some members of the Massachusetts Historical Society were so disturbed "by the recent unveiling of a public statue in Boston commemorative of Leif Ericson" in 1887 that they appointed a committee "to consider the question of the alleged early discovery of America by Norsemen." The committee reported back within a month, essentially asserting that there was only "historical tradition" but no actual "evidence" to support these claims.[16] Despite this august rebuke, Boston's (and the nation's) infatuation with memorializing Leif Erikson and America's "Vikings forebears" did not end with the dedication of Whitney's statue.[17]

Only two weeks after Whitney's homage to Leif Erikson was unveiled in Boston in 1877, a replica was erected in Milwaukee's Juneau Park on a bluff overlooking Lake Michigan, paid for by one "Mrs. Joseph Gilbert." Even the pedestal was identical, although the Viking ship-shaped basin and fountain upon which Leif stood in Boston were absent from the Milwaukee design. Gilbert herself remains shrouded in mystery. The statue's inscription provides



Leif Surveys Milwaukee's Juneau Park, c. 1910

He stands atop a bluff overlooking Lake Michigan (far left).

no clues as to her motivation. It reads (in all caps): "Leif the Discoverer, Son of Erik, who sailed from Iceland and landed on this continent A.D. 1000." Whereas later statues were often financed, in part, by Norwegian and/or Scandinavian fraternal organizations (including in Boston), Gilbert appears to have acted entirely on her own. One can only speculate as to her inspiration and motivations.[18]

There survives only a single, ten-page letter from Gilbert to Whitney dated November 1877 in which she describes in detail the problems with the placement of the pedestal, which had finally been repaired. However, she was still excitedly awaiting the arrival of the statue. Gilbert wrote that, "A friend asked me if I didn't feel nervous about the statue!! 'Not a bit—why should I when I know a lovely thing is coming!'" (underlining in original).[19]

The nation's Norwegian and Swedish immigrants, who were mostly farmers, were clustered in the upper Midwest. Perhaps Gilbert shared the motivations of Boston's Brahmin elite and financed her statue to pay homage, in part, to this "old stock" Anglo-Saxon ethnic group. However, there were few Norwegians in Milwaukee itself. In 1860 it was known as the most German city in the U.S., although small Irish, Scandinavian, and Czech communities also existed. However, in the late 1800s industrialization was attracting new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. By 1900 Poles were the city's second-largest immigrant group. New immigrants also included Italians, Greeks, Jews, Slovaks, Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenians. As in Boston, Milwaukee's political, social, and philanthropic elites now shared city streets with those they often regarded as of racially inferior "stock." Indeed, in 1910 Milwaukee shared the distinction with New York City of having the largest percentage of foreign-born residents in the United States.[20] However, "Mrs. Joseph Gilbert" remains an obscure figure. At her request, there was no dedication ceremony (unlike Boston, which had held a major parade and numerous speakers, including the governor) and nothing else appears to be known about how and why she came to commission a replica statue.

Although Boston was the first city in the U.S. to erect a monument to Leif Erikson, and Milwaukee the second, these would be far from the last. As we shall see, monuments and commemorative statues continued to be erected over the next one hundred years. They followed in Chicago (1901), Philadelphia (1920), New Rochelle, New York (1932), Los Angeles (1936), Newport News, Virginia (1938), Brooklyn (1939), St. Paul/ Minneapolis (1949), Duluth (1956), Seattle (1962), Minot, North Dakota (1994), Cleveland (2001), and Seattle (2003), among many other sites. Public historian Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen reminds us that, "The biography of a monument concerns

Leif Erikson Statue, Humboldt Park, Chicago (1901)

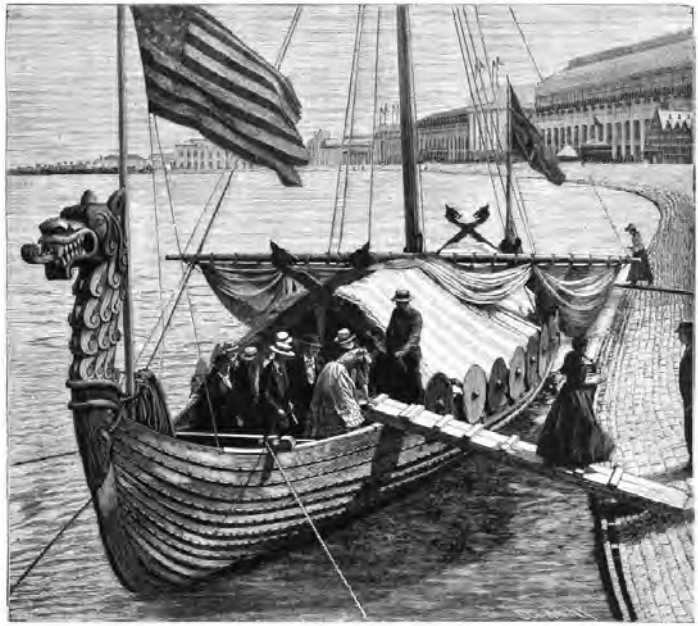
not merely the 'life' of the monument (how it was planned, made, erected and celebrated), but also the processes that connect the monument to the wider historical culture in society."[21]

THE 1893 CHICAGO "WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION"

Whitney's unconventional representation of Erikson continued to attract praise and attention, particularly among female patrons of the arts. In 1893 the wealthy Chicago society matron and arts patron Bertha Potter insisted on having the original plaster cast of Whitney's statue displayed at the World's Columbian exposition, the purpose of which was to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the New World. Whitney bronzed her cast, which stood over eight feet high.[22]

Whitney's cast at the World's Fair may have inspired Chicago's Norwegian community to continue their campaign for a Leif Erikson statue. In 1901 their far more stolid and conventional representation was erected in Chicago's Humboldt Park, sculpted by Sigvald Asbjornsen, a recent Norwegian immigrant who had arrived in Chicago during the World's Fair. Asbjornsen's Erikson is a far cry from Whitney's portrayal of a slim, graceful, clean shaven youth clothed in a surprisingly short tunic, light mailing, breast plates, leggings, and leather sandals, and sporting only the smallest of daggers. Despite the praise Whitney's statue had received, Asbjornsen's image of the hardy, heroic adventurer would become the standard adopted by nearly all future sculptors. It stands on a massive granite boulder. As in Boston, a major parade was held on its unveiling and the city's Scandinavian communities came out in full force—including fifteen different fraternal societies, many in ethnic dress with national flags proudly flying.[23]

Although ostensibly the "Columbian" World's Fair, the Viking presence was notable and proffered an indirect challenge to both Italian and Spanish claims. One popular attraction was a Norwegian reproduction of a Viking ship that had successfully sailed across the Atlantic. On July 12, 1893, *The Viking* had arrived in Chicago and was moored at the World's Fair to great fanfare. Viking enthusiasts claimed that this journey provided clear evidence that Columbus's 1492 expedition had not been the first European exploration to reach the North American continent. The *Chautauquan* enthusiastically proclaimed that, "The presence of the Viking ship . . . and the trip up the Hudson, through the Erie Canal down the Great Lakes to Chicago . . . marks a historical event of no small importance."[24] Columbia University



THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION—THE VIKING SHIP FROM NORWAY.

Drawing from *Scientific American*, Aug. 19, 1893

professor Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, a Norwegian immigrant himself, elaborated further:

> It is well known that the people of Norway have always disputed with Columbus the honor of America's first discovery. The old Norse sagas . . . seem to leave no doubt that the Icelander Leif Ericson . . . landed on the shores of this continent in the year 998 A. D., and that his kinsman Thorfinn Karlsefue repeated Leif's voyage and made an unsuccessful attempt to found a settlement about the year 1,000 A. D.[25]

Boyesen acknowledged that "in what locality this settlement was has never been exactly determined." Some claimed it was the Massachusetts coast or Cape Cod, while others proposed the vicinity of Newport, Rhode Island or Nova Scotia. Boyesen would not "undertake to settle this dispute." However, he was certain that the Vikings should receive full credit:

> What is worthy of note . . . is that the manuscript of the saga . . . is 160 years older than the Columbian discovery. And the fact that besides locating a great unknown land to the westward, it also mentions the Indians whom the Norsemen called Skrellings is to me sufficient proof that the voyages of Leif and Thorfinn did take place, and that accordingly *the Norsemen are entitled to the honor of having been the first discoverers of the American Continent.*[26]

As we saw in Gloria Polizzotti Greis' previous article, "Vikings on the Charles," industrialist Eben Horsford and his band of amateur archeologists were convinced that they had found Viking ruins scattered throughout eastern Massachusetts.[27]

1926 VOYAGE OF THE *LEIF ERIKSON*

The blandly-named *"Viking Ship"* is one of the rare surviving structures from the 1893 World's Fair. It is currently being preserved and exhibited in Geneva, Illinois, by the group "Friends of the Viking Ship." Other replicas of Viking ships appeared in Boston Harbor throughout the 1910s–20s. The most famous was the 1926 *Leif Erikson* which had also successfully crossed the Atlantic. The ship was built in Korgen, Norway, and Captain Gerhard Folgero and a crew of two departed from Bergen, Norway, on May 23, 1926 on the 42-foot vessel. After a rough crossing, they

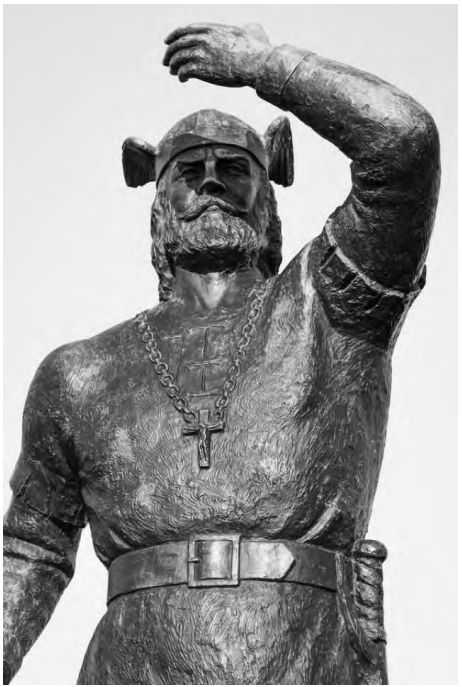

LEIF ERIKSON

landed at St. Johns, Newfoundland, on July 20. They then set sail for Boston, arriving in August. The intrepid mariners had traveled 6,700 miles, purportedly the greatest distance for a ship of its size in that era. Captain Gerhard Folgero and his two-man crew were feted for a week in Boston, as his diary reveals:

> **August 12, 1926**: Setting sail in the morning, we set course for Cape Cod . . . we were about 70 nautical miles from Boston. In the evening a U.S. Navy patrol boat came up alongside and ordered us to stop. Several officers boarded the ship and searched it, looking our papers over carefully. They thought we were smugglers and decided to tow us into Boston. We weren't going to complain, we were exhausted.
>
> **August 13, 1926**: Thousands of people came down to the dock to see us. 11:00 o'clock the next day a group of four Norwegians visited us. The group included a representative of Sons of Norway and the vice consul's secretary. They invited us to lunch at a hotel. Afterwards we were to meet with the mayor and governor. We didn't have proper clothes for these visits and the clothes we did have were all mildewy, but we went anyway. After all the visits we returned to the boat. We were exhausted.
>
> Our dock was not located in a good position for spectators, so we were given permission to move up the Charles River and tie up by the Warren Bridge. We rowed up the river with thousands of people cheering us on . . . From the Norwegians in Boston we received a gift of three hundred dollars. We were very thankful for the gift. Now we could buy clothes and food.

The *Leif Erikson* eventually made its way to its final destination, Duluth, Minnesota, in 1927. A Norwegian-American immigrant and businessman then purchased the ship and donated it to the city. It was placed on display in a park that was later named Leif Erikson Park. In 1956 Duluth commissioned and dedicated its very own Leif Erikson statue there. The thirteen-foot statue was paid for by the Norwegian American League. It was the second Erikson monument by sculptor John Karl Daniels, a Norwegian immigrant. In 1949

Opposite page: Captain Gerhard Folgero in Boston



Left: 1956 Leif Erikson, Duluth, MN

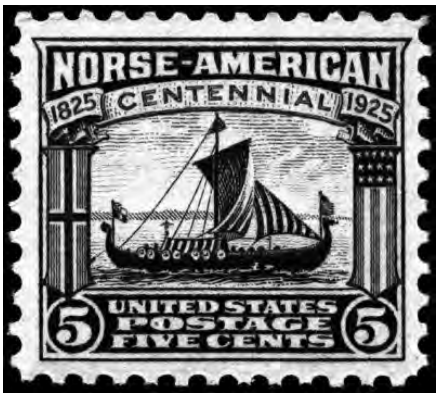
The inscription reads, "Leif Erikson, Discoverer of America, 1000 A.D." It was paid for by the Norwegian American League and was the second Leif Erikson monument by sculptor John Karl Daniels, a Norwegian immigrant.

Right: 1946 Leif Erikson Monument titled "Discoverer of America"

By John Karl Daniels; State capitol grounds, Saint Paul, MN.

he had sculpted a slightly more regal, imposing, and better-proportioned Leif cloaked in a flowing cape for the Minnesota state capitol grounds.

This 1926 voyage came on the heels of the 1925 Norse-American centennial when Norwegian culture and immigration was widely celebrated nationally. In 1929 the Leif Erikson Memorial Association of America was established. Part of its mission was to lobby for an official Leif Erikson state holiday, which passed in Wisconsin that same year and in Minnesota in 1931. In 1935 Congress passed a resolution authorizing a national day, and on June 25, 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt designated October 9 as Leif Erikson Day.[28] The date was chosen because the first ship transporting Norwegian immigrants, the *Restauration*, had arrived in New York harbor on October 9, 1825.[29] Of course, as some have pointed out, October 9 is also suspiciously close to October 13, Columbus Day.



SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE & IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

As was highlighted in Greis's preceding article, art historian Janet A. Headley characterized Boston's embrace of Leif Erikson as a "Brahmin Response to Christopher Columbus." Competition between champions of the old immigrants (Anglo Saxon) versus the "new" immigrants (Southern and East Europeans) continued well into the twentieth century.[30] Indeed, many Bostonians were among the leading champions of the era's immigration restriction movement.

In his highly praised study, *The Guarded Gate: Bigotry, Eugenics and the Law That Kept Two Generations of Jews, Italians, and Other European Immigrants Out of America* (2019), social historian Daniel Okrent offers a vivid history of the Immigration Restriction League (IRL) founded in 1894 by a group of Boston Brahmins who believed that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were ethnically inferior to Anglo-Saxons. The IRL attracted hundreds of prominent scholars and philanthropists, mostly from New England's elite.[31]

According to Okrent, Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a Harvard Ph.D. and the "archetype of the Boston Brahmin," became the public

voice of the IRL. A leading senator from 1893 to 1924, Lodge "dominated the nation's immigration debate from the 1890s into the 1920s." Lodge advocated for literacy tests designed to exclude members of those "races" he deemed "most alien." He noted that "the races most affected" by his proposed literacy test would be only "those with which the English-speaking people have never hitherto assimilated."[32] However, like many of his class, he also drew fine racial distinctions. For example, he considered northern Italians superior to southern Italians, not only because they tended to be better educated, but because they were more "Teutonic" than their southern counterparts.

Henry Cabot Lodge

In 1895, Lodge introduced the first literacy test in restrictive legislation. It passed in Congress, but President Cleveland vetoed it. Over the next twenty years, Lodge and his colleagues introduced a version of the literacy test into nearly every Congress. They succeeded when Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924. Okrent writes that the law "slashed immigration by means of brutal quotas aimed at precisely those countries Lodge had singled out nearly three decades earlier. Where once more than 220,000 Italians arrived each year, the number was reduced by the new quota to fewer than 6,500. In 1921, the . . . Russian Empire had sent nearly 190,000 emigrants to the United States; the 1924 law accommodated exactly 7,346."[33] Although Lodge himself was not a proponent of the Leif Erikson saga, he was a staunch defender of Teutonic superiority who "frequently saw Scandinavians and Germans, particularly in the rural west, as the last hope for racially healthy immigration."[34]

* * * * *

In the one hundred years following the unveiling of Anne Whitney's *Leif Erikson* statue on Boston's Commonwealth Avenue, several dozen other commemorative statues were erected in cities large and small across the United States, as well as around the world. All portray Erikson as a far more stolid, imposing, manly, and militaristic figure—often fully armored and always fully clothed—than Whitney's statue. In contrast, Whitney's somewhat

whimsical representation of a vaguely effeminate and scantily-clad youth with flowing locks and bared thighs, adorned with breast plates and bereft of both shield and sword, strikes a far different chord in the viewer. With left hand raised to shield his eyes from the sun, he peers across the sea to distant shores, or perhaps to distant, future times. No lawless, uncouth, marauding adventurer, he resembles nothing less than a Greek god—a fitting addition (in the eyes of many among Boston's late nineteenth-century Brahmin elite) to New Englanders' distinguished pantheon of founding fathers.

HJM

Notes

1. For the companion article and inspiration for this one, see Gloria Polizzotti Greis, "Vikings on the Charles: Leif Eriksson, Eben Horsford, and the Quest for Norumbega," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts,* 49, no. 2 (Summer 2021): 2–27. My article was originally conceived as a brief "editor's afterword" to Greis's article that would have narrowly focused on the puzzle of how a replica of Anne Whitney's statue ended up on the shores of Lake Michigan. However, the focus of the "afterward" quickly expanded through the rabbit hole of Google where I quickly stumbled upon a plethora of Erikson monuments and other traces (including Viking ships) that appeared in Boston and across the nation over the subsequent one hundred years.
2. Eleanor Tufts, "An American Victorian Dilemma, 1875: Should a Woman Be Allowed to Sculpt a Man?" *Art Journal* (Spring 1992): 51–57.
3. Greis, 16.
4. "The Norse Discoverer of America," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 5, 1887, 6, quoted in Greis, 17.
5. Tufts, 55.
6. "Boston Brahmin" refers to Boston's traditional, old upper class. The term was coined by physician and writer Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. He first used it in a novel and in the 1860 *Atlantic Monthly* article "The Brahmin Caste of New England." In India, a Brahmin is a member of the highest or priestly caste.
7. The Anne Whitney Archive at Wellesley College holds more than 4,000 letters, photographs, and other documentation of her life. Despite her pioneering role as a female sculptor who focused on social justice issues, no biography has been written about Whitney and only two scholarly articles appear to have utilized her archive. Unfortunately, Elizabeth Rogers Payne's brief article, "Anne Whitney: Art and Social Justice," includes no notes or sources (*Massachusetts Review,* Spring 1971: 245–60). Jacqueline Marie Musacchio's study is far more in-depth and thoroughly documented, but focuses on only a two-year period of Whitney's life. See Musacchio, "Mapping the 'White, Marmorean Flock': Anne Whitney Abroad, 1867–1868," *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide,* Vol. 13, no.2 (Autumn 2014). Musacchio's digital

humanities exhibit about Whitney is located at http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/autumn14/musacchio-anne-whitney-abroad.
8. Tufts, 54.
9. Whitney, quoted in Payne, 259.
10. Quoted in Tufts, 56.
11. Payne, 245.
12. Erich Fromm, forward to Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward 2000–1887* (Signet, 1960), pp. v-xx. Edward Bellamy (1850–1898) had been a relatively unknown novelist, journalist and social reformer from Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts. The novel became so popular that by 1900 only *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had sold more copies.
13. Payne, 259. See also John Hope Franklin, "Edward Bellamy and the Nationalist Movement," *The New England Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (Dec. 1938): 739–772.
14. Janet A. Headley, "Anne Whitney's Leif Erikson: A Brahmin Response to Christopher Columbus," *American Art* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 43 and 57.
15. JoAnne M. Mancini, "Discovering Viking America," *Critical Inquiry,* Vol. 28 (Summer 2002): 877. Public historian Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen argues that this was an international movement: "During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a continental and transnational commemoration practice united Scandinavians in America and Europe with a common historical narrative: the story of Leif Erikson as the first European to discover America." See Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen, "Valuing Immigrant Memories as Common Heritage: The Leif Erikson Monument in Boston," *History and Memory* 30, no. 2 (2018): 79–115.
16. Wendell D. Garrett, "The Discovery of the Charles River by the Vikings According to the Book of Horsford," *The Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical* Society, 40 (1964-1966): 94–109. Garrett carefully analyzes the debates within the society.
17. Leading Massachusetts historians had helped construct and popularize this new narrative highlighting New England's Viking forebears as founding fathers. For example, Charles W. Elliott titled his first multi-volume history *New England History from the Discovery of the Continent by the Northmen, A.D. 986, to the Period When the Colonies Declared their Independence, A.D. 1776* (New York, 1857) as did William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay in their *A Popular History of the United States from the First Discovery of the Western Hemisphere by the Northmen, to the End of the First Century of the Union of the States* (New York, 1876). According to J. M. Mancini, Bostonian's "craze for Viking discovery was joined to a surging interest in New England history and genealogy" (874). Interestingly, Mancini extends her analysis to explore how and why the Vikings "disappeared" from American historical consciousness after this era. She concludes that by the mid-twentieth century "the Norsemen had reverted to an ironically popular obscurity in the United States" (892).
18. It would be interesting if further research could uncover Gilbert's story and her connection to Whitney. Although almost none of their correspondence has survived, they appear to have been in extensive communication about the statue. On October 6, 1887, Whitney wrote to her partner, Adeline Manning: "Mrs. Gilbert's correspondence is immense. She writes presumptively [illegible word] for me to

go out there today but a telegram comes— before the letter telling me to wait (!) another letter is on its way. I obey the telegram. Poor woman she says she is sick with anxiety how to place LE [Leif Erikson] and I am afraid I shall go out of sheer pity and sympathy. She thinks her foundation [pedestal] is in the wrong place." It is not known if Whitney traveled to Milwaukee. Letter from Anne Whitney to Adeline Manning, Oct. 6, 1887 (Wellesley College Archives Digital Repository).

In Boston, the funds for the statue had been raised by wealthy industrialist E. Rumsford as well as the Scandinavian Memorial Association. Payne reports that a small model of the Leif statue "stood in Anne's studio for many years while Scandinavians raised the funds for the final bronze" (259). The dedication ceremony included a major parade and speeches, including by the governor.

In contrast, there was no public ceremony for the Milwaukee replica and its history may have been less celebrated. According to the website of the Sons of Norway Fosselyngen Lodge (accessed Feb. 21, 2021), "In 1995 the Leif Ericson statue in Juneau Park was threatened by serious erosion and moved away from the bluff and was in need of serious repair." Donations for its restoration came from both the city, the Sons of Norway Lodge, and from area Scandinavian organizations. On May 17, 1996, Milwaukee's Leif Ericson statue was officially dedicated. In 2016–18 the statue was completely refurbished, again partially funded by the Sons of Norway lodge.

19. Letter from Mrs. Joseph Gilbert to Anne Whitney, Nov. 1887 (Wellesley College Archives Digital Repository).

20. *Wikipedia* entry on Milwaukee, accessed Feb. 21, 2021.

21. List of statues in Guttormsen, 81. For a transnational perspective, see Dag Blanck, "The Transnational Viking: The Role of the Viking in Sweden, the United States, and Swedish America," *Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 7, no. 1 (2016): 1–19.

22. Tufts, 57. Whitney then gave the cast to the Smithsonian Institute, where it was briefly displayed but then was left to accumulate dust in storage. At one point in the early 1990s it was offered to the National Museum of Women in the Arts.

23. The board of directors of the Leif Ericson Monument Society had unanimously adopted Asbjørnsen's original sketch and offered nothing but praise, quibbling only over whether it should be nine or ten feet in height.

24. The *Chautauquan,* August 1893, quoted from this superb website dedicated to the fair, https://worldsfairchicago1893.com/ accessed Feb. 18, 2021.

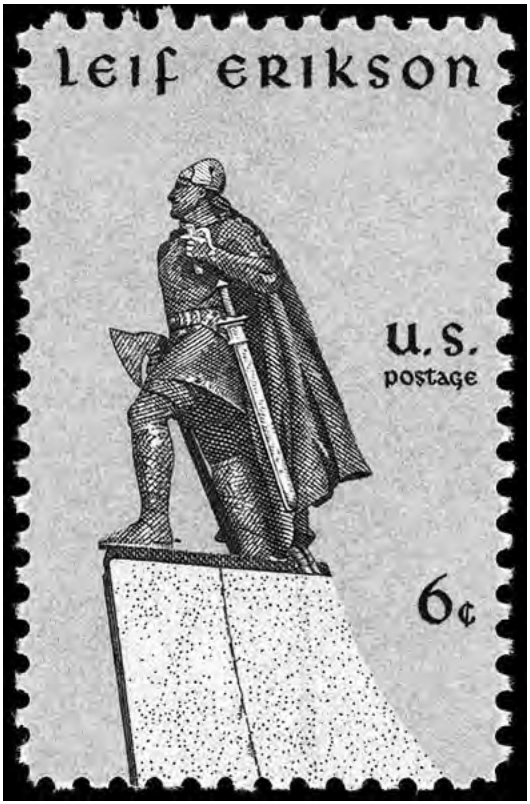
25. Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, "The Voyage of 'The Viking,'" *The Chautauquan* (January 1894): 420–25.

26. Ibid., 421 (emphasis added).

27. Rumsford's daughter, Cornelia, continued his crusade. See Brian Regal, "Cornelia Horsford and the Adventures of Leif Erikson: Viking Settlements in the Bay State," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts,* 48, no. 2 (Summer 2020): 36–59.

28. For a more in-depth analysis of the origins and history of Leif Erikson Day, see Guttormsen, pp. 96–100.

29. Guttormsen, 99, and Octavia Randolph, "Scandinavian Archetypes in North American Imaginations: From Beowulf to Alicia Vikander," at https://octavia.net/ accessed Feb. 12, 2021.
30. Janet A. Headley, "Anne Whitney's Leif Erikson: A Brahmin Response to Christopher Columbus," *American Art* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 41–59.
31. Daniel Okrent, *The Guarded Gate: Bigotry, Eugenics and the Law That Kept Two Generations of Jews, Italians, and Other European Immigrants Out of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2019). The *New York Times Book Review* named it one of the "100 Notable Books of the Year."
32. Daniel Okrent, "Opinion: Kushner's Immigration Plan is a Version of a Discriminatory Effort from More than a Century Ago," *Washington Post,* May 19, 2019.
33. Ibid.
34. Mancini, 881.



Stamp issued October 9, 1968

Newport News, Virginia

Erected in 1938, this 12-foot bronze was a replica of a statue given by the U.S. government to the "People of Iceland" in 1930. Like most, it is a far more martial and manly representation than Anne Whitney's statue.

Sculptor John K. Daniels, c. 1948

Courtesy: Minnesota Historical Society Collection.

Opposite page: "Thorvald Erikson Wounded by the Red Men," 1901

There is no historical evidence for this illustration from Henry Northport's children's history, titled *Our Greater Country; Being a Standard History of the United States* (Philadelphia, National Publishing Company, 1901), p. 30. However, fanciful depictions of Vikings trading and/or fighting with Native Americans abound on the internet. Source: Wikimedia Commons.