Valuing Immigrant Memories as Common Heritage

The Leif Erikson Monument in Boston

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This article examines the history of the monument to the Viking and transatlantic seafarer Leif Erikson (ca. AD 970–1020) that was erected in 1887 on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, Massachusetts. It analyzes how a Scandinavian-American immigrant culture has influenced America through continued celebration and commemoration of Leif Erikson and considers Leif Erikson monuments as a heritage value for the public good and as a societal resource. Discussing the link between discovery myths, narratives about refugees at sea and immigrant memories, the article suggests how the Leif Erikson monument can be made relevant to present-day society.

Keywords: immigrant memories; historical monuments; Leif Erikson; national and urban heritage; Boston

Introduction

At the unveiling ceremony of the Leif Erikson monument in Boston on October 29, 1887, the Governor of Massachusetts, Oliver Ames, is reported to have opened his address with the following words: "We are gathered here to do honor to the memory of a man of whom indeed but little is known, but whose fame is that of having being one of those pioneers in the world's history, whose deeds have been the source of the most important results."[1] Governor Ames was paying tribute to Leif Erikson (ca. AD 970–1020) from Iceland, who, according to the Norse Sagas, was a Viking Age transatlantic seafarer and explorer.[2] At the turn

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of the nineteenth century, the story about Leif Erikson's being the first European to land in America achieved popularity in the United States. Governor Ames's statement could be interpreted as follows: So rarely have such significant honors come from such sparse knowledge of the achievements of a historical person. The statement acknowledges a basic characteristic of memorials: the further back in time the event or person commemorated, the greater the opportunities for interpretation. In this case, the question is why and how Leif Erikson was commemorated by Governor Ames and his like-minded contemporaries with the unveiling of a grand, heroic statue signifying not only America's but also Boston's origin and foundation.

This article explores how a memory culture associated with Scandinavian-American immigration appears in public discourse by examining the planning, construction and uses of the Leif Erikson monument on Commonwealth Avenue (at Charlesgate East) in downtown Boston, Massachusetts, which was the first monument to the explorer to be erected in the United States and was followed by numerous similar memorials in other parts of the country. The analysis will address the historical narratives, symbolic content, and interests involved in the Leif Erikson monument tradition in Boston, and how this tradition is part of a national commemoration practice in the United States, where Leif Erikson Day is celebrated every year on October 9. The example of the Leif Erikson monument in Boston will serve as a case for analyzing management strategies about the use of old monuments for the benefit of present-day society. While the scholarship on heritage has influenced conservation practices with regard to the best methods of preserving monuments (techniques, materials, etc.), the social values and ideas justifying conservation or protection (ideology, politics, etc.), which are the focus in this article, have been explored to a lesser extent. The main questions considered here are how society today evaluates a monument erected in the nineteenth century and what is the potential use of old monuments that were erected for the sole purpose of creating support among the citizens at that time for values that no longer seem relevant. Exploring these questions could be of interest to planners, entrepreneurs and cultural heritage managers alike, both when considering "what to do" with old monuments in spatial planning and when engaging in disseminating and facilitating the historic monument and the place (information boards, seating, etc.) for the public.

Various heritage strategies are discussed regarding how the Leif Erikson monument in downtown Boston can be used as an applied heritage value in the dissemination of the site as a public place. One strategy, often used in cases of a difficult past, is to destroy or remove the monument, for instance by relocating it to another (museum) site, which may be the eventual fate of the monument in Boston. Another strategy is to silence old monuments by changing the name of the place where they are or were located or by abandoning the place to decay and marginalizing it as a significant public space. Demolition, removal and silencing are all destructive (although sometimes very necessary) ways of re-using and reinterpreting places associated with such monuments. However, in this article I will also discuss more constructive heritage strategies that enable such old monuments to be used to provoke debate about values and identity, about past injustice and the possibility of reconciliation between different social groups today.

The Leif Erikson Monument Tradition

The function of memorials and monuments as symbols of cultural unity and bonds associated with "the memory of the nation" has been extensively researched.[3] Collective memories with "roots" leading to a remote past—created from heroic narratives, origin myths, and legends—are a common component of nation building.[4] However, memorials can also convey a symbolic content associated with the transitional cultures or transnational memory at work in societies, as, for instance, in immigrant memory practices.[5] This means that the relationships between "roots" and "routes"—including travel to a new homeland, the experience of being on the move—become a key factor in shaping personal and collective memory practices. Previous studies have shown that the heritage that becomes objects for memory production takes the form of collections of personal belongings (photos, amulets, and other items) brought by immigrants from their home country or acquired in their new homeland.[6] However, these studies have paid less attention to monuments, such as those devoted to the Viking Leif Erikson, that manifest contributions from immigrant cultures to the nation-building process.

People around the world with Scandinavian ancestors or who associate themselves with a Scandinavian heritage trace their "roots" and "routes" back to the Viking voyages. This is reflected in the erection of numerous statues and other memorials to the Vikings, extending from the American continent to New Zealand. In this modern context of migratory movements, the symbolic qualities associated with a Viking heritage are used in innovative ways for educational, political and commercial purposes. However, there is a need for studies on how migratory movements affect the transfer of popular histories, such as those about the heroic Vikings, from one place to another and how they are translated in different national contexts.[7] One influential aspect of Scandinavian culture that was passed down in this way is represented in the popular interpretations of Leif Erikson's journey to the "Vinland" described in the Norse Sagas, which was believed to be part of the Atlantic coast in North America.

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.[8] It was primarily Norwegian Americans who claimed an ancestral relationship with Leif Erikson, although such a relationship was promoted by all Scandinavian nationalities in America.[9] The Leif Erikson memorial should therefore be seen in the context of a cultural heritage that is part of the overall writing of Scandinavian-American history. While earlier studies focused largely on the transfer, assimilation and survival of Scandinavian culture in America, more recent studies have also examined how Scandinavian immigrant culture is expressed in social networks and living patterns involving the cultural transfer between the host country and the country from which the immigrants came; Scandinavian-American heritage is in other words transferred from America to Scandinavia, not just the other way around.[10]

The cultural influence of Scandinavian immigrants to America, as well as the Scandinavian American culture transferred to Scandinavia, are evident in the construction of a number of memorials to Leif Erikson throughout the United States and in Europe, as well as in festivals, world fairs, commercial products, leagues and other activities that celebrate the Vikings in America. Although the Leif Erikson memorial culture originated in the United States, it has gradually been transferred to Europe (mainly along the Vikings' surmised westward route) (table 1) since the initiators

of the monuments were Scandinavian-American immigrants, leagues and organizations who sought to reunite with their Nordic homeland and heritage and thereby strengthen their ties to both the old and the new country (what Daron Olson terms, the notion of building "a Greater Norway" for Norwegian Americans possessing a culture involving both sides of the Atlantic).[11]

Table 1: Monuments erected in tribute to Leif Erikson in America and Europe, from 1887 to present.

Year	Places with Leif Erikson memorial	Country	Type of memorial
1887	Boston (Massachusetts), Commonwealth Avenue	USA	Statue
1887	Milwaukee (Wisconsin), Juneau Park	USA	Statue
1887	Cambridge/Boston (Massachusetts), Memorial Drive/Gerry's Landing Road	USA	Statue
1889	Waltham/Boston (Massachusetts), Norumbega Road	USA	Tower
1901	Chicago (Illinois), Humbolt Park	USA	Statue
1920	Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), Boathouse Row	USA	Statue
1920	Reykjavik	Iceland	Statue
1930	Reykjavik, Eiriksgata/Frakkastígur	Iceland	Statue
1932	New Rochelle (New York), Hudson Park Rd./Pelham Rd	USA	Boulder, plaque
1934	Bremen, Böttcherstraße	Germany	Plaque
1936	Los Angeles (California), Griffith Park	USA	Bust
1938	Newport News (Virginia), the Mariners' Museum—replica of 1930 statue in Iceland	USA	Statue, replica
1939	Brooklyn (New York) Leif Ericson Park/Square in Bay Ridge	USA	Public park

Year	Places with Leif Erikson memorial	Country	Type of memorial
1949	Saint Paul/Minneapolis (Minnesota), University Avenue W/Rev. Dr.Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.	USA	Statue
1956	Duluth (Minnesota), Leif Erikson Park/12th Avenue East & London Road—replica of the Boston statue from 1887	USA	Statue, replica
1962	Seattle (Washington), Shilshole Bay Marina in Ballard—relocated in 2007	USA	Statue
1987	Keflavik, Leifur Eiríksson International Air Terminal	Iceland	Statue
1994	Minot (North Dakota), on US-83 south of town, a Scandinavian Heritage Park	USA	Statue
1997	Trondheim, Brattørkaja—replica of Seattle statue from 1956	Norway	Statue, replica
2000	Qassiarsuk, Brattahlid—replica of Seattle statue from 1956	Greenland	Statue
2000	Laugarbrekka, Snæfellsnes	Iceland	Statue
2000	Ottawa (Ontario), National Archives of Canada	Canada	Statue
2000	Eiríkstadir, Búdardalur	Iceland	Statue
2000	Glaumbær	Iceland	Statue
2001	Cleveland (Ohio)—replica of Seattle statue from 1956	USA	Bust, replica
2003	Seattle (Washington)	USA	Bust, replica
2007	Seattle (Washington), Seattle statue from 1956	USA	Statue, relocated

Note: The table is partly based on the inventory of Leif Erikson monuments worldwide made by Peter van der Krogt, "Leif Eriksson Monuments Pages," http://vanderkrogt.net/leiferiksson/index.php (accessed May 1, 2017), supplemented by my own investigations.

Monument biography: methods and sources

The Leif Erikson monument examined in this article is therefore part of a memory culture (or a "remembrance culture," from the German "Erinnerungskultur"): the intangible and tangible heritage that defines how a group or a social community has chosen to remember the past.[12] It takes the form of cultural products and heritage (symbols, rituals, media, places, and landscapes) that preserve the memory and create new meaning of the past. It is also encoded in a memorial culture, which encapsulates how a community has defined its narratives and symbols through monuments and ceremonies intended to reflect its identity and political influence within the society it contributes to. Memorials are "solid metaphors" with a compact symbolic content that reflects trends, visions and public values in a society, and they serve as strong cultural and political statements about the past.[13]

The concept of biography, which in recent years has been applied to the study of objects, landscapes and places, is a useful approach to studying a memory culture.[14] This approach regards the material world as an active component—an agent—partaking in social practices. The biographical approach focuses on the fabric of specific places or sites—buildings, monuments, bridges, parks or squares—and seeks to connect the material aspects "with their symbolic, social, and political dimensions to understand them as processes, and thus trace how meanings are generated, shared, contested, and transformed."[15] It is therefore a useful tool for investigating the values associated with memorials. Classical texts, the art and style of artifacts, cultural concepts (such as "Vikings") and practices (such as anniversaries, rallies and festivals) are all part of the memorial culture related to Leif Erikson commemorations in America. Memorials such as Boston's Leif Erikson monument (the first monument listed in Table 1) stage history by using both academic and popular narratives of the past; they create public arenas for experiencing and celebrating the past; and they stimulate a commodity culture with a variety of cultural products (flags, postcards, stamps, food, music, national costumes, etc.). There is, in other words, an entire arsenal of sources available with which to investigate Leif Erikson's memorial tradition.[16] These varied sources are valuable for the study of monument biographies, their intended goals, formation, reception and re-use.[17]

The biography of a monument concerns 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. In addition, monument biographies include an analysis of how the monument becomes part of the heritage processes in action over time, or its "heritagization," i.e., the point at which a monument becomes a heritage site in its own right and partakes in defining new or renewed heritage actions for sites and landscapes.[18] Here, the biographical approach will be used not so much to acquire increased knowledge about the monument's history from nineteenth-century Boston to the present as to define the heritage values conveyed by the monument tradition today. This case study can contribute to a discussion about many similar monuments that were erected in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century and subsequently became culturally marginalized and symbolically outdated as collective identity-markers, and continue to be problematic and contested today.[19]

Contested statues in boston's urban parks

"Leif, the Discoverer," the first Leif Erikson monument in America, is a bronze sculpture created by the American sculptor and poet Anne Whitney. It was built on Commonwealth Avenue, a parkway from the late nineteenth century in Back Bay, Boston, designed by American architect Arthur Delevan Gilman. The parkway, or greenway, is considered one of the best-preserved examples of nineteenth-century urban design in the United States.[20] The greenway, also known as the Commonwealth Avenue Mall, constitutes an urban green area with walkways and shady trees punctuated by statues and memorials. The greenway is part of the Emerald Necklace park system, a 1,100-acre (4.5 km^2) chain of parks linked by parkways and waterways in Boston and Brookline, Massachusetts. The urban parkway serves as the city's memory landscape, where statues and memorials commemorate the city's founders and honored citizens.

Boston city's monument history is intertwined with American origin myths and the story about the European discovery of the Promised Land in the West. Both Leif Erikson and Christopher Columbus feature in the city's homage to ancestors descended from European Americans. There

are three statues of Columbus in the Boston area.[21] Two are located in the northern end of the city, which has a large Italian-American population; the first was erected ca. 1849 in Louisburg Square, and another was erected in 1979 in Christopher Columbus Park (which was built in 1974). The third statue was erected in 1892 in front of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in the South End, where Irish Catholics dominated the neighborhood. Under the strong influence of Columbus's critics in the city such as Protestant immigrants, this commanding statue was discreetly relocated in the 1920s to its present site outside St. Anthony's Catholic Church in Revere, a city on the northern edge of Boston.[22]

By the late 1800s, the two monument traditions of Leif Erikson and Christopher Columbus were participating in cultural battles between Protestant and Catholic immigrants in Boston.[23] According to Gloria Greis, Executive Director of the Needham Historical Society,

> Columbus personified the growing political and social power of Boston's Catholic immigrants represented by the Irish and Italians, which to the old-line Protestant establishment represented a unified and significant threat to the status quo. Instead of representing Norse hedonism and the son of bloody Viking plunderers, Leif symbolized a good Christian explorer and merchant—not so very unlike themselves, thus representing good Protestant values. For the Protestant elite of Boston then, Leif Eriksson was the anti-Columbus. They saw him as fair and Nordic, where Columbus was Italian. Columbus brought (as they thought) superstition and slavery to the New World, while Leif brought progress and commerce. If the possibility had existed in his day, Leif was the kind of man who would certainly have been, well—Protestant, like them.[24]

Similarly, the historian JoAnne Mancini describes the interest in Leif Erikson in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as part of the broader phenomenon of the New England cultural elite's "racialized history": "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, at least, was decidedly on the wane."[25] In a culturally diverse and dynamic city such as Boston, it may be an oversimplification to portray Boston's political life as polarized

on the basis of the cultural clashes between Protestants and Catholics. Nevertheless, the statements above indicate the partnership between Scandinavian Americans and the New England "Brahmin class" in forging the transnational identity associated with Leif Erikson. The advocates who promoted Leif Erikson in American cultural-political life were represented by the white Protestant elite of New Englanders who used culture as a means to maintain their political hegemony in the face of the increasing influence of Irish and Italian Catholic immigrant cultures in Boston in the late 1800s.[26] The erection of the Leif Erikson monument in Boston can therefore be seen as a material expression of these struggles to dominate the city's public space.

The unveiling of the Leif Erikson monument in Boston

One of the most important sources for the idea of placing a statue of Leif Erikson in downtown Boston is believed to have been Ole Bornemann Bull, the great Norwegian violinist and proponent of Norse culture, who enjoyed close connections among the Boston elite, including with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.[27] Along with other members of the cultural elite, he succeeded in linking the history of the Vikings with a common heritage that resonated with both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon aspirations for finding their ancestors in the New World.[28] Bull was a defender of the theory, first presented by Danish scholar Carl Christian Rafn, that the legendary Vinland of the Viking Sagas could be located in New England and that the first European to reach these shores was Leif Erikson in AD 1000.[29] Rafn published much of his work in 1837 in *Antiquitates Americanae*, which is considered the first scholarly exposition of the pre-Columbian Norse exploration of America.

A close friend of Bull, Rasmus Bjørn Anderson, a Norwegian-American professor at the University of Wisconsin, whose book *America Not Discovered by Columbus* was published in 1874, was an early advocate for including Leif Erikson in the American pantheon at the expense of Columbus, and his support helped to popularize the idea that Vikings were the first Europeans in the New World.[30] Anderson argued that "Leif [Erikson]'s booths are thought to have been situated at or near Fall River, Massachusetts," in other words, well south of Boston, and he enthusiastically urged that he

be commemorated: "Let us remember Leif Erikson, the first white man who planted his feet on American soil!… Let us erect a monument to Leif Erikson worthy of the man and the cause…."[31] Through his connections with the Boston elite Anderson's history writing and efforts to establish such a monument influenced the processes leading to the construction of a Leif Erikson monument in Boston.[32]

Anderson produced a group ideology based on what Orm Øverland terms a "Norwegian-American homemaking mythology, with the three elements of foundation, sacrifice, and ideological gifts."[33] "Homemaking mythology" refers to a set of beliefs about the immigrant community's own significant role in the development of American culture and history. That mythology used the American Civil War as a narrative to assert that true Yankees were descended from Norwegians (Vikings) and that the Union had been saved thanks to the sacrifices made by Norwegian immigrants. Anderson also asserted that the Norwegians, through Leif Erikson and the Viking sea voyages, were the true discoverers of America. According to this narrative, American democracy was of Norwegian origin and Americans were descended from freedom-loving Vikings whose "spirit found its way into the Magna Charta of England and into the Declaration of Independence in America."[34] Anderson produced an origin myth in which Leif Erikson and the Vikings, "through their colonization efforts in England and Normandy during the Viking Age … first introduced into the English speaking world the values of love for democracy and freedom, hard work, and respect for law and order."[35]

These noble characteristics of the Vikings were also part of a Swedish-American identity project from the 1890s. According to the Swedish-American journalist and educator Johan Alfred Enander, editor of the Chicago-based newspaper *Hemlandet*, Leif Erikson and the Vikings who sailed to North America were "Northmen" from Greenland, originating from Sweden, Norway and Denmark.[36] For Enander, the Swedes, because of their "superior" Viking heritage and character, embodied essential American values more fully than any other ethnic group. Like Anderson, Enander traced the nobler qualities of the English race—the Anglo-Saxons—"back to Scandinavian origins."[37]

These claims regarding noble Vikings and Anglo-Saxons suited the values that Bull, Longfellow and their followers promoted through their own enterprises. During Bull's visit to Boston in 1870, when he stayed

at Longfellow's Cambridge home, Bull, Longfellow, and Longfellow's brother-in-law, Thomas Gold Appleton, discussed over dinner one night a plan for the erection of a statue of Leif Erikson. Appleton subsequently outlined a plan for the monument and gathered together a committee of fifty-two prominent Boston citizens. The monument plan was apparently abandoned, however, because of opposition from the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, which argued that there was insufficient evidence to support the claim of the Norse discovery of America. With the deaths of Appleton, Bull and Longfellow in the next few years, the project was put on hold.[38]

It was revived a few years later by Rumford Professor and lecturer in chemistry at Harvard, Eben Norton Horsford, who commissioned a bronze statue of Leif Erikson from Anne Whitney. Horsford was a long-standing friend of Bull and his wife, the American writer and philanthropist from Upstate New York, Sara Chapman Thorp Bull. The inspiring discussions between them, and not least Bull's persuasiveness, evidently convinced Horsford to contribute to financing a statue in honor of Leif Erikson. Supported by Horsford's money, by fundraising from the Scandinavian Memorial Association and by the growing popularity of the Vinland theory, the Leif Erikson statue project was finally realized.[39]

On October 29, 1887, a day of "cloudless skies and a warm summer sun," a large crowd gathered for the unveiling of the monument (in which Sara Bull also participated) "erected on the Back Bay to commemorate and perpetuate the memory of Leif Erikson, the Norseman, who is credited with having been the first civilized man to set foot on American soil."[40] These were the opening words that described the event in the *Boston Daily Globe* on the following day. The ceremony included a parade in which Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian leagues were represented by members carrying the banners of the various Scandinavian-American organizations, along with the flags of the Scandinavian nations. In the opening address, the prominent author, historian, Unitarian minister and statesman Edward Everett Hale paid tribute to Ole Bull for his efforts to make the monument a reality and for bringing "Norway and her history close to the hearts of Americans."[41]

Horsford delivered the dedicatory address, emphasizing the historical connection between the Vikings, Leif Erikson and the landscape of the monument. He also paid tribute to the seafaring and technological-

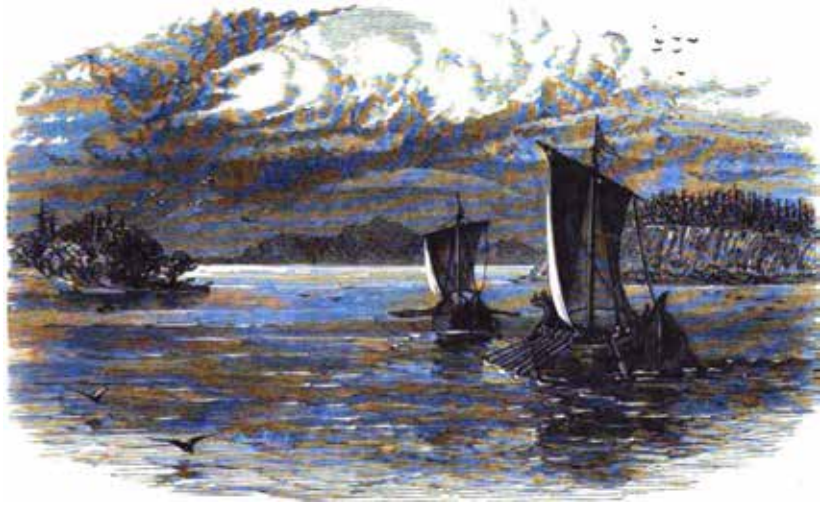

Fig. 1. Drawing of Vikings venturing down the coast to New England, entering the Charles River. Illustration from William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay, *A Popular History of the United States: From the First Discovery of the Western Hemisphere by the Northmen, to the End of the First Century of the Union of the States* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Company, 1876), 43.

innovative skills of the Scandinavians. In particular, he honored Leif Erikson's namesake, the nineteenth-century Swedish-American Captain John Ericsson, for his importance in American technological history and his contribution to naval warfare and the merchant navy.[42] According to Horsford, the Viking Leif Erikson was not only a New Englander; he had settled in the neighborhood at the Cambridge side of Boston where Horsford himself lived. He fervently believed that the fabled Vinland of the Viking Sagas was located in the Boston area, more specifically by the Charles River or Cape Cod, and that Leif Erikson had sailed up the bay (crossing today's Boston Harbor) and navigated the Charles River to Cambridge and Watertown (see figure 1). This local connection supplied the most important pretext for locating the Leif Erikson monument on Commonwealth Avenue.[43] The sculptor Anne Whitney unveiled the monument, at which point Major Hugh O'Brien accepted the monument on behalf of the City of Boston as a gift. On the face of the monument is carved in runes "Leif the Lucky, Son of Erik"; on the back, in English, "Leif the Discoverer, Son of Erik, who sailed from Iceland and landed on this continent, AD 1000." The left and right sides feature cast reliefs of

Fig. 2. The Leif Erikson monument in Boston. Photo by author, May 2015.

the journey, and at the base of the pedestal there is a model of a Viking ship with a dragonhead (figure 2). The whole monument is framed by a boat-shaped granite basin. In the summer, flowers are planted within the basin, where there was originally a fountain. An article in the *Boston Daily*

Globe on the day of the ceremony described the connection between the Gokstad Ship (until then, the most famous Viking ship, found in a burial mound in Norway in 1880) and the voyages that Leif Erikson had made to North America.[44]

In 1917, in conjunction with the straightening of Commonwealth Avenue, the monument was relocated from Massachusetts Avenue to Charlesgate East, where it remains today.[45] At the far western end of the Commonwealth Avenue promenade, Leif Erikson stands, "shading his eyes with his hand, surveying the Charlesgate flyover. He used to have a better view. When Leif was put there in 1887, he could actually see the river and, beyond it, the New World."[46]

Fantastic archaeology and the fictitious viking heritage in boston

Stephen Williams's book *Fantastic Archaeology* presents the various and persistent frauds, hoaxes and misinterpretations that have dogged American archaeology and contributed to the New England elite's fascination with the Viking Age in the Boston area.[47] Like several other prominent Boston Brahmins of his time, Horsford became obsessed with finding traces of the Vikings and the legendary lost city of Norumbega. His arguments often contain circular reasoning, where he assumes what he is trying to prove, as in his statement, "it was long after this prediction that I found its verification at every point I examined."[48]

The name Norumbega had been identified on European maps of North America as early as 1520.[49] Horsford published his Norumbega findings in seven lavishly illustrated books and numerous articles between 1886 and 1893. By compiling interpretations of the Norse Sagas, old maps and his own archaeological investigations, he believed he could locate a Viking settlement in Boston. Horsford detailed a vast system of Norse dams, canals and wharves along the Charles River, which he said was the lost city of Norumbega, whose name, he claimed was a corruption of "Norvege," Norway.[50] Horsford estimated that nearly 10,000 Norsemen had eventually settled along the lower reaches of the Charles River. These were the ideas that the audience listened to during Horsford's address at the unveiling ceremony of the Leif Erikson monument in 1887.

Horsford conducted several archaeological excavations along the coast of Boston with the purpose of detecting traces of the Vikings. The amateur archaeologist claimed he had uncovered the stone foundations of Leif Erikson's house just around the corner from his Cambridge home, along the banks of the Charles River.[51] When the artifacts discovered during the excavation were assessed, the stone house foundations were found to be from the American colonial period. Despite the evidence, Horsford assumed that the house must have been Leif Erikson's home. He declared that he had found "a house on the spot where, according to the Sagas, Leif must have built one. I say *must*, because the combinations of relative positions, movements of tides, topography, artificial structures, to which description dating back nine hundred years fits to-day, without a wanting element, *cannot* apply to two groups of entities."[52] He later marked the site with a granite plaque with the following words carved into the stone: "On this spot in the year 1000, Leif Erikson built his house in Vinland." Horsford's plaque is located today close to a busy intersection, where Gerry's Landing Road meets Memorial Drive on the Cambridge side of Boston.

Horsford also built a tower in 1888 on the site that he claimed was the old city of Norumbega on the banks of the Charles River near Weston.[53] However, "[w]hat Horsford in fact found was a thin scatter of rocks in a fairly rocky terrain. There was no proof—no artifacts, or the remains of buildings, wharves, or any of the tons of debris that an archaeologist would expect to find from a city of 10,000."[54] Despite these uncertainties, Horsford's theories of the Viking occupation were summarized on the plaque at the base of the tower he erected. Norumbega Tower lent its name to Norumbega Park, which illustrates how cultural heritage sites build on each other as chains of memory practices. The park was right across the river from Horsford's tower and was built around the same time, in 1897. Large numbers of people came to the popular park every summer for canoeing, picnics, the penny arcade, the carousel, restaurants and other attractions. Gradually, however, interest in the park waned, and it finally closed in 1964.

Horsford's activities have left their mark in Boston and are reflected in various heritage sites that still exist today.[55] The image of the great Leif Erikson gained a foothold, and in the 1890s and early 1900s the Viking motif also appeared on commercial and civic architecture in Boston. In

Fig. 3. The Longfellow Bridge with Viking ship decorations. Image from Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 3.0. Wikimedia Commons, "Longfellow Bridge. Viking Ships in Architecture," June 2002, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=16213723 (accessed May 12, 2017).

addition to the statue of Leif Erikson and other memorials honoring the Vikings initiated by Horsford,[56] the Bostonian Viking enthusiasm is also visible in other parts of the city. The most famous example is the Longfellow Bridge, opened in 1906 (originally called Cambridge Bridge and renamed in 1927), whose four large piers were ornamented with the prows of romanticized Viking ships, carved in granite (figure 3), evoking the supposed voyage of Leif Erikson up the Charles River. Another place bearing witness to the Bostonian Viking enthusiasm is the Cambridge Skating Club (located at 40 Willard Street), founded in December 1897 and owned by Longfellow's daughter Annie Longfellow Thorp. In 1930, the club was able to buy a field that belonged to her and build a clubhouse on the spot, a stave building in Norse Dragon Style that looks like a church and has become a Cambridge landmark.[57]

The fascination with the Vikings in Boston also appears in reenactments still performed on the Charles River and at festivals such as Scandinavian Viking Fairs and celebrations of Norwegian Constitution Day, as well

as in the names of streets, hotels and other businesses in Boston.[58] The cultural heritage derived from the Boston Brahmins of the late 1800s and early 1900s (Horsford in particular) is therefore a prominent part of the city's memory today, despite the fact that there is no acknowledged archaeological evidence of Norse culture from the Viking era, or for that matter of Leif Erikson, in Boston or on US soil in general.[59] The vague geographical references in the written and cartographic medieval sources on which Horsford relied, among others, therefore remain unverified. The claims of a Viking settlement in Boston are based on assumptions, circular reasoning, and fantasies—they are fiction not fact. However, this does not mean that the heritage produced by these performances is less significant or real today.[60]

The physical traces of Boston's foundation myth associated with Leif Erikson and the Vikings are scattered throughout the city. The places that have been chosen to mark this myth are today historic landmarks. Paradoxically, it is the city's fictitious heritage, created on the basis of the late nineteenth century's romanticized fascination with Vikings in Boston, that has shaped the city's history. This blend of fiction and "faction" in places such as theme parks or heritage sites partakes in the construction of a renewed reality.[61] Today this renewed reality, the romanticized aesthetics of "Bostonian Vikings" in the urban design, has become a heritage in its own right.

The making of Leif Erikson Day in the United States

As described earlier, a monument's biography is largely determined by the extent to which the monument's symbolic content forms part of a larger cultural arena, in this case the way in which Norwegian Americans in particular used the Viking Leif Erikson as an ethnic marker during the nineteenth century. The symbolic content associated with the Leif Erikson monument in Boston participates in the grand American historical frontier narrative that dominates American history writing, epitomized by the European-American discovery myths of Leif Erikson and Christopher Columbus and the "Going West" narrative of European migration in America.[62] The inscription on the monument in Boston, "Leif the Lucky," refers to the dangerous journey and the fortuitous achievement of discovering

the prosperous land of America.[63] Leif's pose, with hand shading his eyes as he looks westward toward the Promised Land, is a material embodiment of the "Going West" narrative in American memory culture. The symbolism associated with reaching the shores of America also participates in the dominant narrative of Scandinavian-American immigrants.

The history of the first Norwegian-American immigrants plays a key role in the Scandinavian "Going West" narrative. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, a symbolic link was created between the first Norwegian boat immigrants who arrived in America and the American origin myth through "Leif the Lucky"—that is, the discovery of America personified by Leif Erikson.[64] The influence of Rasmus Bjørn Anderson's efforts during the late nineteenth century to create a Norwegian-American commemoration practice is evident in his involvement in the establishment of the Scandinavian Memorial Association, which also included the initiators of the Leif Erikson monument in Boston, and in his campaign for an official Leif Erikson Day in which the narrative of the first organized Norwegian emigration to North America was a central feature.[65]

Organized Norwegian emigration to North America began on July 5, 1825, when the sloop *Restauration*, packed with Norwegian Quakers, left Stavanger for the journey across the Atlantic.[66] When she arrived in New York Harbor on October 9 after a three-month voyage, the *Restauration* caused a sensation. This was the smallest ship known to have crossed the Atlantic with immigrants. For a vessel of her size, the *Restauration* had far more passengers on board than were allowed by American law. This resulted in a fine, confiscation of the ship and the arrest of the captain. The situation was resolved when President John Quincy Adams pardoned the captain, released him and the ship and rescinded the fine. The people who made this journey are often referred to as the Sloopers, a term that is still used today to refer to the first Norwegian Americans, as exemplified by the Norwegian Slooper Society of America: The Norwegian Mayflower People, which was founded in connection with the Norse-American Centennial held in Minnesota on June 7–9, 1925.[67] The courage and strength demonstrated by these Norwegian "Mayflower People" are highlighted in this Norwegian-American memory culture.

This memory tradition and the homemaking myth of the Norwegian boat immigrants were main themes at the Norse-American Centennial,

Fig. 4. The 1925 centennial stamps depicting the voyage of the Vikings (left) and the first immigration of Norwegian Americans on the sloop *Restauration* (right). Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Norse_American_Centennial_Sloop_1925_Issue-2c.jpg; and https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Norse_American_Centennial_Viking_1925_Issue-5c.jpg (both accessed May 12, 2017).

which commemorated the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the *Restauration* in New York City on October 9, 1825.[68] The Norse-American Centennial 1925 medal was one of several initiatives by Congressman Ole Juulson Kvale and other Norwegian-American politicians.[69] The medal, which displays a Viking warrior landing in America on its front and a Viking ship on the reverse, recalls the early Viking exploration in North America. The United States Post Office issued two stamps that also celebrated the 1825 arrival, one depicting a ship representing the *Restauration* and the other a Viking ship that connects Leif Erikson's alleged discovery of America with the organized immigration history of Norwegian Americans (figure 4).

During the Norse-American Centennial, a hundred thousand people gathered at the State of Minnesota Fairgrounds to hear President John Calvin Coolidge and others openly celebrate Norwegian culture, history and heritage. As John Bodnar notes, President Coolidge, who gave the keynote address, "appealed to ethnic and personal pride when he acknowledged the heroic proportions of the immigrant deeds. He praised the Norwegian immigrant stream as having no 'tinge of aristocracy' and, by implication, having contributed to the democratic ideology of the United States."[70] Lauding the courage and character of the pioneers who came to America and expressing gratitude for all the patriotism that was displayed at the Norse Centennial, the president also gave recognition to the contributions of Scandinavian Americans when he termed Leif

Erikson the "Discoverer of America." According to the president, Leif Erikson symbolized enlightenment and represented "the sturdy northern culture in bridging over the gulf of darkness between the ancient and the modern eras of history."[71]

In 1929, as a result of a campaign led by the Leif Erikson Memorial Association of America (established the same year), Wisconsin became the first US state to officially adopt Leif Erikson Day as a state holiday. In 1935, Congress passed a resolution authorizing a national Leif Erikson Day, and on June 25, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt designated October 9, the date when the *Restauration* had arrived in 1825, for that purpose.[72] In 1964 Congress authorized and requested President Lyndon B. Johnson to establish the observance through an annual proclamation that continues to this day. Although October 9 is not associated with any particular event in Leif Erikson's life, Norwegian Americans thereby succeeded in creating a firm link between the two dominant historical narratives and collective anchors of memories in the Norwegian-American immigration memory culture—Leif Erikson and the *Restauration*—and also in gaining national recognition.

The story of how Leif Erikson Day became a commemoration day for all Americans is a story of how Norwegian-American groups throughout the United States managed to gain national political recognition.[73] As the archaeologist Claire Smith has stated, "monuments are expressions of power, physical manifestations of success stories in a world of competing histories. They stake claims to society's resources and insinuate selected cultural understandings of history into a group's consciousness."[74] Thus, commemorations celebrating a remote past that bear tribute to Leif Erikson illustrate both national and transnational aspects of the construction of heritage by an immigrant group. The political discourse exemplifies a success story of how an ethnic group, in this case Norwegian-American immigrants, achieved a voice that influenced the national consciousness in a culturally diverse society. The Leif Erikson memorial tradition, which was initiated with the first monument in Boston in 1887, is a material manifestation of this success.

Barack Obama's presidential addresses on Leif Erikson Day vividly illustrate this process.[75] The main themes of the addresses are linked by two narratives: the relationship between discoveries, modern progress, and inventions (enlightenment); and the connection between the courage of

travelers, immigrant fellowship and a common American identity (spirit, virtues and values). In 2011, for example, he emphasized modern progress and enlightenment, proclaiming that "The triumphs of Erikson and those who followed inspire us to continue reaching for new horizons. Whether developing new technologies, pushing the boundaries of medicine, or driving ever further into the vastness of space, we do so confidently, knowing that icons like Leif Erikson were able to overcome incredible odds and drive the world forward."[76] In 2013, Obama gave a colorful description of the hazardous travel of immigrants to America, referring to a heroic immigrant narrative that applies to all Americans, back to Leif Erikson:

> More than a millennium ago, Leif Erikson, a son of Iceland and grandson of Norway, cast off from Norway's familiar shores and set sail for Greenland.... Today, we commemorate Leif Erikson's journey. We also honor a group of Norwegian immigrants who summoned that same striving spirit centuries later. Together, in 1825, they braved uncertain waters with hope in their hearts, confident that greater opportunity and brighter horizons awaited them on American shores.... We endeavor to be a country where anyone who is willing to work hard and take risks can turn even the most improbable idea into something great. On Leif Erikson Day, we celebrate that legacy and the countless Norwegian Americans who have lived it, and we carry it forward in the years ahead.[77]

In 2014, he reiterated "the simple truth that has drawn immigrants to our shores—in America, anyone who works hard should be able to get ahead.... As a Nation, let us carry forward the spirit of Leif Erikson and seize the future together."[78]

Obama's addresses build on a long "ritualized" political tradition dating from the first Leif Erikson Day in 1964 to the present and exemplifying how a remote past is invoked to serve contemporary political agendas. A political message was also prominent in President Donald J. Trump's first Leif Erikson Day address in 2017 when he declared that "[t]he Nordics are … staunch allies in the war on terrorism and are valued members of the Global Coalition to Defeat the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.... We stand together with the Nordic people in solidarity against the threat of terrorism. As we strive for peace, prosperity, and security, we will work to ensure that our relationship with the Nordic countries continues to reflect

the indomitable spirit of Leif Erikson."[79] Although the statements under the various presidencies could have very different political agendas, these addresses demonstrate how immigrant memories are enlisted to construct national identity. Thus, Leif Erikson and the first Norwegian-American boat immigrants who traveled to the New World became symbols of the common spirit, virtues and values that unite all Americans.

Referring to the sociologist Robert Bellah's analyses of presidential addresses as representing a type of civil and cultural religion, David M. Krueger has described how Scandinavian-American identity has been constructed on the basis of "fake" archaeology and mythic narratives, which generate popular enthusiasm.[80] In these terms, the Leif Erikson memorial culture can, in a historical perspective, be seen as the way Scandinavian-American ethnic groups in different regions constituted local "sects of American civil religion that fused national narratives with ethnic, racial, and regional concerns."[81] Simultaneously, as seen in the Leif Erikson memory culture, these "sects" participated in defining national identity and a national civil religion, as exemplified by the presidential addresses, in which public-religious expressions characterized by a set of beliefs, symbols, narratives, rituals and values define the national patriotic emblems of the United States.

Uses of the Leif Erikson Monument Today

The biography of the Leif Erikson monument in Boston shows that the monument represents a heritage that was created as part of the nineteenth-century American identity project. A central part of the symbolic content associated with the monument is immigrant memories based on cross-Atlantic experiences, a memory theme that, according to the presidential addresses, unites all Americans. Scandinavian-American immigrant memories associated with Leif Erikson and the first Norwegian boat immigrants produced an overall narrative of the journey across the ocean and the encounter with the New World. The memory culture of Leif Erikson illustrates, in other words, both national and transnational/transitional aspects of how heritage is constructed by specific ethnic groups.[82] In addition, the monument biography of Leif Erikson illustrates how an immigrant group with attachment to Scandinavian roots has affected a

culturally diverse society in America. This raises the question of whether Scandinavian Americans, and Norwegian Americans in particular, were as an ethnic group in a privileged position from which they were able to gain influence in American society.

The Leif Erikson tradition has featured in cultural battles, including attempts among white ethnic Protestant groups in America to strengthen their political position.[83] The nineteenth-century racial symbolic content associated with the Leif Erikson monument in Boston—symbols that citizens today would likely regard as obsolete—is conflictual and problematic because it has historically been used to promote ethnic nationalism. In heritage literature, ethnic nationalism denotes a dark or difficult heritage that divides and discriminates more than it connects and equally respects people across ethnic divisions.[84] These contradictory aspects of the Leif Erikson tradition raise the question of how this problematic heritage can communicate with today's culturally diverse American population. I have previously argued that old and outdated monuments can be considered a heritage value with the potential for being used for the benefit of society.[85] For that purpose, I defined six modes of action with regard to such monuments—destruction or removal, silencing, provocation, justice, reconciliation, and humor or fun, which I will here use to explore the possible approaches to the societal use of the Leif Erikson monument in Boston today.

Destruction or removal and silencing

In societies struggling with a difficult past, monuments are often part of the contestation and "de-commemorating of remembrance practices" that find material expression in the removal of monuments.[86] In a future scenario, the Leif Erikson monument in Boston could be removed or destroyed, as recently happened in New Orleans when the city council decided to demolish four nineteenth-century monuments that are symbols of its racist past.[87] The violent protests in Charlottesville in August 2017, in reaction to the plan to remove the statue of General Robert E. Lee there, and the subsequent political decisions to remove confederate memorials in several other municipalities across the United States have brought American cultural-political battles to the surface of society. Iconoclasm, as expressed in these actions, is a political (or religious) tool

for demonstrating changes in control over the past and for defining new regimes or renewed societal values.[88]

This type of action could thus symbolize a renewed civil commitment to shared values and a common stand against injustice committed in the past. As a heritage strategy, it also involves how the places where the monuments once stood are marked. The heritages of absence "create a hole, an emptiness that needs to be filled; they raise ghosts of the past that are connected to things and places.… The entity itself is not there anymore. What can instead be found is the presence of absence."[89] As demonstrated by the violent events in Charlottesville, a monument that is no longer there becomes a heritage based on its intangible presence. Narratives and imaginations about the past live on and revive memories independently of the monument's physical presence. Removing monuments, in other words, does not necessarily mean forgetting, but merely that the place (perhaps demonstratively) has been filled with something else.[90]

However, the Leif Erikson monument in Boston may not represent a past that seems so difficult and painful today that the citizens feel the need to tear it down. The monument is kept under surveillance and has recently been refurbished by local heritage groups. A plaque erected on the site, signed by Major Raymond L. Flynn, City of Boston 1989, reads: "Generous contributions by Norsemen memorial committee, S/N Lodges Morgensolen #506, and Norumbega #506, and in memory of Richard Andrew Askildsen have provided for the restoration and permanent maintenance of the Leif Erikson memorial." Nevertheless, my own impression on visiting the monument was that it seems to be abandoned. It may appeal most to city walkers who are very fond of history, or more generally to the flâneur, "the urban stroller who is both detached from, and interested in, the sensations of everyday urban life."[91] Standing at a busy intersection, the monument seems to be marginalized as a place for commemoration and remembrance. When I stood in front of the monument, I wondered whether its removal or relocation today would even attract public attention.

As noted earlier, the monument was moved to its present position in 1917 to allow for better urban planning in the area. This decision had nothing to do with a rejection of the values embodied by the monument but could indicate its lack of importance in the public sphere. However, the fact that it was moved rather than removed completely also sug-

gests that it still had significance at that time and points to the flexibility enjoyed by later generations in replanning monuments in a city. Today, the atmosphere of the area around the monument at this particular site in the park seems somewhat out of place because of the continuous stream of heavy traffic. The monument appears to be merely an anecdote in the city's history and to be more or less silenced as a place for commemoration and contemplation in today's cityscape. Silencing, intentionally or unintentionally, becomes an effective tool when the site of a monument becomes less central due to urban transformation. But even if Leif Erikson's monument has become marginalized as a place for remembrance in the city of Boston, the presidential addresses indicate that the figure of Erikson himself continues to receive public attention at a ritualized national political level.

Provocation, justice, reconciliation and humor

There are other ways in which a monument can be of value for later generations and even contribute to societal debate. Monuments to Leif Erikson, Christopher Columbus and General Robert E. Lee in the United States, or for that matter statues of Lenin in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe or of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, are part of different cultural contexts and have very different kinds of legitimacy. Nevertheless, they have some common traits as testimonies to a difficult and dark heritage:[92] they are material manifestations of a forefather cult and origin myth that today are viewed as alienating and excluding other social groups and as outdated markers of national identity. In American memory culture, the historical narratives and modern mythmaking that use Leif Erikson and Christopher Columbus as dominant forefather figures glorify the origin and rise of European culture in America. Those who reject the Columbus memorial tradition today on the grounds that it neglects a bloody colonial history and symbolizes European oppression of Native Americans and African Americans therefore regard Columbus Day as more divisive than unifying.[93]

So far, the Leif Erikson monument has not been targeted by violence or protest actions, unlike, for example, the Columbus statue in Boston, which in 2015 was covered in red paint and sprayed with the words "Black Lives Matter."[94] Although white supremacist groups have held rallies at

other sites with Viking monuments for the celebration of Leif Erikson Day, sometimes involving clashes with antifascist protesters, such events have not been documented at the Boston location.[95] However, provocation is not necessarily a means of demonstrating disagreement or of making a protest. Provocation can also be actively used by museum curators and artists, for example, to create debate and dialogue in society. Thus, the Leif Erikson monument could be interpreted as representing the overall narrative of boat immigrants which featured in Obama's addresses on Leif Erikson Day. The broader theme of boat immigrants embodied in the narratives of Leif Erikson's transatlantic journey and the Norwegian Sloopers could be used to represent a cosmopolitan narrative and heritage associated with boat refugees worldwide. As Peter Gatrell notes with reference to the diaspora of the Vietnamese "boat people" after the Vietnam War in 1975: "The boat became a powerful image, partly because it resonated with American audiences used to stories of the Mayflower as an iconic means of deliverance from oppression, and partly because it offered a dramatic counterpoint to the famous image of a helicopter rescuing privileged Vietnamese allies from the rooftop of the US embassy in Saigon."[96] Monuments devoted to people migrating by boat are potent material symbols giving voice to refugee heritage worldwide.

Such a perspective on the Leif Erikson memory tradition could link American immigrant heritage to ongoing political processes today and provoke relevant questions that society is struggling to address. Does the overcrowded boat with refugees symbolize the receiving society which cannot accommodate the refugees because the country is also perceived as a boat with limited space? Or does the crowded boat symbolize a resource that will enrich the society that receives them? An example of such provocative use of a monument is the artist Jason deCaires Taylor's underwater art museum outside Lanzarote, Spain. One of the more haunting pieces is *The Raft of Lampedusa*, which shows a lifeboat on the seabed with thirteen refugees on board (figure 5). This sculpture, which evokes *The Raft of the Medusa* (1818–1819) by the French Romantic painter Théodore Géricault, depicting the despair of shipwrecked sailors awaiting rescue because of the mistakes of the captain on board, expresses a critique of bad leadership and becomes a sharp critique of contemporary geopolitics. As Taylor himself explained, "Drawing parallels between the abandonment suffered by sailors in this shipwreck scene and the current

Fig. 5. Jason deCaires Taylor, *The Raft of Lampedusa* on the seabed outside Lanzarote, Spain. Courtesy of Jason deCaires Taylor/CACT Lanzarote.

refugee crisis, the work is not intended as a tribute or memorial to the many lives lost but as a stark reminder of the collective responsibility of our now global community."[97] Similarly, the Leif Erikson monument in Boston and the memory practice associated with Leif Erikson Day could be used to arouse similar reflections regarding immigration politics and humanistic ethics in the context of the boat refugees today.[98]

The Leif Erikson monument, as a symbol of immigration to America, could also be used educationally to reflect on questions of injustice in American society and to tell stories that have been excluded from the history of the European discovery of America. Although the term "immigrants" cannot be applied to native populations, taking into account the migratory routes of indigenous Americans along with the successive waves of Asian immigrants could change the dominant "Going West" historical narrative to one of "Going East" through America. The "Going West" narrative in American history writing and memory practices associated with Leif Erikson and Christopher Columbus also excludes the history of westward slave routes and the waves of forced African immigrants to America. These counter-discourses and neglected histories could be connected to the Leif Erikson monument tradition and direct attention toward

injustice in American history while also providing knowledge about how American immigrant history has many origins and directions.[99] Hence, even problematic monuments, rather than being torn down or silenced, can be used as mediators of a difficult past to give a voice to groups in society that have been unfairly treated in the past. Such an approach to the heritage represented by the Leif Erikson monument can promote reconciliation.[100] Obama's addresses on Leif Erikson Day demonstrate how this heritage can be used to create peace, fellowship and unity between different groups in the United States. Immigrant memories are here used as a tool for bridging differences in a culturally diverse nation that can resonate with all Americans. To what extent President Donald J. Trump's statement on a common American identity related to Leif Erikson promotes reconciliation rather than divided ethnic, religious, social and cultural communities in America remains, however, to be seen.

Finally, as we have seen in this study, the Leif Erikson monument in Boston is also associated with a fictitious heritage and popular history promoted by eccentric amateur archaeologists from the nineteenth century who pursued the traces of remote "Bostonian Vikings" which, at least retrospectively, contain humorous elements.[101] These rather strange and spectacular stories belong more to the genres of popular history and fantastic archaeology than to academic history writing. The previously mentioned Norumbega Park, an abandoned amusement park near Boston, is also an example of the fun factor associated with the Bostonian Viking heritage, which blurs the boundaries between fictitious and factual heritage. This cultural heritage based on fictitious and popular history has become real, with a materiality that has shaped the history of the city. There is great potential to further promote the fun factor associated with Boston's Viking heritage through tourist experiences of this historic city. The ironic and humorous aspects of Viking statues, such as the Leif Erikson monument in Boston, could also be a tool for bringing divided communities together and appeal to a new generation of citizens.

All six heritage strategies described above—removal/destruction, silencing, provocation, justice, reconciliation and humor—illustrate that the Leif Erikson monument in Boston expresses heritage values that can constitute a resource in today's society. The choice is either to consign outdated monuments to "monument cemeteries," as has been done with communist statues in Eastern Europe, or to include them in new contexts

as renewed and reinscribed heritage values that could be relevant to people today. Although monuments from the communist era and Leif Erikson monuments in the United States commemorate very different national histories, they pose similar challenges for representing a difficult heritage. Thus, the case of the Leif Erikson monuments is relevant not only to the study of old monuments elsewhere, but also, more specifically, to a memorial practice and memory culture associated with immigrant heritage and migratory cultures throughout the world.

Notes

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1. Quoted in "Leif in Bronze: The Norseman's Statue Unveiled on the Back Bay. Addresses by Governor Ames, Professor Horsford, and Others," *Boston Daily Globe*, October 30, 1887, 3, available at http://search.proquest.com/docview/493477450?accountid=9675 (accessed May 9, 2015).

2. The various spellings of the Viking-era explorer's name are manifold. I will here use the spelling "Leif Erikson," which is the form commonly used in English. For discussion, see Daron W. Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic: Emigration and the Building of a Greater Norway, 1860–1945* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 229.

3. See in particular John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); John R. Gillis, "Introduction. Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," in John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3–24; Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces. Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Pierre Nora, "From *Lieux de mémoire* to *Realms of Memory*," in Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, eds., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1, *Conflicts and Divisions*

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xv–xxiv; Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

4. See, for example, Richard J. Finlay, "Heroes, Myths, and Anniversaries in Modern Scotland," *Scottish Affairs* no. 18 (1997): 108–25; Cornelius Holtorf and Howard Williams, "Landscapes and Memories," in Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 235–54; Krzysztof Pomian, "Franks and Gauls," in Nora and Kritzman, eds., *Realms of Memory*, 27–76.

5. Gregory J. Ashworth, Brian Graham and John E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 2007); Kristine Juul and Keld Buciek, "'We Are Here, Yet We Are Not Here': The Heritage of Excluded Groups," in Brian Graham and Peter Howard, eds., *Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 105–25.

6. Juul and Buciek, "'We Are Here, Yet We Are Not Here'," 121.

7. Stefan Berger, Billie Melman and Chris Lorenz, "Introduction," in Stefan Berger, Billie Melman and Chris Lorenz, eds., *Popularizing National Pasts: 1800 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 12.

8. In the 1960s, the Norwegian archaeologists Anne Stine Ingstad and Helge Ingstad excavated Viking settlements on L'Anse aux Meadows near the northern tip of Newfoundland, Canada, proving the presence of Norsemen at the north-eastern fringes of North America as early as the tenth century AD. See Helge Ingstad and Anne Stine Ingstad, *The Viking Discovery of America: The Excavation of a Norse Settlement in L'Anse Aux Meadows, Newfoundland* (1991; St. John's, NL: Breakwater Books, 2000).

9. Odd S. Lovoll, *The Promise Fulfilled: A Portrait of Norwegian Americans Today* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 250; Odd S. Lovoll, *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 275–76; Odd S. Lovoll, "Leiv Eriksson som symbol i det norske Amerika," in Jan Ragnar Hagland and Steinar Supphellen, eds., *Leiv Eriksson, Helge Ingstad og Vinland: Kjelder og tradisjonar* (Trondheim: Adademisk Forlag, 2000), 124. However, there have also been tensions, conflicts and power struggles between different groups of Scandinavian Americans over which ethnic group was most "integrated" or "at home" in the New World based on their connection with the Viking heritage. These are called "homemaking wars" in Orm Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 177–83; See also Hildor A. Barton, *A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and*

Swedish Americans, 1840–1940 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 64–67.

10. Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic*, xii–xiii.

11. Ibid., 211–24.

12. For a definition and discussion of "memory culture," see Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory" in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 109–11.

13. See Kirk Savage, *History, Memory, and Monuments: An Overview of the Scholarly Literature on Commemoration,* commissioned by the Organization of American Historians and the National Park Service, 2006, http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/hisnps/npsthinking/savage.pdf (accessed April 25, 2017).

14. See Marie Louise S. Sørensen and Dacia Viejo-Rose, "Introduction. The Impact of Conflict on Cultural Heritage: A Biographical Lens," in Marie Louise S. Sørensen and Dacia Viejo-Rose, eds., *War and Cultural Heritage: Biographies of Place* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1–17.

15. Ibid., 5.

16. See Charles Turner, "Nation and Commemoration," in Gerhard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism* (London: SAGE, 2006), 205–13.

17. For example, Gill Abousnnouga and David Machin, "The Changing Spaces of War Commemoration: A Multimodal Analysis of the Discourses of British Monuments," *Social Semiotics* 21, no. 2 (2011): 175–96.

18. Peter Aronsson,"Monument i historiekulturer: Föränderlig mening i klassisk ram," *Tidsskrift for kulturforskning* 4, no. 1–2 (2005): 5–27; for the concept "heritagization," see David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): 319–38.

19. Annette Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact: The Vikings of Vinland, the Peoples of the Dawnland, and the Anglo-American Anxiety of Discovery* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 330–31.

20. Setha Low, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld, *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 19–20.

21. Peter van der Krogt, "Columbus Monuments Pages," http://vanderkrogt.net/columbus/index.php (accessed May 1, 2017).

22. Janet A. Headley, "Anne Whitney's 'Leif Eriksson': A Brahmin Response to Christopher Columbus," *American Art* 17, no. 2 (2003): 53; Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 250.

23. Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 219.

24. Gloria Greis, *Vikings on the Charles: OR, The Strange Saga of Norumbega, Dighton Rock, and Rumford Double-Acting Baking Powder* (Needham History Center & Museum), http://needhamhistory.org/features/articles/vikings/ (accessed April 4, 2017).

25. JoAnna M. Mancini, "Discovering Viking America," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 4 (2002): 877; see also David M. Krueger, *Myths of the Rune Stone: Viking Martyrs and the Birthplace of America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 42–44.

26. See Headley, "Anne Whitney's 'Leif Eriksson.'"

27. Ibid.; see also David Goudsward, *Ancient Stone Sites of New England and the Debate over Early European Exploration* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006), 26–31.

28. See Geraldine Barnes, *Viking America: The First Millennium* (Cambridge, MA: D.S.Brewer, 2001), chap. 3.

29. Mancini, "Discovering Viking America."

30. Krueger, *Myths of the Rune Stone*, 16–21; Rasmus Bjørn Anderson, *America Not Discovered by Columbus: A Historical Sketch of the Discovery of the Norsemen in the Tenth Century* (Chicago: S.C. Griggs, 1874).

31. Anderson, *America Not Discovered by Columbus*, 50.

32. Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 63; Rasmus Björn Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration, (1821–1840). Its Causes and Results: With an Introduction on the Services Rendered by the Scandinavians to the World and to America* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1896), 445–46.

33. Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 162.

34. Anderson, *America Not Discovered by Columbus*, 63; Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 150; Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 227.

35. Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic*, xix.

36. Barton, *A Folk Divided*, 64–67; Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 63, 79–80, 177.

37. Barton, *A Folk Divided*, 64.

38. Greis, *Vikings on the Charles.*

39. Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 230–31.

40. "Leif in Bronze."

41. Ibid.

42. See also Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 84–85.

43. Eben Norton Horsford, *Discovery of America by Northmen: Address at the Unveiling of the Statue of Leif Eriksen* (Boston: The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1888).

44. "A Viking in Bronze: Anne Whitney's Statue of Leif Erikson. The Norse Explorer who Preceded the Great Genoese," *Boston Daily Globe*, October 29, 1887,

4, http://search.proquest.com/docview/493658569?accountid=9675 (accessed May 9, 2015). A replica of the Gokstad ship called the *Viking* featured at the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago in 1893. The ship was sailed by Captain Magnus Andersen and a crew of 11 from Bergen, Norway, over the Atlantic to North America and into the Great Lakes to Chicago. The most famous Viking ship preserved today in Norway, the Oseberg ship, was discovered in 1903.

45. City Council of Boston, *Doc. no. 2. Art Department Annual Report, 1917–18,* vol. 1, *Documents of the City of Boston for the Year 1918* (Boston: City of Boston, 1919), 5, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.77998333;view=1up;seq=39 (accessed May 12, 2017).

46. Greis, *Vikings on the Charles.*

47. Stephen Williams, *Fantastic Archaeology: The Wild Side of North American Prehistory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

48. Eben Norton Horsford, *The Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega: A Communication to the President and Council of the American Geographical Society at Their Special Session in Watertown, November 21, 1889* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1890), 18. For an overview of Horsford's historical research, archaeological achievements and memorial production, see Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 231–41.

49. Goudsward, *Ancient Stone Sites*, 32–34.

50. Horsford, *The Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega*, 25–26, 19.

51. For a drawing titled "Sketch of Site of Leif's house," see Eben Norton Horsford, *Leif's House in Vinland* (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1893), 10.

52. Ibid., 9 (emphasis in the original).

53. See Horsford, *The Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega.*

54. Greis, *Vikings on the Charles.*

55. Through Ole Bull's intervention, Horsford also became interested in Dighton Rock, a large, flat-sided boulder in the Taunton River, near Fall River; see Krueger, *Myths of the Rune Stone*, 18, 22. One side of the rock is inscribed with pictographs. The Vinland theory also reinforced the theory that the Dighton Rock inscription could be runes and thus traces associated with Vikings.

56. Alice Fitzgerald, "NORUMBEGA: Lost City of the Norsemen?," *Boston Globe*, April 24, 1966, http://search.proquest.com/docview/518676407?accountid=9675 (accessed May 11, 2017).

57. The Norse Dragon Style is a style of design and architecture that originated in Norway in the period 1880 to 1910. The sources of inspiration for the style were the Viking and medieval art and architecture of Scandinavia as it appeared in carvings of Viking ships and stave churches.

58. For example, "Vikings Forced to Call Motor Tow Despite Oars, Sail," *Boston Daily Globe*, May 18, 1949, 15, 17 http://search.proquest.com/docview/839770128?accountid=9675 (accessed May 9 2015).

59. Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 229–331.

60. On Scandinavian-American heritage as performance, see Peter Aronsson and Lizette Gradén, *Performing Nordic Heritage: Everyday Practices and Institutional Culture* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013).

61. Cornelius Holtorf, "Pastness in Themed Environments," in Scott A. Lukas, ed., *A Reader in Themed and Immersive Spaces* (Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Mellon, ETC Press, 2016), 34; Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen and Knut Fageraas, "The Social Production of 'Attractive Authenticity' at the World Heritage Site of Røros, Norway," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17, no. 5 (2011): 442–62.

62. Cf. Alun Munslow, *Narrative and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 58–59.

63. For the origin of the phrase, see Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 56.

64. Lovoll, "Leiv Eriksson som symbol i det norske Amerika," 127–28.

65. Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 230–31.

66. Jesse Hart Rosdail, *The Sloopers, Their Ancestry and Posterity: The Story of the People on the Norwegian Mayflower—the Sloop "Restoration"* (Broadview, IL: Norwegian Slooper Society of America, 1961).

67. See http://sloopersociety.org/ (accessed May 1, 2017); Lovoll, *The Promise Fulfilled*, 258–59. The term "Norwegian Mayflower People" paraphrases the key narrative in English immigration history about the *Mayflower* that famously transported the first English Puritans, known today as the Pilgrims, from Plymouth, England to America in 1620.

68. Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 170–73; Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic*, xi.

69. Lovoll, *The Promise of America*, 300–303; Lovoll, "Leiv Eriksson som symbol i det norske Amerika," 128.

70. John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 59.

71. United States Congress, *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the First Session of the Seventy-First Congress of the United States of America*, vol. 71, part 3, June 4 to September 9, 1929 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1929), 2684.

72. Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic*, 175, 154.

73. Lovoll, "Leiv Eriksson som symbol i det norske Amerika," 130.

74. Claire Smith, "The Social and Political Sculpting of Archaeology (and Vice Versa)," *Pyrenae* 48, no. 1 (2017): 33.

75. I chose to cite Obama's presidential addresses because he is the most recent president whose entire speeches can be studied.

76. Barack Obama, "Proclamation 8734—Leif Erikson Day," October 7, 2011, available at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=96867 (accessed May 10, 2017).

77. Barack Obama, "Proclamation 9037—Leif Erikson Day," October 8, 2013, available at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=104313 (accessed May 10, 2017).

78. Barack Obama, "Proclamation 9189—Leif Erikson Day," October 8, 2014, available at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=107779 (accessed May 10, 2017).

79. Donald J. Trump "Proclamation 9657—Leif Erikson Day," October 6, 2017, available at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128403 (accessed April 12, 2018).

80. Krueger, *Myths of the Rune Stone*, 8–13, 151–55.

81. Ibid., 10.

82. Olson, *Vikings across the Atlantic*, vii–xxi.

83. Ibid., x, xix–xx, 178.

84. For example, Sharon Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

85. Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen, "National Memorial Sites as Heritage Values: Valuating Sites Paying Tribute to Heroic Vikings," in Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen and Grete Swensen, eds., *Heritage. Democracy and the Public: Nordic Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2016), 13–26.

86. Smith, "The Social and Political Sculpting of Archaeology," 31.

87. German Lopez, "On Confederate Memorial Day, New Orleans Is Taking Down Its Confederate Memorials: New Orleans Wants These Racist, Pro-Slavery Symbols Gone," April 24, 2017, https://www.vox.com/identities/2017/4/24/15407458/new-orleans-confederate-monuments (accessed May 12, 2017).

88. Timothy Sandefur, "In Defense of Iconoclasm," January 11, 2016, http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2016/01/11/in-defense-of-iconoclasm/ (accessed April 25, 2017).

89. Lars Frers, "Confronting Absence: Relation and Difference in the Affective Qualities of Heritage Sites," in Guttormsen and Swensen, eds., *Heritage, Democracy and the Public*, 286–87.

90. Smith, "The Social and Political Sculpting of Archaeology," 34.

91. Jaffe and de Koning, *Introducing Urban Anthropology*, 44.

92. Smith, "The Social and Political Sculpting of Archaeology," 30–34.

93. Becky Little, "Why Do We Celebrate Columbus Day and Not Leif Erikson Day?," October 11, 2015, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/10/151011-

columbus-day-leif-erikson-italian-americans-holiday-history/ (accessed May 1, 2017).

94. Matt Conti, "Christopher Columbus Statue Vandalized with 'Black Lives Matter,'" June 30, 2015, http://northendwaterfront.com/2015/06/christopher-columbus-statue-vandalized/ (accessed April 27, 2017).

95. David M. Krueger, "Vikings, White Power, and the Battle over America's Founding Myths," October 12, 2015, https://mythsoftherunestone.com/category/leif-eriksson-day/ (accessed May 1, 2017); see also Lovoll, *The Promise Fulfilled*, 255.

96. Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 210–11.

97. Quoted in Samantha Chong, "An Eerie Sight on the Ocean Floor," February 8, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20160205-europes-first-underwater-museum-opens (accessed May 12, 2017). See also the Chinese artist and activist Ai Weiwei's investigations into the European refugee crisis, among others his exhibition from March 17 to July 1, 2017, entitled *Law of the Journey*, at Prague's National Gallery.

98. See Lynda Mannik, "Introduction," in Lynda Mannik, ed., *Migration by Boat: Discourses of Trauma, Exclusion, and Survival* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2016), 1–24.

99. Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact*, 330.

100. For an overview and critical comment, see Patrick Daly and Benjamin Chan, "'Putting Broken Pieces Back Together': Reconciliation, Justice, and Heritage in Post-Conflict Situations," in William Logan, Máiréad Nic Craith and Ullrich Kockel, eds., *A Companion to Heritage Studies* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 491–506.

101. See also Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen, "Branding Local Heritage and Popularizing a Remote Past: The Example of Haugesund in Western Norway," *AP Online Journal in Public Archaeology* 4, no. 2 (Special Volume 1) (2014): 45–60; Guttormsen, "National Memorial Sites as Heritage Values," 23.

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