E. John B. Allen

Immigrant Values and New World Mores: On Skis in America 1880 to 1920

"Skiing is one of our least objectionable foreign imports," *Leslie's Weekly* announced to America's middling classes in 1893 and supported the claim with a cover drawing of Norwegian Torger Hemmetsveit jumping 78 feet at Red Wing, Minnesota.[1] From 5000 miles away, Scandinavians appeared extremely desirable immigrants; they came from a countryside where, especially in mountainous and fjord rich Norway, it took what was perceived as character and hard work just to survive. Of course some of the immigrants took to city life in New York and Chicago, but generally they settled in more rural areas, especially in what was then called The Northwest of America, today's Midwest, the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois. They had a work ethic that was compatible with America's achieving ethos, they were protestant and, on the whole, did not bring their homeland squabbles with them. And from this unspoiled, non-industrialized natural land had come the powerful

modern plays of Henrik Ibsen, the virtuoso violin performances of Ole Bull, as well as the most admired explorer, Fridtjof Nansen who, with *Ski-idræt* in heart and soul, had come on skis out of the ice and snow of Greenland and the Polar Sea to free Norway from Sweden. Heady stuff.

That skiing should be Norwegian in practice and background once imported into the United States was certainly not due to the numbers of immigrants. One center of early skiing, around Ishpeming, Michigan in 1900, for example, counted 3,871 Finns, 3,190 Swedes, and 787 Norwegians.[2] What had given Norway its prime position was the parallel development of skiing and nationalism. Norwegians dictated the right way to ski and also how to think about skiing. It was all bound up in *Ski-idræt*. Skiing, wrote Nansen, "is the sport of sports [*idrætternes Idræt]*…the most national of all Norwegian sports" *[alle norske idrætter]*.[3]

The word Nansen used was *Idræt* – always translated as sport but meaning something rather different from what the western European conjures up in that word. *Idræt* included outdoor activities, natural activities of male ancestors that would make and keep the body muscular and strong, that would clear and cleanse the mind and by extension that of their immediate family, village, region…and even nation. Nansen crossed Greenland in 1888, his book was published in 1890 and immediately came out in English and German (in French in 1893) and sparked a wave of enthusiasm for skiing. Not skiing in outlandish places like Greenland, but getting out and about on skis in any snow-covered venue, something that immediately took off in the rest of Europe and very quickly in the United States, both socially and competitively.

It is well known that newly arrived immigrants often consider themselves as "culture bearers," and the building of churches and libraries, the publication of home-language newspapers, the creation of numerous social societies have been analyzed. This paper is on the transfer of skiing, Norway's national sport.

The first and most obvious Norwegian aspect of American skiing was the continued use of the language. In the 1880s, not only were ski matters related in Mineapolis' and St. Paul's Norwegian language newspapers, *Daglige Tidende*, *Budstikken*, *Nordvesten*,[4] but early clubs often had Norwegian names: *Ski og Kjelke Club* (1885), *Den Norske Turn og Skiforening* (1886), *Viking* (1886), *Norden* (1888), *Skandia* (1908), *Fram* (the name of

Nansen's North Pole boat), and 1,500 miles to the east, in northern New Hampshire, simply *Skiclubben* (1882), later named the Nansen Ski Club, one of two in the United States honoring Norway's most famous skier.

These clubs were founded by Norwegian immigrants, some even restricting membership to those born in Norway.[5] They brought their homeland ski experience with them, not just the physical fact of how to ski but also how to manage ski competitions, for many had competed locally, and not a few of them had Holmenkollen experience. By 1894 Holmenkollen had become a national shrine. Hardly surprising, then, that after a successful meet in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, a sumptuous dinner, the prize giving at which many speeches were given in the native tongue and songs sung, it was simply "a great day for Norway."[6]

After the enthusiasm of the 1880s, some poor snow winters slowed the growing popularity of the sport until ca. 1900 when skiers in Ishpeming, Michigan picked up the pace under the leadership of Carl Tellefsen, already with experience of founding and managing the ski club at Trondheim in the old country.[7] And, too, some who enjoyed skiing were not Norwegian immigrants. There was a thought in some quarters that the Norwegian sport was becoming sullied. Tellefsen took the opposite view. "Remember," he said in 1904, "we are all Americans and not Englishmen, Swedes or Norwegians and that there is no discrimination shown, no favors, the best man gets there. I mention this because I have heard some criticism of the way judges and measurers were composed. Some Busy-Body, outside the club, thought that the different nationalities ought to be represented. I will earnestly ask you not to bring the nationalities question into the club."[8]

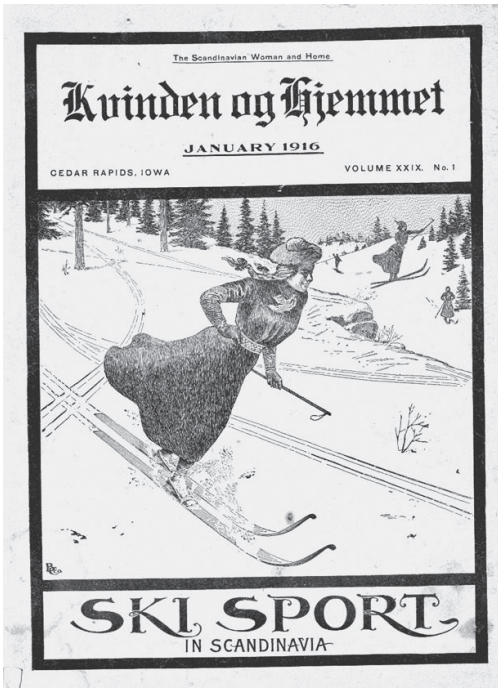
Reports of meets, editorials in *The Skisport*, the annual publication of the National Ski Association, formed in 1905, often contained positive remarks about non-Norwegians. Except for the President, there were no Norwegians in the newly formed Scandia Ski Club, "but we love the sport just the same."[9] No one begrudged "Irish Mick" the Nor Trophy, "true lovers of the ski sport were greatly pleased with the winning of the biggest and best prize offered by one of a different nationality from the Norwegian; it will encourage Irish, German, French and others."[10] Yet nationality did play a part in some other clubs. The *Norske Ski Club's* officers may have invited young men of all nationalities to join and when

they did they became known as "the American faction."[11] Mr. Millard, "an American," was given great credit for promoting skiing in Escanaba, Michigan while "even Italians" were members of Stillwater's Norwegian Ski Club.[12] As late as 1915, one report of the meet at Virginia, Minnesota, thought it important enough to list representatives of Finland, Austria, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, and Sweden.[13]

Flags of Norway and Sweden continued to deck the jump, announcements were in Norwegian and banquet speeches recalled the Norwegian ski heritage. "*Fra Christiania*" (as Oslo was called until 1925) was a regular column in *The Skisport*, and reports of meets at Holmenkollen but also from lesser places such as Finse were published in Norwegian.[14] And, a real indicator of the strength of Norwegian control of skiing was *The Skisport's* printing of the *Disqualificationsbestemmelser for Skiløbere. Fra Norges national Forbunds Love* (Rules for Disqualification) entirely in Norwegian with two lines at the bottom in English saying these rules should be observed.[15] This Norwegian quality lasted well into the 1920s. "I am the only Norwegian here," wrote Peter Prestrud from Dillon, Colorado, "so it is hard to get any help to do anything."[16]

The number of spectators who came to watch and cheer their hometown heroes almost turned skiing into a spectator sport. The economic ramifications were not lost on small town businessmen. As early as 1888, the meet at Eau Claire, Wisconsin, was said to have brought 4,000 people to town, raising the population for the day by 16%; five years later, 8-10,000 were expected. Stillwaters's population stood at 2,470 in 1890, at their meet in 1893, 2–3,000 were visiting.[17] These figures may not be accurate[18] but it was obvious that no matter what the actual count was, there were thousands in town that day.

Ishpeming had taken the lead in organizing the skisport with its championship in 1904. In 1905, 2,000 came and the following year 8–10,000.[19] These were huge numbers of people flooding a town of ca. 13,500 and the business community was thrilled. "The Nelson House have turned away 25–50 and have refused dinner to 250, maybe 300."[20] The city of Duluth wanted the championship so badly that they sent their town orchestra to Ishpeming but apparently it wasn't enough since Ashland was awarded the following years' event.[21]



Kvinden og Hjemmet—Women and the Home—was published for the Norwegian communities around Iowa in 1916. We may find the style a fantasy but it shows that Norwegian women enjoyed skiing as they had in the old country.
Credit: Author's archive.

These large numbers of people coming from neighboring states and cities as far away as Chicago received special rates from the railroad lines. In the early 1890s, it was believed that the number of spectators depended upon the rates offered – usually between 15 and 20% off a return ticket. It became clear to railroad officials that special rates brought a remarkable increase in revenue and by 1905, tickets were discounted from all over ski country.[22] Businesses were asked to close on Friday afternoon of the ski meet and local school boards were petitioned to let the children have a free afternoon when "the riders" came to town.[23]

Spectators had one event on their minds: the jump. In Norway, the jump had been part of the *Hoplaam*, not a separate event. When the immigrants first displayed their skiing in Minneapolis in 1887, they built a platform half way down the hilly street and "the race" continued to the bottom of the hill, some two hundred yards. Two runs were made, and the jump, called "a precipice," was obviously the most exciting moment. The third "run" also included the jump but contestants continued on down for a further mile[24]—here was the old country's *Hoplaam*. But that third 'race'

did not last long and soon the jump became the only thing that mattered and contestants became "Knights of the Air" and "Cloud Hurdlers."[25] In 1891, 5,000 people came to Ishpeming to watch eight jumpers![26]

As in Norway, there were discussions about what constituted the best jump. In the homeland, since there were so many good jumpers, it became normal to appreciate excellence of style and an elaborate point system had been agreed upon. In the United States, each club seemed to go its own way, at least from 1880s until 1905 when the National Ski Association was formed.[27] There were two styles of jumping. The first was what the Norwegians had done for years called the *opptræk* or knees-up style, a formalizing of the natural way to lift off a bump as you came down a hill. We would call this 'taking air' today. But that style became obsolete almost overnight when the Hemmetsveit brothers, Mikkel and Torjus (Halvor never made the same impression), both King's medalists in Norway, took to the air at Red Wing, Minnesota. Here is Mikkel:

"Standing with one foot slightly advanced, his skis close together, and leaning forward sped down the steep hill. At the jump he gathered himself for the leap, and with a mighty bound sailed into the air. Twice he gathered himself together apparently as a bird would rise. It was a revelation to the vast concourse of people whose eyes were focused on him, and the cheers that arose when he came safely to the ground seemed to rend the firmament."[28]

Mikkel had jumped 78 feet (the world's record today is 832 feet) and this style became known as the Red Wing style and that town became known for its emphasis on jumping for length. 78 feet was near enough the magic number of 100 for it to become standard advertising, and the effort "to break the 100 foot mark" became ubiquitous. What had once been a "clean sport," "a healthy sport," a manly sport," had become "a spectator sport." But 'a' record is not the same as 'the' record and therein lies the reason for the seemingly endless arguments over rules best exemplified at Red Wing's 1905 meet. Three judges were appointed, the first marked competitors by the old Aurora club rules, the second by the present club rules, and the third by the suggested rules.[29] Determined to strive for length, at the club's meet in February as long as a man stood in one of his three jumps, he could go for distance and where he fell would be his mark.[30] Hardly to wonder, then, that Ishpeming's proposal

to form a National Ski Association to regularize the rules was much applauded.[31]

Record breaking also appealed to the jumpers, especially so since along with the prizes came cash. For a local meet, business interests donated such items as a smoking set, pearl scarf pin, lined mitts, a shirt, shaving set, gold handled umbrella, while the club put up $5, $3, and $2 for the first three at Ishpeming in 1901, juniors (under 16) receiving $1.50, $1.50 and $1.00. But at Ishpeming's major meet that year, the winner received $75, second man $40 and third $25, while the juniors were awarded $10, $5, $3, and $2.[32] These were no small amounts of money when the daily wage for a miner in the copper belt was between $2 and $3 a day. In order to compete, clubs had to raise ever larger purses: Cameron $69, Fram $165, Superior $200, Itasca $210, North Star $220, Aurora $265, Ishpeming $290, and the Viking $365.[33]

On arrival, the Hemmetsveits Mikkel and Torjus were immediately launched as world champions with Mikkel taking the first prize at Red Wing in 1887 "as a matter of course."[34] Stillwater's jump was so constructed that there was ample opportunity "to eclipse any former record." In 1906, Ishpeming's *Iron Ore* headlined "The Club Will Do It Right," meaning, as the second headline put it, that someone from the club "Is Going to Break the American Record by a Prominent Margin."[35] There were Ladies cups for a "free-for-all, go-as-you-please" leap but the track was slow so the winner only made 82 feet "otherwise it would have been 100 feet."[36] Records, then, depended on weather, snow conditions and, increasingly, on the design of the jump. The distances rose: Mikkel Hemmetsveit 78 feet, Torjus Hemmetsveit 90 feet, Ole Westgaard 96 feet, Mikkel 102 feet "true, he didn't stand, but he would have if the hill had been steeper," opined *The North*. Torjus, again, 103 but he fell, Carl Eck 103, and Gustave Bye 106 feet.[37] Criticisms of measurement appeared from time to time: the measurers "stretched their tape a few feet" to give Mikkel a record, remembered the editor of the *Mining Journal*.[38] Now, in 1907, jumps were "measured by saloon keepers with rope with rags on." The following month it was by pumpkin vines.[39]

Here, let me say something about the construction of jumps. In the old country's *Hoplaam*, the place where competitors took a leap was decided by the natural conditions of the land; there was even a race called an *Ufselaam*

where the track went over a cliff. The *Hopp* of the *Hoplaam*, then was dictated by nature. As the jump proved the most exciting viewing, a special place was made for it but, as far as possible, always with the surrounding nature in mind. Besides, the trees on either side provided protection from the wind. In America's Midwest, since much of the land was comparatively flat, it became necessary to build jumps on top of small hills so that the jumpers could land on a slope. Hence jumps – spiky pilings – rose in many a village that had a suitable landing hill. These un-natural constructions perturbed the Norwegian ski fathers, and it is not difficult to understand that the higher the jump, the longer the leap. Not only that; the take-off platform at the edge of the jump – *Hoppkanten* in Norwegian – could be altered thus providing better lift to the jumper. (This was done, without any official approval whatsoever, by the Norwegian team at the 1932 Olympic Games at Lake Placid![40]). This take-off was of the utmost importance for the jumper to get a good *Sats*, that explosive rise of the jumper from his squat position of speed to his forward leap into the air.

PREMIUM SKI RUNNING!

at

Stoughton, Wisconsin,

TUESDAY, FEB. 14th, '88.

At 1 o'clock, P. M.

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS IN PRIZES!

The Stoughton Ski Club

Challenges

All Ski Clubs, or Members of the same, Residing within 500 miles of Stoughton, Wisconsin, to Compete for the Following Prizes:

1ST CLASS---To professionals, 1st prize, $50 Gold Watch; 2nd, $25 in Gold; 3rd, $15 in Gold; 4th, $15 solid Gold Ring, Diamond set; 5th, $5.

2ND CLASS---1st prize, $20 solid Silver, Gold mounted Watch; 2nd, $10 in Gold; 3rd, $10 solid Gold Ring; 4th, $5.

BOYS' RACE.

For Boys under 16 years---1st prize, $15 Silver Watch; 2nd, $10 Album; 3rd; $5 Album.

A prize for the most Comical Jumper, a $15 Gold diamond set ring. Entrance and admission free.

All contestants must bring in name before 12 o'clock on day of race.

H. T. Hanson, Pres; N. C. Nelson, Sec; G. G. Felland, Treas.

Other than a few Californian race announcements, the advertising placard for the Stoughton Ski Club's contest in the Midwest is the only one that has been found to date. The text bears careful reading to obtain a very good view of what was important to the immigrant skiers and their American friends in 1888. Credit: Vesterheim Norwegian-American Museum, Decorah, Iowa, USA.

The crowds poured in to what was becoming the ski show. This carnival aspect was blatant when a prize for the worst fall was inaugurated at Red Wing: a tobacco jar filled with cigars.[41] Entre-actes appeared: a one-armed lad, boys skijoring behind dogs, little Ester Bergeron, "the girl skier," performed before 5,000 people, a prize for the best hand-in-hand jump,[42] a clown took to the air at Fergus Falls, and John Rudd and Axel Hendrickson somersaulted off the jump. The NSA of America tried to put a stop to "acrobatic performance" and prohibited them at all tournaments. But there was always a way around.[43]

Two attacks on the way American skiing was trending shook up the leadership of the NSA to the core. The first was a totally unexpected in-your-face demand to the Ishpeming organizers of the National Championship in 1906 for more prize money. In spite of *Ski-idræt* being in the hearts of Tellefsen, now president of the NSA, and the association's secretary, Aksel Holter, the Ishpeming organizers saw an economic disaster and immediately gave in to the jumpers' demands for a further $200 in prize money. Tellefsen and Holter were particularly incensed that some of their own boys were party to the demand. It would take them a couple of years to try to nip professionalism in the bud, as they put it.[44]

The lure of record breaking continued. In 1907, the city of Duluth captured the record with 112 feet and lost it three days later to Red Wing at 114. The record returned to Duluth on 13 January 1908 and was increased to 117 feet three days later. But in February a leap of 122 feet was registered at Ishpeming. You will have noticed that I have given no names of jumpers; what has happened is that towns have taken on the major role of providing ski jumping venues with the idea that economic benefits will increase according to the number of record breaking jumps they can obtain on their hills.

"Then Duluth made changes on the Take-off and conducted a tournament on 15 March but the object of the tournament was not accomplished. Ole Feiring cleared 124 feet but fell in the attempt. Not yet satisfied Duluth announced another tournament for 22 March, being intent on beating the record. Nearly every contender almost equaled the American record, and John Evenson beat it by 9 feet, clearing 131 feet in good form. Feiring sailed a distance of 134 feet but fell in the attempt. Arnold Olsen of Duluth established an amateur record of 119 feet…

Duluth thus established what it had been looking for, two American Records by two Duluth Skiers on a Duluth hill."[45]

Only in the winter of 1913–14 did the NSA rule that no jump be built higher than 80 feet above the take-off.[46]

The second attack on the NSA's management of the skisport came from the secretary of the Norwegian ski Association. "RECORDS, RECORDS, always RECORDS" came the admonishing letter. But Holter was torn between his upholding *Ski-idræt* and the American lure. "Americans," he wrote, "wish to be where we belong – IN THE FRONT." The American people, Holter went on, "are eager for results" and results were not based on good form alone but on "long daring leaps and establishing records." Holter refused to take a back seat and "if records are what will bring us to the front we are going after them and we will get them by the horns. Sure!"[47]

Crowds continued to come to see the best jumpers, many of whom had turned professional. At Chippewa Falls, in Wisconsin, the "All-American" ski bunch of professionals from Red Wing were the drawing card in 1911, 2000 turning out for the amateurs, 10,000 the next day for the professionals.[48] The professionals provided "the real riding": and experts came in for hearty applause after making fine jumps. Anders Haugen stretched to 131 feet, and his 137 footer electrified the crowd at Dalton, Minnesota. Meanwhile the amateurs were managing 119 feet.[49] In 1913 Ragnar Omtvedt, in the U.S. less than a year, stood at 169 feet, by 1917 the record reached 192 feet 9 inches, and on 9 February 1921, Henry Hall – first native born (to Norwegian parents) flew 229 at Revelstoke, British Columbia. Not many listened to Olaus Jeldness, the former Canadian champion from Spokane, Washington:

Play not for gain but Sport. Leap not for gold but glee.
Oh, Youth, play well thy part What e'er life's game may be.[50]

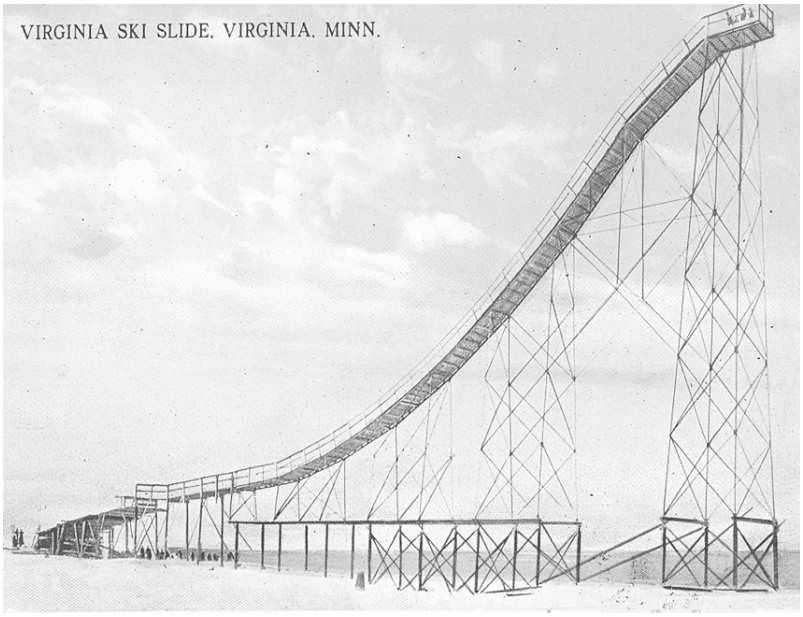
The problem of just who was and who was not a professional was solved in 1914: 13 February 1908 was the cut-off date for either accepting (or not) cash prizes or skiing (or not) with someone who did.[51] The NSA abolished all cash prizes on 30 January 1917 and then reinstated them the next season![52]

The upholding of amateur status against money payments, especially in the pre-1905 era of American skiing, was perhaps overdrawn. After all, in Norway, Torjus Hemmetsveit had received 400 Kroner in gold as a first prize. This was an amount a fisherman might make in 8 months.[53] After the Telemarkings' success in Christiania, some of them, the Hemmetsveits included, started a ski school for money.[54] By the time record breaking became almost a standard hope at many events in the United States, the Norwegians took a hand in controlling what they considered their sport by calling an international meeting during the Holmenkoll celebration in 1910.[55] Although invited, the United States sent no representative (not enough time) and Norwegians went on to control and guide international meetings, all the while having to deal with such new entities as Winter Olympic Games and the advent of what would become the disciplines of downhill and slalom – alpine skiing.

One other factor that worried those in control of the perceived *Ski-idræt* in America was the failure of cross-country racing. Many a club enjoyed tramps: "We swarm pell, mell, to wind up the happiest bunch on earth, at our destination, where we were greeted by our lady members, who had taken the train earlier in the day."[56] And I might add, had dinner ready. This, then, was the social end of cross-country skiing. For competition, it was much more difficult to find support in spite of its being a requirement in Norway. Ski club constitutions often included the requirement of a "long distance race" or an "annual distance run." The ski boys were admonished in *The North* in 1893 to "get to work and show what they can do by way of a distance run."[57] The problem was cultural as well. The Red Wing paper pointed out that "the American instinct is for the exceptional and extraordinary [so that] naturally emphasized the jumping as the most sensational."[58] Swiss and German commentators could not have agreed more; jumping is the "sensation of the populace" and went on to analyze the jumps as not being true jumps, meaning that they were not embedded in their natural surroundings but were artificial scaffolds.[59]

Tellefsen and Holter tried to promote cross-country races, couching their pleas in terms both health-giving and useful. But they found few men willing. Ishpeming in 1901 laid out a course, provided Norwegian rules (skis not allowed to be removed, one pole only) and included six timers along the course to ensure there was no cheating. Unfortunately

conditions were poor and of the eight starters, two soon dropped out and one more had equipment failure. Matt Johnson, just over from Norway, was the winner by over four minutes and he was in good condition whereas the others were "all done up."[60] Here is the health content of *Ski-idræt*. Ishpeming tried the following year and again the contestants lined up but one "rode a mile on a sleigh" and the winner "enjoyed a ride for a portion of the distance" or so it was claimed.[61] No entries were received for the National Championships in 1917.[62] Patently, the Norwegian immigrant communities had forsaken their cross-country heritage. For over ten years there had been hand wringing over the physical degeneration of the Norwegian immigrants brought on, it was said, by climate, woods, damp houses and excesses in tobacco and alcohol consumption.[63] Maybe we should not make too much of this because Norway in the 19th century was not known for its purity of living. When Bjørnstjerne Björnson was going to write about the peasants, he was asked if there was anything but alcoholism and illegitimacy to say.[64]



An intricate scaffolding supported the slide at Virginia, Minnesota at the beginning of the 20th century. Naturally, this sort of construction often blew down Credit: Author's archive.

Immigrant Finns took up the challenge; they, too, had a number of prize winners at local and major competitions in their homeland. In part, this was also a Finnish-Norwegian challenge and the Finns organized what was touted as a 10-mile race, but it must have been shorter. Two poles (a Finnish specialty) were permitted and the course was laid out so that spectators could watch the runners go round twice. But only nine entered and three of those dropped out. Medals were distributed but no cash prizes.[65]

In 1907 Ashland, Wisconsin "pulled off," as the expression of the times had it, the first United States National Cross-Country Championship and no surprise, a Finn won the day. Asarjo Autio came home about two and a half minutes ahead and immediately proclaimed himself "Champion of the World" and put up $100 against all-comers.[66] Here was professionalism writ large.

In America *Ski-idræt* proved no match for increasing amounts of prize money, its individualism was no match for towns of "push and enterprise" as they strove to build ever higher jumps. The voyeuristic appeal in the quest for records gave a major impetus to the economic boom when thousands poured off the trains to watch "the real riding" of the professionals. However much immigrants like Tellefsen and Holter might criticize the way skiing was practiced, in the end they rationalized the change: "We are amateurs of heart," they said, "but professionals of necessity."[67]

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53 Paul Holm, “Fishermen’s Earnings and Maritime Wages in Scandinavia 1890–1910.” Paper presented in 1992, accessed *www.academia.edu* 26,11,2016.

54 Advertisement for a ski school in *Aftenbladet* 12.1.1881.

55 On this and what follows, see Allen, “‘We showed the world the Nordic way’: Skiing, Norwegians, and the Winter Games in the 1920s.” *The Olympics at the Millennium: Power, Politics, and the Games.* Edited by Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2000, 72–88.

56 Axel Munthe, “A Pleasant Outing.” *The Skisport* 1906–07, 37–38.

57 The North 15.2.1893.

58 Red Wing Daily Republican 3.2.1905.

59 C. Egger, “England und Amerika.” *Ski* Volume V, 1909, 144; K. H. in *Der Winter* translated and published in *The Skisport* 1909–10, 54–55.

60 Board of Directors of the Ishpeming Ski Club MS 1901, 14–15, Archives National Ski Hall of Fame. Marquette Mining Journal 28.12.1901. For the importance of conditions of racers, see J. W. Schreiner, “The Olympic Games of the North.” *The Book of Winter Sports*. Edited by J. C. Dier. Macmillan, New York, 1912, 207.

61 Ishpeming Iron Ore 27.12.1902.

62 *The Skisport* 1916–17, 8.

63 Dr. E. Graff, “Physical Degeneration of the Norwegian Race in N. America.” *Norsk Magasin for Laegevidenskapen* (Norwegian Journal of Medical Science) which, along with replies, was published in The North 4.1. and 18.1 and 1.2 1893.

64 Allen, *The Culture and Sport of Skiing from Antiquity to World War II.* University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst 2007, 50.

65 Marquette Mining Journal 24.2 and 24.3.1906.

66 Ely Miner 4.1 and 22.2.1907. For Autio, see Jussi Kirjaivainen, *Suomalaiset Suurhiihtäjät.* Söderström, Helsinki, 1938, 167–177. Helge Nygrén, *et al. Pitkä latu*. Söderström, Helsinki and Porvoo, 1983, 222. My thanks to Merja Heiskanen for translations.

67 *The Skisport* 1909–10, 56.