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NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT IN NORTH DAKOTA

by

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CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF NORWEGIAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

The people from Norway were the last of the Northern European nations to form settlements in the promising land of the New World. Although these people are often given credit for discovering America and were considered the bravest seafarers, it was not until toward the middle of the nineteenth century that they began to migrate in considerable numbers.¹

¹Olaf Morgan Norlie, History of the Norwegian People in America, (Minneapolis, 1925), p. 70.

"King Christian IV in 1619 sent an expedition to find a northwest passage to Asia. The captain of this expedition was the Norwegian Jens Munk. He sailed from Copenhagen May 9, 1619, with two ships and 66 men. He entered Hudson Bay and had to winter there at the mouth of the Churchill River. He took possession of the country and gave it the name of Nova Dania. But sickness visited them and all died except Jens Munk and two of his crew, who returned to Norway Sept. 25, 1620. Munk kept a diary which is in the Royal Library at Copenhagen."

Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Swedes and the Dutch already had established settlements in America. There were some people from Norway in the colonies, especially New York, but they came individually and not in collective bodies to form settlements.²

There were several reasons for this long delay. First, the location of Norway in the far north placed it out of the paths of the great explorations and colonizing movements of the countries farther south. A second reason for this delay is that from 1450 till 1814, Norway was under the authority

²Norlie, History of the Norwegian People, p. 70

"No one knows how many Norwegians came over during the Colonial Period or when they began to come. They did not come in collective bodies as in the good old Viking Age. Norway, being subject to Denmark, was not in a position to enter the race with Spain, France, and England to come to America first and claim the land."

Ibid., p. 71.

". . . At Bethlehem, Pa., is a Moravian cemetery, with a printed list of burials during the 18th century. Nine out of the 2600 names are listed as born in Norway. . . ."

Ibid., p. 72.

"J. O. Evijsen's book, "Scandinavian Immigrants in New York 1630-1674", gives biographies of thirty-four Swedes, ninety-seven Danes and fifty-seven Norwegians who lived in New York during the period. Among the Norwegians listed is Anneken Hendricks, the first wife of Jan Arentzen Vander Bilt, the ancestor of the Vanderbilts. He married her in New Amsterdam, Feb. 6, 1650. She came from Bergen, Norway; he was from Utrechet, Holland. They had three children."

and subjection of the Danes.³ During this period the youth of the country were forced to take up arms against the Swedes, and other able bodied men were hired-out as mercenaries to foreign kings to fight in their armies. Since the country was drained of its best blood, Norway became powerless, unprogressive and dependent. Out of these circumstances comes the third reason for this delay in emigration; the lack of leaders. Norway was practically destitute of men who could take the initiative and bring about any new movements. Such individuals are necessary to draw the common people out of their daily established habits of thought and action.

In the first part of the nineteenth century when the Norwegian nation did regain itself and assumed its virtual independence in union with Sweden, a reaction took place. The leaders thought primarily of rebuilding the fallen kingdom. To leave the country was considered traitorous. The ministers feared that the people under their charge would journey across the ocean and would lose their faith in the land of many sects, and for this reason they continually ad-

³C. S. Torvend, Early Norwegian Emigration and Its Causes, Collections of The State Historical Society of North Dakota, (Bismarck, 1908), 7 vols., vol. 3., p. 311.

vised and begged them to remain at home.⁴ Such was the national feeling and such were the conditions prevailing in Norway shortly after 1814. But the people in general had awakened to a self-realization as a nation and gradually had taken its destiny into their own hands.⁵ Popular feeling and public opinion began to develop and to make itself felt. Prospective migrants no longer needed a great man to organize them and inspire them to take definite action. Thus, self-inspired and self-determined, a few peasants and laborers from southern Norway went out on an expedition to America. This first expedition, usually called the Sloop party, 23 men besides women and children, in all 52 persons, left their fatherland. There are several reasons for this and subsequent migrations to America.

When Norway had regained her virtual independence, and the government machinery was put into motion, it was

⁴Louis Adamie, A Nation of Nations, (New York, 1944-45), 1st edition, p. 254.

"In 1837 Bishop Jacob Neumann, one of Norway's leading Lutheran clergymen, admonished the population not to be lured to America. He warned of the dangerous voyage; he cited horrible examples of what had befallen earlier emigrants; he drew on the Bible for reasons why Norwegians should stay in Norway. But he failed to impress those infected with what he condemned was "the spirit of restlessness."

⁵George T. Flom, A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States, (Iowa City, 1909), p. 66.

"The Norwegians are the most discontented, are readiest for a change, are quickest to try the new, and it is they who most readily break the bonds that bind them to their native country, who most quickly adapt themselves to the conditions here, and who most rapidly become Americanized."

seen that the power was in the hands of the upper class, and, that comparatively few controlled the land and the wealth of the country. An aristocracy developed, a rigid caste system became established, and the lower classes, especially the peasants, felt the encroachment upon their rights and liberties.

In matters of religion, the Lutheran church was the established state church. Another sect or belief found in Norway at this time was the Quakers. This belief which was founded by George Fox, an Englishman, had gained admittance from England. A few Norwegians had been taken prisoners and sent to England during the Napoleonic War (1807-14) and before they were released had been converted to this faith. About ten or twelve Quaker families were located in and about Stavanger, a seaport of Southern Norway. A government proclamation had been issued granting them religious freedom, but still, on account of their seeming eccentricities, they were subjected to various kinds of annoyance by the regular clergy and the state officials. They had to swear in courts and undergo military discipline and in other ways their freedom to worship according to the dictates of their conscience

was interfered with.⁶

Among these Quaker families we find the first thought of emigrating. They had received an impetus from their English brethren both in England and America. They began by circulating a subscription list in order to raise a fund which would be used for sending representatives to America to investigate the conditions and the possibility of establishing a Norwegian colony. Kleng Peerson and Knud Olson Eide were sent to America in 1821.⁷ The first of these, Kleng Peerson, was a lover of adventure. He had been in France, Germany and England and had been taken prisoner by England during the

⁶Norlie, History of the Norwegian People, p. 77.

". . . It is true that in Norway, too, there was some cause for religious and political discontent. The State Church in the 18th century had become rationalistic and resented the activities of pietistic reformers like Hauge, and the sectarians that began to get a foothold in Norway, as, for instance, the Quakers. It is true that the leaders of the famous Sloop "Restaurationen" were Quakers and that they looked for greater religious freedom in America than in Norway. Still, it must be noted that there were only ten (or twelve) Quakers in Norway in 1825, and some of these never emigrated at all. . . ."

⁷Kendric Charles Babcock, The Scandinavian Element in The United States, (Illinois, 1914), 12 vols., vol. 3, No. 3., p. 24.

"Kleg Peerson, called also Kleg Pederson and Person Hesthammer."

English attack upon Denmark in 1807.⁸ He was a second John Smith, who considered it his duty to enter the wild and unexplored regions. To him is due at least in part the impetus given to Norwegian emigration during the few years following.

He landed in New York where his companion died after nearly a year's illness. Kleng Peerson worked at odd jobs and journeyed on foot through New York, Pennsylvania, and other states. He did not forget his countrymen but came back to Stavanger with a glorious account of America and its possibilities. News of his return spread through the surrounding district and people from the towns and villages; peasants, merchants and laborers came to hear the report from the New World. Peerson's enthusiasm inspired them all. The most daring and adventurous bought a sloop of 45 tons called "Res-

⁸Babcock, Scandinavian Element, p. 25.

"His leaving his home parish of Skjold near Stavanger, and his emigration to the United States in 1821 in company with another Norwegian, are attributed to motives ranging from a commission from the Quakers to find a refuge for them in America, to a desire to escape the rich old widow whom he married, and who was tired of supporting him in idleness. Certain it is that upon his return to Norway in 1824, after three years of experience in the New World, the sentiment favoring emigration from Stavanger soon crystallized."

taurationen", and, on July 4th, 1825, set out for America.⁹ Fifty-two people embarked on the sloop, and strange to say, only four or five of these were Quakers, therefore, it could not have been religious motives alone which caused them to leave the country.¹⁰ Furthermore, after their appearance and settlement in America, they did not establish a Quaker colony. Their primary motive was the same as has caused the

⁹Allen H. Eaton, Immigrant Gifts to American Life, (New York, 1932), p. 91.

"Norse-American Centennial, Minneapolis. The Norse-American Centennial held in Minneapolis in the summer of 1925 celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the "Restaurationen" a forty-foot sailing sloop bearing the first group of Norwegian immigrants to America from Stavanger, Norway. There were fifty-two of them when they departed on July 4th, and fifty-three when they arrived at New York ninety-seven days later, a girl baby having been born on the journey. . . ."

Konrad Bercovici, On New Shores, (New York, 1925), p. 240.

"The "Restaurationen" was augmented on the way by the birth of a little girl, who died only recently as the widow of Mr. Whitmore, the Chicago publisher."

¹⁰Norlie, History of Norwegian People, p. 123.

"It has often been claimed that the whole party was made up of Quakers, but such cannot have been the case, since there were not more than 10 or 12 Quakers in the whole country of Norway in 1825. This sect has never made much headway in Norway. "In 1846," says Tverteraas in his "Stavanger, 1814-1914," these Quakers numbered 58 members and 107 adherents." In 1920 the official census reported only 88 Quakers in the whole land. It is sufficient to say that this expedition was started by Quakers and under the leadership of Quakers."

the whole Norwegian migration. Kleng Peerson's glowing description had created a keen desire to better their own conditions and had aroused the old Viking spirit of adventure.¹¹ These are the two main reasons for Norwegian emigration. The first we may call an economic cause and the second a psychological one. But aside from these, Kleng Peerson himself might be considered a cause, for it is rather certain that the above motives would not have had such immediate results had it not been for this daring adventurer. Kleng Peerson has rightly been styled the father of Norwegian emigration. He was an explorer of great ability, and his efforts may to some extent account for the fact that today we find nearly all the Norwegians in the northwest.

On his first trip to America, he had picked out Orleans County on the shore of Lake Ontario in New York state

¹¹Oman B. Herigstad, Norwegian Immigration, Collections of The State Historical Society of North Dakota, (Bismarck, 1908), 7 vols., vol. 2, p. 188.

"The chief reason for this extensive emigration is purely an economic one. Norway, by the very nature of her rugged majestic beauty, is too cold, too barren and unyielding to afford her children more than the barest of livings. And men cannot live on beauty alone. Norway is yet largely a farming country, and until industry had reached another stage of development it must send away its surplus population."

as a suitable place for a Norwegian settlement, and it was to this place that the sloop party was going. Kleng Pearson himself was not on the sloop, however, but he was there to meet them when they landed in New York on the 9th of October, 1825.¹² The sloop had lost its course and was on the ocean for fourteen weeks; meanwhile, Pearson had come over in another ship.

The sloop party was now without money and food, but through Pearson's tireless efforts they were soon provided with these and were finally settled at Kendall, in Orleans County, New York.¹³ They suffered a great deal and often longed for their old homes in Norway, but as time went on, they cleared part of their land and raised crops of grain. They became enthusiastic and wrote to their friends in Norway. A few began to emigrate, among them was Gjert Gregovinsen Hovland and family. Hovland was the first man from the vicinity of Bergen. He left Norway mainly because he was tired of the aristocracy rule, and the caste system which was common all over Norway. Many of Mr. Hovland's country-

¹² Babcock, Scandinavian Element, p. 22.
 The New York Evening Post, Oct. 10, 1825. "Arrived last evening (October 9, 1825) Danish Sloop Restoration, Holland, 97 days from Norway, via Long Island Sound, with iron to Boorman and Johnson, 52 passengers."

¹³ Knut Gjerset, History of The Norwegian People, (New York, 1915), 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 601.
 ". . . In November they reached their final destination, Kendall, then called Murray, in Orleans County, New York, where the first Norwegian settlement was founded."

men have come to America for the same reason. The fact that nearly all immigrants from Norway were peasants seems to indicate this as one of the reasons for emigration. They were hungry laborers, indebted farmers or others who wished to better their economic conditions.¹⁴ Gjert Hovland, in his many well written letters to Norway, boasted of the American government, the equality and liberty it granted in contrast to Norwegian aristocracy rule. These letters gave many an

¹⁴Norlie, History of Norwegian People, p. 78.

" . . . Of more specific causes, and minor influences there have been many, varying with time and place. As, for example: Letters from relatives and friends in America, and a promise of a job at good pay; the visit to Norway of Norwegian-Americans and their colorful accounts of America; the study of geography and history; the publication of books in America; the emigrant societies and missions; the activity of steamship ticket agents and sub-agents in selling tickets; the introduction of machinery and steam and electric power; the improved means of transportation and communication; at times, the cut-rate fares for steerage passengers; the Homestead laws; the discovery of gold; the hope of greater freedom and better prospects in America; the desire for adventure and the call of the far-away; the assurance that they would find good neighbors in America."

incentive to go to America.¹⁵

A member of the sloop party, Knud Slagvig, went back to Norway in 1834. He had been a farmer in America for ten years and told of his many personal experiences. He had no idea of becoming an emigration agent, but as a result of his visit, as well as Mr. Hovland's well composed letters, several hundred emigrants came to America in 1836. These were not bound for the Kendall settlement as this had practically been given up by this time. They were all going to Illinois.

In 1833, the conditions in the Kendall settlement had become unfavorable, the territory was overcrowded and there was little opportunity for expansion. So in the spring of that year, Kleng Peerson, with two of his friends, set out to explore the western country. Peerson's companions soon gave up the expedition and hired out to work for farmers.

¹⁵Flom, History of Norwegian Immigration, p. 73.

"Numerous letters were written home praising American laws and institutions, and setting forth the opportunities here offered. These letters were read and passed around to friends. Many who had relatives in America would travel long distances to hear what the last "American-letter" had to report. Among the early immigrants who did much in this way to promote emigration from their native districts was Gjert Hovland. He wrote many letters home praising American institutions. These letters were transcribed and the copies distributed far and wide in the Province of Bergen, and a large number were thus led to emigrate."

He continued on his journey alone. According to his own story, his travels took him through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and part of Wisconsin.

His picturesque account of the fine meadows, thick forests and rich rolling prairies had a great effect upon the Kendall colony. He had traveled over 2,000 miles on foot, and had seen places much more favorably located than the Kendall region, spots more beautiful, more healthful and more productive than any other in the land. As a direct result of this journey, most of the people of Kendall went west, as well as all the later Norwegian immigrants. A colony was established in Illinois called the Fox River Colony, and from this colony, as a stopping place for emigrants, colonies were established throughout the whole Northwest. From this time on emigrants came by the hundreds and thousands; stories of luck and prosperity gained wide publicity in Norway, and the Norwegian immigrants settled all over the northwest.¹⁶ So the Norwegians of today find themselves in their

¹⁶Gjerest, History of Norwegian People, vol. 2, pp. 600-601.

"In the April number of "Normandsforbundet" for 1913, Mr. Gettenborg shows how the emigration to America until quite recently constantly increased, and how its rise and fall have depended on economic conditions at home. "While the number of emigrants in the period 1836-1842 only reached a few hundred," he writes, "it rose in 1843 to 1600, and has since not fallen below 1000 a year. In 1846 the potato crop in
(continued)

present prosperity in this the richest part of America.¹⁷

¹⁶Gjerrest, History of Norwegian People, vol. 2, pp. 600-601. (continued).

Norway was poor, times were hard, grain prices high, and economic conditions generally unfavorable. For this reason emigration rose to 4000 or 5000, and this number remained quite constant with few exceptions from 1851 to 1865, though the economic conditions improved In 1866 emigration increased suddenly to 15,455 from 4,000 the year previous, owing chiefly to the closing of the Civil War, which had hindered emigration. In the following years the number was gradually reduced from 10,357 in 1873 to about 4,000 in 1874-1878, because of improved economic conditions, extensive railway construction, and other large enterprises. But in the eighties another period of hard times came. Railway construction ceased, and the emigration reached a volume greater than ever before. In 1882 the number rose to 28,804, and during that whole decade it exceeded 20,000 per year, except in 1884-1886 and 1889, when the number was 15,000 to 15,000 a year. The same conditions existed in the beginning of the nineties. In 1893 about 19,000 emigrated, but in 1894 the number was reduced to 5,642 because of good times. . . . In 1899 when the times again became hard, the number rose again. In 1900 it reached 11,000, in 1901 13,000; it soon increased to 20,000, and in 1903 it reached about 27,000. It remained above 20,000 until 1907, but it dropped in 1908 to 8,500 because of hard times in America. In 1909 it rose again to 16,000 and in 1910 to almost 19,000, but dropped again in 1911 to about 12,000, and in 1912 to 9,105." Mr. Gottenberg finds that in the period 1850-1911 707,986 persons emigrated from Norway."

¹⁷Herigstad, Norwegian Immigration, p. 194.

"When Minnesota and the Dakotas were opened up, the Norwegians were among the first to come in and settle. In 1900 about four-fifths of all Norwegian immigrants lived in seven north central states, that is, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, North Dakota, South Dakota and Michigan.

(continued)

17Herigstad, Norwegian Immigration, p. 194. (continued)

"Although there was a Norwegian colony in Texas as early as 1840, all the southern states in 1900 had less than one percent of the Norwegian immigrants, while the eastern states had only about five percent."

Torvend, Norwegian Emigration and Causes, pp. 310-320.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF NORWEGIAN EMIGRATION TO NORTH DAKOTA

To the land-hungry Norwegian pioneer of the seventies and eighties the seemingly endless reaches of Dakota prairie must have seemed as the fulfillment of his desire for economic security, which to him was of great importance. The Red River Valley, with its wood-bordered streams, was a region ideally suited to the purposes of the agrarian Norseman. They came in by oxen and wagon first and by rail later, flowing out on the prairies of Dakota in ever increasing numbers shortly after the earliest settlers saw what to them was a farmer's paradise. In the period from 1870 to the end of the century, the Red River Valley became heavily populated with Norwegians. The Sheyenne River Valley became "solidly Norwegian". The James River region received its quota of the settlers. Thousands of Norwegians went into the Devils Lake and Mouse River regions and westward seeking land and opportunity.¹

The Norwegian settlement of North Dakota came about in the third and fourth stages of the Norwegian expansion

¹Carlton C. Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in North Dakota. Collections of The State Historical Society of North Dakota, North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Vol. V, October, 1930-July, 1931. (Bismarck, 1908). Pp. 14-23

into the northwestern states. Excepting the coming of the original group of Norwegian immigrants to the United States in 1825 and their settlement in western New York, the first period of Norwegian settlement in the United States begins in 1834 and 1835 when the settlers in Orleans County, New York, migrated to Illinois and founded the Fox River Colony.² From that time the northwestern states became the destination of the great majority of the Norwegian settlers. From there they overflowed into Wisconsin and established settlements. In the years 1839 and 1840 three very important settlements were made in southern and southeastern Wisconsin, which were to become the centers of dispersion for pioneer Norwegian settlements in Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas.³

²Knut Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People, (New York, 1915) 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 601.

". . . most of them sought new homes in the western states, especially in La Salle County, Illinois, where the second Norwegian settlement was founded at Fox River in 1834."

³Ibid., p. 603.

"In 1839 about forty emigrants formed a new settlement at Muskego, Wisconsin, the first Norwegian settlement in that state. Already in 1845 plans were laid for the publication of a Norwegian newspaper, and two years later "Nordlyset", published by Even Hegg and James D. Reymert, began to appear in the town of Norway, Racine County, in this settlement. In 1844 the first Norwegian Lutheran church was built by Rev. C. L. Clausen. In 1839 the first Norwegian settlers also appeared at Rock Prairie, and in 1840 the great Norwegian settlement at Koshkonong, Dane County, Wisconsin, was founded."

These were the colonies known as Rock Prairie, Muskego and Koshkonong. Generally speaking, the settlements in Wisconsin and Illinois compose the first phase in the advance of the Norwegian settlers into the northwestern states.

The opening of Minnesota to settlement by the Sioux Treaties of 1851, the great number of immigrants during the fifties, the reports as to the desirability of lands west of the Mississippi, and the exhaustion of immediately available lands in the vicinity of fellow Norwegians, led to the pioneering of northern Iowa and southeastern Minnesota, this being the second phase of the northwestward push of the Norwegian settlers. In the years from 1846 to the opening of hostilities by the Sioux in 1862, a large part of the land received from the Indians in the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux was settled.⁴ The northern Iowa counties were penetrated and the land to a considerable extent was taken up by Norwegians in the years from 1846 to 1855.⁵ Such settlements as those about Decorah in Winneshiek County, about St. Ansgar in Mitchell County, and about Northwood in Worth County became centers from which Norwegians went to all parts of the northwest.

⁴Harold E. Briggs, Frontiers of The Northwest, (New York, 1940) p. 362.

"The treaty of Traverse de Sioux of 1851 provided for the cession of the lands east of the Red River between Lake Traverse and the Buffalo River to the United States."

⁵Squaley, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 15

Minnesota ultimately came to have the largest number of Norwegians within her borders. In the period from the coming of the earliest permanent settler about 1850 to the opening of the Sioux war, two large areas in southeastern Minnesota were settled by Norwegians. One of these areas extended westward from the Mississippi River along the Iowa boundary for a distance of about one hundred miles and included the two southern tiers of Minnesota counties. Centers of settlement were in Fillmore, Houston and Mower Counties, and in scattered areas throughout the counties to the westward as far as Brown, Watonwan and Jackson Counties. The Fillmore-Houston County region was the most densely settled and became the source of a large number of North Dakota pioneers.⁶ The other large southeastern Minnesota area of Norwegian settlement was that known as the Goodhue County settlement, including also parts of Rice and Dakota Counties. This settlement, like the colonies farther south, was also an important center of dispersion for Norwegian pioneers in northwestern Minnesota and North Dakota.⁷

Several factors after 1865 led to the expansion of the Norwegians into western and northwestern Minnesota and

⁶Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 15.

⁷Ibid., p. 15.

eastern Dakota.⁸ The greatly increased immigration, the rapid expansion of the railroads, the Homestead Act, the cessation of Indian hostilities, the end of the Civil War, the activities of a newly created Minnesota State Board of Immigration--these and other factors brought about the rapid settlement of the rich farming lands in north-central Minnesota and in the Red River Valley.⁹ From 1865 on, the great Minnesota Park Region became one of the largest single areas of Norwegian settlement in this country.¹⁰ By 1870, the movement crossed the Red River into northern Dakota and the

⁸North Dakota State Planning Board, Consultant's Report to National Resources Committee, Population Studies by Consultant's Staff, (Bismarck, 1935) p. 2.

"Eastern North Dakota was settled first, for which there are doubtless several reasons. It is the point of early exposure to westward moving populations. It had the advantages of the earliest regular agencies of communication especially the railways. The eastern part of the State contained the best supply of streams and timber and an extensive river valley of exceptionally rich and easily tilled soil."

⁹LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister, Eastern America, (New York, 1941) p. 525-536.
Gives a very interesting description of the Sioux Wars.

¹⁰Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 16.

settlement period began in that new territory.¹¹ The fourth period of expansion began in the late seventies, filling in the Red River Valley.

To summarize the general movement of the Norwegian settlers westward and northwestward, the pre-Civil War period saw the establishment of Norwegian settlements in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and southern Minnesota. By 1870 the fringes of settlement touched the borders of North Dakota. As the thirties had been the period of early settlement in Illinois and Wisconsin, the forties in Iowa, the fifties and sixties in Minnesota, so the seventies were the early years of early settlement in North Dakota. By 1880 the full force of the westward movement of Norwegian settlement came upon North Dakota and in the succeeding decades covered the territory and state with Norwegians.

The Norwegian settlement in North Dakota was mostly a part of inter-state migration. This is especially true of the earlier stages of the settlement period. Most of

¹¹K. Moses Armstrong, The Early Empire Builders of the Great West, (St. Paul, 1901) p. 1.
 "The great Territory of Dakota, as originally organized, in 1861, extended from Minnesota on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west, and from Iowa to Nebraska on the south, northward to the British Dominion. . . ."
 Northern Dakota referred to that part of the Dakota Territory north of parallel 46 and Southern Dakota to that area south of the parallel, The whole of the territory was referred to as Dakota.

the people from Norway stopped at former settlements in older states before moving on into North Dakota. Nevertheless, it was the tremendously increased immigration from Norway in the eighties which was responsible for a large part of the Norwegian population of North Dakota. The immigrants stopped for a time in the older settlements in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, worked as laborers or tenants there for a time, and then moved westward where there was plenty of free or cheap land to be had. There are no statistics for immigration into North Dakota during this period but the United States immigration figures will serve to indicate the numbers which were pouring across the Atlantic to become, in large part, settlers in the Northwest. From 1825 to 1900, 424,385 Norwegians are officially reported as having entered the United States as immigrants. Of these, 78,451 came prior to 1869, 345,934 came in the period from 1869 to 1900, approximately three and one-half times as many as in the preceding half-century.¹² Although in no year did immigration fall off entirely, there were marked waves in the flow. Up to 1849, the numbers were comparatively small, but beginning in that year and continuing to the late fifties came the first considerable wave of immi-

¹²Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 17. Census reports for the Dakota Territory prior to and including 1880 list the Norwegians and Swedes together.

grants, reaching the high point of 4,103 in 1852 and then gradually declining to the low point of 298 in 1860. During the Civil War, immigration gradually picked up again, and commencing in 1866 a second and much greater wave came over from Norway, reaching the high points of 16,088 and 16,247 in 1869 and 1873 respectively. After 1873 immigration, in response undoubtedly to depressed economic conditions in the United States, fell off considerably. A third big influx began in 1879 and continued to about 1893.¹³ During this period, the numbers surpassed any in the previous years. Of these waves, the first and the smaller numbers preceding it laid the foundations for and built up the Norwegian settlements in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and southern Minnesota.

¹³

Refer to footnote 16, Chapter I.

Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 17.

Reports of the Governors of Arizona, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington Territories, made to the Secretary of The Interior for the year of 1879. (Washington, 1879)

Report of The Governor of Dakota, Executive Office Dakota Territory, Yankton, September 13, 1879. Wm. A. Howard, Governor Dakota Territory.

"Immigration this year has been large, far greater than in any former year, and this large increase extends to all parts of the settled portion of the territory--perhaps about the same percentage of increase in each of the three divisions. Southeastern Dakota has had a very large increase of population. I am told by persons in whom I have confidence that as many as three hundred teams, immigrant wagons, have passed into the southeastern part of the Territory daily through the summer. Quite as large a percentage has come into North Dakota. . . ."

The second wave occupied the "Great Woods" and "Park Region" areas of Minnesota and penetrated the Red River Valley. This great influx in the eighties and nineties stopped momentarily in older settlements. Then, together with older Norwegian settlers, who were also migrating, the newcomers moved on into the great Dakota Territory.¹⁴ In the period from 1892 to 1905, the Scandinavian immigration into North Dakota equalled 47 percent of the total immigration to the state, and, of the Scandinavian immigrants, the Norwegians formed 42 percent.¹⁵

Although the valley of the Red River of the North was not unknown to people in Minnesota and other states, it does not seem to have entered public consciousness as a place for settlement until after 1869. Prior to this time, the Red River country, when thought of at all, was regarded as a

¹⁴Laurence M. Larson, The Norwegian Element in The Northwest, p. 72. The American Historical Review, vol XL, No. 1, October, 1934. (New York, 1934).

"Early in the forties the tide of Norwegian migration began a steady progress westward and northwestward toward the Great River. Late in the decade it reached the counties of northeastern Iowa. In the early fifties it touched various points in eastern and southern Minnesota. Norwegian settlers appeared in Dakota in 1859, but real settlement in that territory did not come till the close of another decade."
This was in Southern Dakota.

¹⁵Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 17.

vast prairie region, comparatively unfit for cultivating, over which wild Indians roamed.¹⁶ Being "woodsminded", it took the Norwegian settlers some time to become convinced that the prairie could be as fertile and productive as more wooded regions. It may be noted here that when the Norwegians settled North Dakota, the trend of settlement was almost always along the streams and those areas where wood and water were easily available. The same tendency is easily traced in the pioneer settling of the states farther east.

Paul Hjelm Hansen is usually given most credit as an individual for introducing the Red River Valley to the Norwegians of the older settlements. Mr. Qualey in his article, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in North Dakota, gives a good account of Hansen's journeys in the Red River Valley. "The credit for introducing the Red River Valley to the consciousness of Norwegians as an attractive place for settlement must

¹⁶ Frederic Logan Paxson, The Last American Frontier, (New York, 1918). Pp. 264-283, 358-371. "Between 1850 and 1870 there was considerable difficulty with the Dakota Indians, whose lands in Minnesota had been largely appropriated by the whites, and whose buffalo herds on the Dakota prairies were fast being depleted by the hunting activities of traders and half-breeds. The Minnesota outbreak of 1862 was followed by campaigns by Gens. Sibley and Sully in 1863 and 1864 which finally drove the hostile Dakotas to the "badlands" west of the Missouri river. All eastern North Dakota was now open for occupation and the completion of the first railroad to the eastern border in 1871 inaugurated the settlement period in earnest."

go to Paul Hjeltn-Hansen.^[17] This man came to the United States in 1867. He had had a fairly successful career as a journalist and publicist in Norway. The Norwegian emigration problem attracted him and one of his motives in emigrating seems to have been to see for himself why it was that the United States was drawing so many of his countrymen. As subsequent events showed, he became entirely converted to the cause of emigration and was one of the most influential writers in attracting Norwegians to this country. His first work in the United States was on the editorial staff of a Norwegian newspaper published at La Crosse, Wisconsin, the "Fædrelandet og Emigranten" (The Fatherland of the Em-

^[17]Theodore C. Elegen, Norwegian Migration to America, (Northfield, 1940) p. 504.

"If Norwegian settlement in the southern part of Dakota antedates that in the northern area by a decade, this does not mean that there was any less enthusiasm for the prairies stretching westward from the Red River than for the region farther south. The Norwegian exploitation of what became North Dakota opened with a paean of praise and was carried forward on a wave of high hopes. The paean was sounded by the trail-blazing journalist, Hjeltn Hansen, who wrote in lyric phrases about the rich black soil of the prairie, its invigorating air, its ample room, and the ease of cultivating land "where there is not so much as a stone or stump in the path of the plow." The settlers themselves supplied the high hopes as the Norwegian element in North Dakota increased from 10 in 1870 to 8,814 in 1880 and to 73,744--nearly a fourth of the entire population of the state--in 1900."

igrant). In 1869, Hansen was appointed by Governor Marshall of Minnesota to act as an agent for the newly created Minnesota State Board of Immigration. He was to travel about in unsettled parts of the state to investigate the possibilities for immigrant settlement.

Hansen's first journey was up into the Red River Valley in the summer of 1869. He left La Crosse on June 17 and went via St. Paul and St. Cloud to Alexandria with two companions on a twelve day trip into the "wilderness". The party travelled in a farm wagon drawn by slow moving oxen. The route they took led through Douglas, Ottertail, Wilkin and Clay Counties, Minnesota. Passing through the newly begun village of Breckenridge, the travelers went on up the Red River Valley to Fort Abercrombie on the Dakota side of the river. From this point they crossed the river and went to Georgetown, fifty miles northward. This was the northernmost point reached. The return trip was made by the same route and on July 31 Hansen wrote a lengthy account of his journey, copies of which were sent to the "Nordick Folkeblad", published in Minneapolis, and to "Faedrelandet og Emigranten". A few translated excerpts from this letter will serve to show Hansen's great enthusiasm for this new region.

"In truth, the air here is just as wondrously invigorating as the land is beautiful and fruitful. . . The whole

prairie, which does not have the slightest bulge or rise, is the most fertile land one could wish. It consists of rich black soil with a slight intermixture of sand on a substratum of clay. On this prairie there is room for several thousand farmers. Concerning the problem of settlement, it is not only mine but the opinion of all men who have seen this part of the country, that it presents so many advantages, that is, for Scandinavian farmers, that immigrants are likely to stream in here within the next year, that this tract of land will in ten years be built up and under cultivation, and that it then will become one of the richest and most beautiful regions in America. The soil is fertile to the highest degree and is exceptionally easy to cultivate for there is not as much as a stone or stump in the way of the plow. Woods are to be found in great quantities along the rivers. Railroads are to run through the middle of the whole long valley. Steamships already come up from the British possessions to Georgetown and will in a few years probably come much farther. . . . A man can take 160 acres of Homestead land, and, if he has the opportunity to do so, he can in addition buy 160 acres for two hundred dollars. With an area of 320 acres of this land, every family that does not care to live too pretentiously can make a comfortable livelihood."

In his next article sent to the "Nordick Folkeblad" Hansen elaborated on his previous description, he having made a second trip as far as Fort Abercrombie in August, 1869, which seems only to have confirmed his earlier impressions and to have made him even more enthusiastic. Subsequently, he travelled through other parts of Minnesota and recorded his impressions in a series of twelve letters published in the two Norwegian newspapers already mentioned. Contemporary recognition of Hansen's influence is to be found in a letter written August 20, 1875 to the editor of the "Budstikken" (published in Minneapolis) from a pioneer Norwegian settler in Traill County, North Dakota. A part of the letter, translated from the Norwegian, follows:

"Goose River Crossing is located on the Dakota side of the renowned Red River Valley which was first opened for settlers after P. Hjelm-Hansen had personally explored the entire northwestern part of Minnesota. As a result of his journey he concluded that of all the excellent land he had seen, the Red River prospects were the best for a thrifty, industrious and hardy people. When a man, in whose word there lies a guarantee of honesty, personally seeks to find for his countrymen the most fertile and the most easily cultivable land, it is not surprising that many set out for the regions which he pointed out. The effect of his excellent

articles was evidenced the next year in the form of large fleets of the so-called "prairie schooners" which cruised the width and breadth of those tremendous distances which had to be traversed in order to reach their destination. . . . If the barren reaches of five years ago are recalled, one will now find great changes. Where a few years ago the half-wild Indians had their hunting grounds and there they found celebrated their war dance around the much-prized white scalps, there now are ripening grain fields, evidences of progress, enlightenment and industry. Down below in the valley stands the Norwegian church, the spire of which points to Him who has helped us in the past and who we are certain will continue to aid us."

The letters and articles by Hansen were read by thousands of Norwegians both in this country and in Norway. To most of their readers these letters opened a new land of opportunity--a rich, undeveloped region to which they immediately began to migrate. The tremendous increase in immigration from Norway in 1869 and the early seventies was undoubtedly due in part at least to Hansen's letters. Certain it is that his writings introduced the Red River Valley into the consciousness of the Norwegians, both here and in Norway, as a place for settlement.

"Come one, come all! Why will ye delay,
 The glorious opportunity to secure a home-
 stead is fast slipping away.
 In a few years at most, government land
 will be sold,
 And you, yes you, will be left out in the
 cold!"

This near-poetic effort expresses to some extent the urge which prompted thousands of people to migrate to North Dakota in the eighties.¹⁸

The hard-times in the middle seventies caused a temporary decrease in expansion in almost all lines of endeavor. By 1879, conditions had improved and in the succeeding years, up to about 1886, Dakota experienced a great land and population boom.¹⁹ Mr. Harold E. Briggs in his book entitled

¹⁸Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, pp. 18-20.

¹⁹G. Eie Ravndal, The Scandinavian Pioneers of South Dakota, vol. XII, p. 310. Department of History Collections, South Dakota Historical Society, (South Dakota, 1924).

"At the time of the emigration from Norway of the first Scandinavian settlers in Dakota, the voyage from the port of departure across the Atlantic was made in sailing vessels and consumed from 6 to 10 weeks. An emigrant's ticket (food not included) cost \$25 per adult (children half-fare) as far as New York, and \$6 from New York (via the Lakes) to Milwaukee. The latter distance was covered in 15 to 20 days. There remained the 70 miles between the western shore of Lake Michigan and Koshkonong, and many were the emigrants who, in the forties, traversed that part of Wisconsin afoot."

"Frontiers of the Northwest" discusses the great land boom, 1879-1886, gives as reasons for this movement the fact that during this period there was plenty of rainfall and no droughts to discredit the new territory, that the desirable land farther east had been taken up, that it was discovered that hard spring wheat could be grown successfully in Dakota, that it was likewise found that corn could be grown in the southeastern part of the state, and that people had recovered sufficiently from the panic of 1873 to be able to buy land again.²⁰ Add to these factors the fact that immigration from Europe had increased tremendously in the early eighties and the great activity of the railroads and the land companies who had Dakota lands to sell, and one has at least the principal factors which brought the Dakota land boom.

"From May 20, 1862, when the Homestead Act went into effect, to June 30, 1883, there were 74,794 original entries for Homesteads in Dakota Territory totaling 11,480,386 acres."²¹

²⁰Briggs, Frontiers of The Northwest, pp. 390-392, 410-414.
Gives a good account of the Dakota land boom.

²¹North Dakota State Planning Board, Population Studies, p. 2.

"An extensive advertising campaign in the older states was carried on regarding the rich opportunities existing in the new region. The settlers often sent back to eastern states or foreign countries glowing accounts of the new land.

Most of these entries came after 1870 in respect to northern Dakota. During the boom years, the number of entries for all lands grew from 213,000 in 1877 to 2,269,000 in 1880, 4,360,000 in 1882, 11,083,000 in 1884, the peak year, and then rapidly declined to 4,548,000 in 1885, 2,076,000 in 1887, and 1,881,000 in 1888. Although the writer has been unable to determine the percentage of Norwegians among those

21 (continued)

Land filings in millions of acres year by year from 1880 to 1887 tell the story: 2.3, 2.7, 4.4, 7.3, 11.1, 4.5, 3.1, and 2.1. Thus the peak was reached during 1883 and 1884."

L. E. Quigg, New Empires In The Northwest, (New York, 1889) vol. 1, no. 8, p. 28.

The processes by which public lands are obtained. "Any citizen of the United States, or person, who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen, may enter upon any unoccupied or unreserved quarter-section (160 acres) of the public domain, and within thirty days after settlement he must file his "declaratory statement" with the nearest Government land office. In this statement he simply declares his intention to cultivate^{live} upon the land he has taken. Within a year he must prove by witnesses that he has actually been cultivating and living upon his land, and then he can have a patent of it from the Government for \$1.25 an acre, or, if it be within fifty miles of the Northern Pacific Railroad, for \$2.50 an acre. This is called "pre-emption". Under the Homestead law, he can have a quarter-section free, or, to be exact, by paying the land office fee of from \$14 to \$18. But he must go upon his land within six months after entry and live there. He must cultivate it for five years, and then he can have his patent. But he has no right or claim in the land until the necessary cultivation has been done. He can buy it under the pre-emption law, if he chooses, so soon as the conditions of that law have been observed. If he be an honorably discharged

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making entries for land at the various land offices, the large number of Norwegians settling on Dakota lands during this period makes it obvious that the percentage was not small."²²

Free and cheap land was perhaps the greatest single attraction in the United States for Norwegian immigrants.²³ Being essentially agrarian minded, with tillers of the soil as ancestors for centuries, it is natural that the Norwegians should seek a like occupation in this country.²⁴ It is

²¹(continued)

soldier or sailor who has served not less than ninety days, or the widow of one, the time of actual service under the Government will be deducted from the requisite five years of residence.

Under the Timber Culture Act, he may secure a quarter-section of such land as is naturally devoid of timber, which includes practically the whole of Dakota, by planting and cultivating ten acres of trees for eight years, and when he "proves up" he must show that he has planted and cared for 2,700 trees, of which at least 675 are living and in good condition."

²²Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 21.

²³Laurence M. Larson, Norwegian Element In Northwest, p. 74.

"The Norwegian immigrant came with a strong attachment to the soil. He hungered for land; he felt the need of a home. A home, however, could not be a mere abiding place: home, as he saw it, was something to which one has the title of ownership. . . ."

²⁴Edward Alsworth Ross, The Old World In The New (New York, 1914), p. 73.

"Rugged Norway freezes into the souls of her sons a sense of the preciousness of level, fertile

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also significant that 78 percent of the Norwegian immigrants have come from rural areas in Norway while only 22 percent have come from urban areas.²⁵ The size of the land units in this country in comparison with the common peasant holdings in Europe was also a revelation to the immigrants. The settlers wrote back to Norway telling of the remarkable land opportunities in America. The fact that one could obtain 160 acres of fine farming land for next to nothing was a magnetizing power which attracted immigrants to the Northwest as long as there was land to be had. By the time of the period when North Dakota was being settled, people in Norway, in certain districts particularly, by means of letters from friends and relatives, newspaper accounts, pamphlets issued by railroad companies and immigration bureaus, and the agents of railroad and steamship companies had become quite well-acquainted with land opportunities in America.²⁶ Paul Hjelm-Hanse, in the first article he wrote in

²⁴(continued)

land, and there are no great cities to infect the imagination of her country dwellers. What wonder, then, that in 1900 nearly four-fifths of our Norwegians were outside the cities. In 1900 half of them were tillers, and sixty-three percent of Norwegian Settlement

²⁵Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 22.

²⁶James S. Foster, Outlines of History of the Territory of Dakota and Emigrant's Guide to The Free Lands of the Northwest, (Yankton, 1870), p. 101. An interesting appeal to women to settle in Dakota.

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this country, written for publication in a daily paper in Norway, gives full information as to the available lands in the American Northwest together with other useful information. Settlers tended to flow in the direction, naturally,

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"It perhaps ought to be stated here, for the benefit of widows and single women over twenty-one years of age, that they are as much entitled to homesteads as men, and the women of Dakota generally avail themselves of the privilege. We can point you to young women in Dakota who carry on quite a stroke of farming now, who came here penniless a few years ago. One woman now has three hundred and twenty acres of land, paid for from her wages as servant girl, at \$4.00 per week. It is the investment of what she has saved from her wages in the last two years. We, of Dakota, believe in Women's Rights, especially the right to take a homestead and manage it to their own liking."

Herbert S. Schell, Official Immigration Activities of Dakota Territory, pp. 10-11. North Dakota Historical Quarterly, (Bismarck, 1932-33) Vol. VII.

"The information disseminated through the newspapers and immigration pamphlets during this period was designed to make the most favorable impression possible upon the prospective immigrant. Slurring reports of grasshoppers, droughts and blizzards were refuted as having little or no foundation. The climate was described as salubrious. Contributions by actual settlers related the early history of the settlements and described varied farming experiences. A Bon Homme County agriculturist challenged any locality to beat his county in good crops. A yield of 75 bushels of corn, beets weighing 19 pounds, 70 pound squashes and carrots measuring two feet in length were some of the agricultural feats of Bon Homme County. In general, however, the accounts were moderate in tone."

Ibid., p. 19.

"James M. Wahl, the Norwegian member of the im-
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where good land was available, and, in the case of the Norwegians, the tendency was to follow the wooded areas in preference to the prairie. The favorable reports as to the Red River lands and the lands in the tributary valleys coupled

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migration board (Dakota Territory) generally directed his activities toward the Scandinavian migration. He made frequent trips to eastern Minnesota, Iowa and southern Wisconsin whence a large movement to Dakota had previously taken place. Inducements were obtained from railroads in the form of special rates for colonists. Steamships were met at Montreal and Quebec. Most of the settlers led to Dakota by Wahl located in the northern part of the territory, particularly in Cass County."

Harold E. Briggs, The Settlement and Development of The Territory of Dakota, 1860-70. North Dakota Historical Quaterly, vol. VII, p. 127.

"As a rule the newcomer to Dakota, who had resisted the temptations and blandishments presented by the citizens of the neighboring states and finally reached the territory, had an entertaining story to tell of the methods employed by Dakota's eastern neighbors to dissuade immigration from going to eastern Dakota. The information was often given that Dakota was no place for a white man and that nothing fit for the substance of civilized people could be grown on its arid plains. It was depicted as a land of perpetual drouth in summer and terrible blizzards in the winter. If a farmer were fortunate to get the promise of a good crop the grasshoppers were sure to devour it before it could be harvested. Even potatoes were not safe from the ravages of the gluttonous insect, that would dig into the ground to consume the tubers. Many Indian stories were told, and the redskins were said to be constantly raiding the settlements and killing the settlers. It was even reported that "nearly all dead people in the territory could be found without their scalplocks." The people at Sioux City would often inform parties of immigrants headed for Dakota that the Great American Desert would be found just west of the James River."

with the comparative exhaustion of good Homestead land farther east and south turned the attention of home seekers to Dakota Territory in the latter years of the seventies.

Although the early Norwegian settler in Northern Dakota settled on desirable land, irrespective of rail connections, they could not have been unaware of the advance of the railroads toward the Red River Valley. One of the points brought out by Hansen in depicting the glowing possibilities of the Red River lands was the expectation that a railroad would be built through the entire region. The influence of the railroads in the Norwegian settlement of North Dakota, however, came rather in the second stage of pioneering. The first pioneers came in when the nearest railroad was hundreds of miles in the rear and when there was no early prospect of rail connections. These settlers took up land in desirable areas and carted their farm produce as much as a hundred miles to market. Later, when the railroads came, a second and much greater wave of settlers arrived. These took up the remaining homestead land, of which there was plenty, and bought up the land around by the railroads and land speculators.

The approach of the railroads to North Dakota was at first not motivated so much by the desire to bring in settlers and develop the land as to tap the rich Red River

trade which had been going on for many years between the Red River settlement, Pembina, Georgetown, Fort Abercrombie and the Minnesota markets, St. Cloud and St. Paul.²⁷ In the case of the Northern Pacific Railroad, the trans-continental passenger traffic was another factor. The Red River caravans plied between St. Cloud and points on the Red River carrying freight for the military posts and for the Hudson's Bay Company posts in the lower Red River Valley. In 1858, 6,000 carts were engaged in the trade. In 1859, a stage line connected St. Cloud with the head of navigation on the Red River, the point varying seasonally.²⁸ In the same year the first steamer was put in service on the river.²⁹

²⁷Harold E. Briggs, Frontiers of the Northwest, p. 132.
 "The famous Red River trail was opened in 1844 when a number of Red River carts brought furs and buffalo-ropes to St. Paul. By 1856 Pembina had become well established as the Canadian base and by 1858 six hundred carts came to St. Paul bringing goods valued at approximately two hundred thousand dollars, two-thirds of which were estimated to consist of fur and buffalo products."

²⁸Ibid., p. 380.
 "A line of stage-coaches established between Fort Abercrombie and Fort Gary in the spring of 1871 also encouraged immigration to the Red River Valley.

Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 23.

²⁹Colonel Clement A. Lounsberry, Early History of North Dakota. (Washington, D. C., 1919) p. 353.
 "The Indians had protested against the use of the river for steamboats, complaining that the boats drove away the game and killed the fish, while the whistle made such an unearthly noise that it disturbed the spirits of their dead and their fathers could not rest in their graves..."

Some of the earliest Norwegian settlers in North Dakota worked part of the year on the Red River steamboats.³⁰ There was constant expectation that a railroad would be built into the Red River Valley but this did not materialize until 1871.³¹

³⁰Axel Tollefson, Historical Notes on The Norwegians in The Red River Valley, (Bismarck, 1908) North Dakota State Historical Society, vol. 7, p. 278.

"The Hudson Bay Company had three steamboats on the Red River (1873), plying between Breckenridge and Winnipeg. They were the "International", the "Dakota" and the "Selkirk". Captain Griggs, who lived for many years afterwards in Grand Forks commanded the "Selkirk". In 1873 I worked on the "International" at first and later on the "Dakota". The men employed on the latter were all Norwegians. We were paid \$35 a month besides getting our board. Our work consisted in loading and unloading freight, besides carrying aboard a cord of wood apiece daily. The "International" had two boilers and burned twenty-two cords a day. It had a crew of twenty-two deck hands besides the captain, the pilot and the other officers. The "Dakota" with one boiler, burned eleven cords a day. It had a working crew of eleven men."

³¹Eugene V. Smalley, History of the Northern Pacific Railroad. (New York, 1883), p. 385.

"The point for crossing the Red River was not finally determined until more than half the division had been built. It had been ordered by the Board of Directors the previous year that the crossing should be "at a point six miles north of the block store or warehouse owned by the Hudson Bay Company at Georgetown". This was about twenty miles north of the place afterward selected. The change was made in August, 1871, when President Smith, in company with other members of the Board, went to the Red River Valley and spent a week riding up and down the stream looking for the most feasible place combining the two features they desired to find--a favorable crossing and a good site for a town. They selected the site of the present town of Moorhead because the ground was higher there than at any other place on the river which they visited. . . ."

This expectation was perhaps as potent as the actual coming of the railroad in attracting settlers.

Although all the railroads were active in attracting settlers to their lands, the Northern Pacific seems to have been especially enterprising in its campaign of colonization. Holding as it did the lion's share of railroad lands in North Dakota it is natural that it should be the most anxious to dispose of the property.³² The Northern Pacific Company

³²Northern Pacific Railroad Company, An Act Granting Lands to Aid in The Construction of a Railroad And Telegraph Line From Lake Superior to Puget's Sound on The Pacific Coast By The Northern Route, (Boston, 1864), p. 11.

"Sect. 6. And be it further enacted That the President of the United States shall cause the lands to be surveyed for forty miles in width on both sides of the entire line of said road, after the general route shall be fixed, and as fast as may be required by the construction of said railroad; and the odd sections of land hereby granted shall not be liable to sale, or entry, or pre-emption, before or after they are surveyed, except by said company, as provided in this Act; but the provisions of the act of September, eight-
een hundred and forty-one, granting preemption rights, and the acts amendatory thereof, and the act entitled "An Act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain", approved May twenty, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, shall be, and the same are hereby, extended to all other lands on the line of said road when surveyed, excepting those hereby granted to said company; and the reserved alternate sections shall not be sold by the Government at a price less than two dollars and fifty cents per acre, when offered for sale."

maintained a general European agency at London with branches in Liverpool, German, Holland and the Scandinavian countries for the distribution of propaganda and the sale of the Northern Pacific lands. In 1873, Colonel Hans Mattson was engaged by the Northern Pacific Railway to represent the company in the Scandinavian countries.³³ Mattson had been quite prominent in Minnesota politics having been elected to the office of Secretary of State in 1869 and having previously been a member of the State Board of Immigration. In 1883, the company was maintaining 124 agents in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland and Germany, and 632,590 Northern Pacific publications had been distributed from Liverpool. In 1884, Northern Pacific land was being advertised in two hundred American and Canadian newspapers, sixty-eight German papers and thirty-two Scandinavian American papers.³⁴

To further indicate the activity of the Northern Pacific in promoting emigration from Norway, the following is quoted: "The Northern Pacific railway company has a general agency in Christiania presided over by an Americanized Norwegian of ability, who is fanning the flame assiduously with a general dissemination of emigration literature. Already he has secured 2,000 settlers for the new country, who will leave Christiania on the 6th of May for the Northern Pacific country."³⁵

³³ Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 25

³⁴ Ibid., p. 25

³⁵ Ibid., p. 25

CHAPTER III

THE NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT OF NORTH DAKOTA

Although the greater number of Norwegians came to North Dakota after 1880, a considerable number of settlements had been made prior to that date. The earliest recorded Norwegian settler is a certain Daniel Olson who settled at St. Joseph, near Pembina, in 1861.¹ There were a number of Norwegians in a regiment of soldiers stationed at Fort Abercrombie in 1863.² One of these was the Reverend Ole Paulson, a famous pioneer Norwegian pastor and missionary. In 1869, a Norwegian named F. C. Nelson was appointed customs collector at Pembina.³ He filed on land in Pembina

¹Axel Tollefson, Historical Notes on the Norwegians in The Red River Valley. P. 147. Collections of The State Historical Society of North Dakota, (Bismarck, 1908) 7 vols., vol. 7.
"The first Norwegian to locate in the valley was undoubtedly Daniel Olson who, with his family settled in the French half-breed settlement at old St. Joseph near Pembina in 1861."

²Ibid., p. 147
"The first Norwegian buried in the region of the valley was a soldier named Lund, who was originally from Stavanger, Norway. He enlisted as a soldier in the Civil War, but previous to this he had spent some time in Basque County, Texas. He was buried at the Fort Abercrombie cemetery in 1862. (Olvestad, Nordmaendene i Amerika, Minneapolis, Minn., 1907, 308.)."

³Report by State Planning Board and Works Progress Administration O. P. No. 665-73-3-67, June 30, 1939.

"Fort Pembina, established 1870. Established
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township and seems to have been one of the first to do so. Pembina County then extended over the entire eastern part of Northern Dakota Territory. The later Pembina County, in the northeastern corner of the state, was never very heavily settled by Norwegians.⁴ There was, however, a large Icelandic settlement in that county. The southern part of the Red River Valley rather than Pembina County became the point of entry for most of the Norwegian settlers in North Dakota.

1869 seems to be generally acknowledged as the first year of Norwegian settlement in the upper Red River Valley in North Dakota.⁵ In that year, Erich Hoel settled in Aber-

³(continued)

on our northern boundary, it protected the Red River of the North and Pembina County and kept watch on the Indians crossing and recrossing from the Dakota and Minnesota reservations." There was another Fort Pembina where Winnipeg now stands.

⁴Tollefson, "Historical Notes on Norwegians." P. 148.

"There were no distinct settlements of Norwegians in Pembina county before 1880, when Chas. Severson came there from Bergen Norway. Two Norwegian settlements have been made in this county, one near St. Thomas, and the other in Park Township, west of Hensel, in 1880 and 1881, respectively."

⁵Ibid., p. 150.

"The early immigrants to the Red River Valley were inclined to settle the Dakota side first as the land there is somewhat higher and consequently not equally subject to inundation!"

crombie township in Richland County.⁶ Hoel came from Trondhjem, Norway, via Quebec to Dunn County, Wisconsin, in 1868, worked in the sawmills there for a time and then, hearing of the wonderful lands in the Red River Valley, came to Fort Abercrombie the next year.⁷ He took land along the

⁶State Planning Board Report No. 665-73-3-67, p. 5.

"Fort Abercrombie, established 1858. Military post for the eastern part of the Dakotas. Captain James L. Fiske used this post as the last trading post before escorting the gold seekers going west. First Federal post built in State on an old ox trail between Winnipeg and St. Paul." It is located in Richland County.

⁷Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 154.

"Einar Hoel was a native of Rennebec, Trondhjem, Norway, and together with Peder Wold, Arnt Skaarvold, and Sivert Dragseth came from Dunn County, Wisconsin, crossed the Red River and settled at Fort Abercrombie, July 18, 1870. From the public and private letters of Ole Strandvold in Cass and Einar Hoel in Richland County, as well as other personal letters to friends and relatives, settlers were induced to come to the southeastern corner of North Dakota in large numbers. Among the settlers who came directly to Richland County may be mentioned Anders Mo, Hans Myhra, Ole Martinson, Ole Moen, Syver Hoel, Jens Hagen, and Sivert Lievold. Shortly after these had located on their land, other settlers arrived. Among them were Erick Hoel, John Wold, Johan Elson, Gilbert Olsen, Torvald Jacobsen, and Ole Benson. One reason for so many coming to Richland County was that Fort Abercrombie was the gateway to Northern Dakota. Many of the first land seekers crossed the Red River at this point since the soldiers stationed at Fort Abercrombie were ready to protect them in case of attack by Indians."

Wild Rice River, west of the fort. More settlers followed in 1871 and 1872, coming largely from Dunn and Eau Claire Counties, Wisconsin. No new comers to this district are recorded until 1877, 1878, and 1879 when settlers arrived from Worth County, Iowa and other points.⁸

The Southern Dakota counties in the Red River Valley received Norwegian settlers at approximately the same time, in the early seventies.⁹ In 1870, the pioneer Norwegians

⁸Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 27.

⁹George B. Winship, Forty Years of Development of the Red River Valley, p. 91. History of the Red River Valley (Grand Forks, 1909), 2 vols., vol. 2.
 "During the early seventies, settlers from Iowa, a large proportion of whom were Scandinavians or of Scandinavian descent began coming into the territory and locating mainly along the streams tributary to the Red River, the Goose, Sheyenne and others, and beginning operations on a small scale in the way of opening farms. So well satisfied were these pioneer settlers, in the main, that their neighbors and countrymen whom they had left behind profited by their advice and came also in steadily increasing numbers. John Lindstrom came from Northwood, Iowa, in the fall of 1870, locating at the mouth of the Sheyenne. His nearest neighbor was at that time sixteen miles down the river. In 1873, with his brother Lars, he located near Northwood, in Grand Forks County. Halvor Salem, Nels Korsmo, and others located in that vicinity in 1874. In 1876, Peter Thinglestad, Hans Thinglestad, Paul Johnson, Andrew Nelson, and others, all from the vicinity of Northwood, Iowa, located in the vicinity of the present village of Northwood, in this state, in 1875 and 1876. . . ."

settled in Cass County. These came from the township of Wilmington in Houston County, Minnesota, and settled on the Wild Rice River. Other settlers came from Houston, Fillmore and Goodhue Counties in Minnesota and from Rock Prairie, Wisconsin, in the years following and took land along the Sheyenne River.¹⁰ Mr. F. A. Huskers, the editor of the "Budstickken of Minneapolis", visted Fargo in 1874 and made a short trip out across the prairie to the Sheyenne River settlements. He stated in his description that almost all of the farms were owned by Norwegians. Small loghouses and large wheat stacks stood at the edge of the woods bordering the river and the farms extended out into the prairie. In

¹⁰Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 153-154.

"Concerning the early days in Cass County, C. Fredrickson from Horace has written: "I was a child seven years old when my mother went from St. Ansgar, Iowa, to the wilderness of North Dakota. It was in the month of September, 1871. By railroad we could only go as far as Morris, Minnesota, where our father met us and from where we continued our journey with oxen about 160 miles across the wild prairie.

We received mail so seldom that the news was often three months old. The mail was carried between Fort Abercrombie and Fort Totten and about ten miles from our settlement there was a station. The postmaster at that place was a half-breed who could not read and for this reason the settlers were allowed to examine all the mail whenever they expected a letter, which they always did. The last to come of course had to be content with what was left. Still I do not believe that they ever accused each other of theft. But one can realize that such a process of handling the mail was unsatisfactory. (Ulvestad, Normaendene i Amerika, 158-159)."

Fargo there were only a few Norwegian tradesmen at that time.¹¹

Traill County, the next county north of Cass, received Norwegian settlers in 1871 when a group from Mitchell County, Iowa, took up land along the Goose River west of Caledonia.¹² More settlers followed from southeastern Minnesota and also settled in the Goose River region, the settlement following that river across the entire county and extending on into the adjoining Steele County.¹³ The

¹¹Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 28.

¹²Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians p. 156.
 "Traill county was first settled by Norwegians in 1871. The first to come were Ole and Torger Thompson, Ole Rust and Christian and Carl Larson. These came from Mitchell County, Iowa, and settled in the region of Caledonia by the Red River in 1871. Among the next to arrive may be mentioned H. Klep, K. Rust, A. Arnesen, K. Vinge, H. Hovland, Jens Mikkelsen, O. and E. Floberg, Engebret Larsen, P. Herbrandsen, Knut Rauk, and I. Ingvaldsen.

These and many others who came about the same time raised wheat and barley. There was, however, practically no market for the small amount of grain that they could raise. Martin Ulvestad states that these Norwegians at first had to bring their farm products by oxen and wagon transportation to Alexandria, Minnesota, nearly 200 miles away. But this lasted only a very short time since they soon secured a nearer market in Fargo."

¹³Anton Hillesland, The Norwegian Lutheran Church in The Red River Valley. Collections of The State Historical Society of North Dakota, (Bismarck, 1908) 7 vols., vol. 7. P. 272.

"Sven Heskin filed on a claim near the present site of Portland in 1872. He gives the follow-
 (continued)

closest market for the first settlers in 1871 was Alexandria, Minnesota, one hundred miles away.¹⁴

In 1870, a small group of Norwegians came to Fargo from Fillmore County, Minnesota, in search of land.¹⁵ They proceeded in a northwesterly direction and decided upon land around Golden Lake located in what later became Steele County.

¹³(continued)

ing account of the early settlers along the Goose river:

". . . In 1874 a great number of people came from Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and practically all the remaining timber land was taken up. The settlement extended to the northern edge of the woods along the Goose river, west of the present town of Northwood."

¹⁴Hillesland, Norwegian Lutheran Church, p. 271

"Mathias Kaldor came to Traill County in 1871, after having spent two years in Freeborn County, Minnesota, since his arrival in this country. He tells of the group that came up at the same time and some of their experiences:

"On June 22, 1871, a company in four covered wagons from Albert Lea, Minnesota, arrived in the Goose River country. This group consisted of the following: Lars Moen, Hans Arneson, and Christian Kaldor, with their families and the latter's unmarried brothers, Simeon and Mathias. Moen had two wagons, Christian Kaldor one, besides oxen and cattle, and I had one wagon and three head of oxen. We camped in the open country and slept in our wagons.

We selected the timber lands along the Goose River because of the many advantages. Besides being sheltered there was an abundance of grass and water for our cattle, and the woods afforded material from which we could build houses."

¹⁵Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 149.

"The first settlers where Fargo now is were Ole J. Lee, who settled where Belmont Park is now located, Mikael Herberg, who had his home in Island Park, and Theodore Thorsen, who took his claim south of Ole Lee. The first farmer in Cass County was Ole Lee, who harvested his crop in 1871.

This settlement was afterwards reached by the advance of settlers along the Goose River and ultimately the two northern tiers of townships in Steele County became predominantly Norwegian.¹⁶ The bulk of these came in the late seventies and the eighties. In 1884, a writer said: "The county has a population of 4,000, mostly Americans. The majority of the foreigners are Norwegians who, as a class, are good citizens, industrious and thrifty."¹⁷ The earliest settler in Steele County is probably Final Enger, who came here as early as 1872. Others soon followed and many settlers on the Goose River have been here from that date.

The Norwegians began settling in Grand Forks County in 1872 and were probably the first of any nationality there.¹⁸ These first comers settled in the southwestern corner of the

¹⁶ Colonel Clement A. Lounsberry, Early History of North Dakota, (Washington, D. C., 1919) p. 227.

"The new surveys gave townships of thirty-six sections, each one mile square, containing 640 acres, or quarter sections of 160 acres.

The system of surveys of public lands in vogue throughout the United States, was adopted May 7, 1784, by Congress upon a report by a committee of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman. The origin of the system is not known, beyond the facts reported by the committee.

¹⁷ Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 28.

¹⁸ B. G. Skulason and Sveinbjorn Johnson, Norwegians and Icelanders in The Red River Valley, p. 248. History of The Red River Valley, (Grand Forks, 1909), 2 vols., vol. 1.

"In 1872, the Norwegians Halfor Hansen and Halfor Bentrud settled in Grand Forks County. Two years later eight families arrived from Northwood, Iowa, and settled near the Goose River. . ."

county in the vicinity of Whynot, in the present townships of Walle, Bentru and Americus. In 1873, more settlers came to this region from Fillmore County, Minnesota.¹⁹ In 1874-76, a group of families from Northwood, Iowa, settled in the timber tracts on the Goose River in southern Grand Forks County and gave their settlement the name of Northwood in memory of their former Iowa home.²⁰ A third settlement in

¹⁹Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 159. "The Norwegians began to settle Grand Forks County in 1872 and were thus among the earliest pioneers. The first settlers located along Red River in the southeastern part of the county, which later became the townships of Walle, Bentru, and Americus. In 1872 Knut Rud, a single man, from Hallingdal, Norway, made his home in the northeastern part of Walle, about 7 miles south of Grand Forks. Halvor Bentru and Halvor Hanson, both from Hallingdal, Norway, came with families to Bentru township in 1872. Ole Dokken and Sven Quammen, both with families, came to this neighborhood about the same time. In 1873 Aslak Torkelson and Knut Jorgenson and Gunstein Svenkeson came from Fillmore County, Minnesota, and settled in the southern part of Walle, the two former bringing their families."

²⁰Ibid., p. 165-166. "In 1874 Knut Paulson and Anders Bakken, originally from Hallingdal, Norway, came with their families from Northwood, Iowa. The following year Paul C. Johnson, also a native from Hallingdal, came with his family from Freeborn County, Minnesota. In 1876 Anders Sherva, Peder Hans and Iver Thingelstad arrived from Clayton County, Iowa. Hans Thingelstad and Anders Sherva drove the whole distance, a trip which required about six weeks. They brought along horses, oxen, and several head of cattle.

The Norwegians who settled Northwood, Lind, and Loretta townships came chiefly from Iowa and Minnesota.

Some emigrated directly from Norway but these were comparatively few in number. Originally they were mainly from Hallingdal, Hadeland, Sator and Trondhjem, Norway."
(continued)

this county was made in 1879 on the upper Tuttle River in the western part of the county. In 1877, a group of families from Blooming Prairie, Minnesota, laid the basis for a large and flourishing settlement in northeastern Grand Forks County in the vicinity of the present town of Mekinock. A number of Norwegians also settled in the city of Grand Forks in 1874. The "Grand Forks Tidende" was established in 1880 and there were enough settlers in the Red River region to make the paper a paying proposition.²¹

The next county north of Grand Forks, Walsh County, did not receive Norwegian settlers until 1876 when a group came to the region near Grafton. They did not take land along the Red River on account of a large number of half-breeds there. Others came in 1878 and settled near the present site of Wash.²² In 1879, a party of settlers led

²⁰(continued)

Ibid., p. 167.

"The first settlers along the upper part of the Goose River were squatters as the land was not opened for filing before 1878, even though the township lines in this part of the country had been laid out by 1876. As early as 1870 and 1871 a number of townships near the Red River were surveyed by Moses K. Armstrong, while those in the central and western parts of the county were surveyed later."

²¹Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 29.

²²Skulason and Sveinbjorn, Norwegian and Icelanders, p. 248.

"Among the first Norwegian settlers in Walsh Coun-
(continued)

by Abraham Jackson came from Houston County, Minnesota, and settled in the northern part of the county around Hoople. Another area in Walsh County to which Norwegian settlers came was the region west of Grafton on the Park River. These also came in 1879.

Walsh County, together with Pembina County, previously taken up, completes the first tier of North Dakota Red River counties. By 1880 there were 5,887 foreign born Norwegians in these counties in a total population of 27,828--approximately twenty percent.²³ Most of these pioneers had come by oxen and farm wagon. By 1880, however, the Manitoba railroad served all these counties and the Northern Pacific's Casselton branch also penetrated northward through Mayville and Larimore.²⁴ Breckenridge, Fargo and Grand Forks were

²²(continued)

ty--the next south of Pembina along the Red River--were O. M. Dahl and Ole Helgeson. They settled near the present site of Nash, in 1878. . ."

²³Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 29.

²⁴Winship, Forty Years of Development, p. 351.

". . . In July, 1880, the road crossed the Red River at Wahpeton, and was built north to Fargo. In May, 1881, Fargo and Grand Forks were connected by rail, and in December, 1881, the line north from Grand Forks was opened to Grafton. The west line was also extended to Larimore. In 1882 the north line was extended to Neche, and the west line to Bartlett.

Soon after this Mr. Hill's magnificent project of extending the road to the Pacific Coast took shape. The great undertaking reached Minot in 1886, and the western boundary of the state in 1887."

the points of entry by rail into North Dakota and a considerable part of those travelling with oxen and wagon also passed through these points sooner or later in order to file on land.

There was one other large area of Norwegian settlement which was pioneered in the seventies--the Sheyenne River Valley in Griggs, Barnes and Ransom Counties. This area was partially served by the Northern Pacific line which passed across the region via Valley City. Most of the pioneers, however, came overland at first. Griggs County was settled by Norwegians from Winnsheek County, Iowa, in 1878.²⁵ These settled in the Sheyenne River Valley in the southeastern part of the county. Griggs County was settled by two groups of Norwegians, one coming from Fillmore County, Minnesota, and northern Iowa. In April, 1881, a group of families left Stavanger, Norway under the guidance of Betuel Herigstad, an emigrant agent. They came to New York and then went inland by rail via Chicago and St. Paul to Granite Falls, Minnesota. Here they purchased oxen and covered wagons and proceeded to Benson, Minnesota, where the men left their families and went on to Fargo. They followed the Northern Pacific line to Valley City and from this point travelled in a northwesterly direction along the

²⁵Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 30.

Sheyenne River until they finally found land to their taste in what later became Sverdrup township, Griggs County. A few other families from Fillmore County had arrived a few weeks earlier. In July and October of the same year, the families which had been left at Benson, Minnesota, came. This settlement spread over what is now Sverdrup and Bald Hill townships. In 1880 and 1881, the earliest Norwegian pioneers came to the vicinity of Cooperstown and Hannaford.²⁶

Valley City was the point of dispersion for Norwegian settlement in Barnes County, a large part of the settlers coming in on the Northern Pacific.²⁷ The earliest seems to have come in 1877 and 1878, settling above Valley City in the Sheyenne Valley. By 1879, Norwegians had penetrated as far north as Dasey. Settlement south of Valley City began about 1878 in the vicinity of Daily. New comers in 1879, 1880 and 1881 occupied a considerable part of the land in the southern part of the county. The "Valley City Times" on March 7, 1881, anticipated a tremendous influx of settlers. In a later issue in the same year a writer stated:

²⁶Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 30.

²⁷Blegen, Norwegian Migration, p. 506.

"Before the end of the 1870's, they had swarmed into Dakota in its eastern counties, from Richland, in the southeastern corner, up through all the rich counties lying beyond the Red River; and it was this fertile eastern Dakota land that remained a center of Norwegian concentration from
(continued)

"The progress of Barnes County will be understood when I state that within a year 728 entries of government land have been made, with an average of 160 acres each, and 116,000 acres are now under cultivation. The settlers are principally Swedes and Norwegians, but a great many Americans and Scotch are now coming in." Judging by the last clause, the writer was evidently not a Scandinavian. The General Land Agent at Valley City was a Norwegian from Rushford, Minnesota, named B. W. Benson. An article in the "Northern Pacific Times", also published at Valley City, spoke in the highest terms of his services in booming this region.²⁸

The pioneer Norwegian settlements in Ransom County

²⁷(continued)

pioneer days to the twentieth century. The Norwegians also liked the Sheyenne country and pioneered there, too, in the 1870's building up their settlements in the 1880's and finding a trading and cultural nucleus in the Dakota town of Valley City."

²⁸Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, pp. 30-31.
Lounsberry, Early History of North Dakota, p. 339.
"The building of the road in 1872, (Northern Pacific Railroad) gradually attracted the attention of immigrants and a steady wave began to cross the Red River. . . . Many selections had been made in ranges 56, 57, and 58, in Barnes County, and others steadily pressed westward through the ranges until the James River in range 64 was reached in 1879. . . ."

were continuations of the Sheyenne Valley settlements in southern Barnes County.²⁹ The first known settlement was made near Preston in 1878 by Norwegians from Rushford, Minnesota. In 1882, the Lisbon settlement was made. A large part of the Norwegian settlers took land in the Sheyenne Valley which forms a large part of Ransom County. Some of these came from southeastern Minnesota and from Winnesheik County, Iowa, while later comers came directly from Norway.³⁰

By 1880, there were 6,247 foreign born Norwegians in North Dakota, 16.9 percent of the total population. This number does not include the large number of native born Norwegians who came from states farther east and who formed a large part of the Norwegian element in Dakota.³¹ Most of the Norwegians were to be found in the Red River Valley or in the territory drained by its tributaries.

²⁹State Planning Board Report No. 665-73-3-67, p. 5.
 "Fort Ransom, 1867. Built to protect building of railroad and guard the mail routes and emigrant trains during the gold rush. The site of this old fort is on the Sheyenne River in Ransom County." Ransom should be spelled Ransom.

³⁰Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 31
 Department of The Interior, Census Office, Statistics of The Population of The United States at The Tenth Census, June 1, 1880. (Washington, D.C., 1883) Vol. I. Table XIII, p. 494.
 There were 13,245 foreign born Norwegians in Dakota Territory in 1880.

³¹Ibid., p. 31.

The advance of settlement in the eighties was similar to that of the previous decade in that the first pioneers came in advance of the railroads. During the eighties, however, the railroads were building more rapidly and they were seldom far behind the pioneers.³² The factor of rail connections became more of a consideration although the settlers selected the most desirable lands irrespective of whether or not a railroad would soon be built to serve them. That was particularly the case in the Turtle Mountain and Mouse River territory and to a lesser degree in the Devil's Lake region. Settlement in the southern part of the state was more directly the outgrowth of railroad expansion. A sketch of the pioneer settlements in the eighties and nineties will serve to bring out these conclusions.

In 1880, a group of Norwegian settlers came to the vicinity of Lee in Nelson County. This settlement soon spread to include a large part of the Sheyenne Valley in

³²E. A. Willson, H. C. Hoffsommer, Alva H. Benton, Rural Changes in Western North Dakota, Bulletin 214. (Fargo, 1928), p. 14.

"In 1873 the Northern Pacific Railway was built from Fargo to Bismarck. The Great Northern reached Fargo and Grand Forks in 1880, Devil's Lake in 1883, and Minot in 1886. By the latter date the railroads were building branch lines in the eastern part of the State, following the settlers and reaching out for the wheat which they were producing in increasing quantities."

that county, other centers being Ottofy and Bus. In the following year, settlers took land in the opposite corner of the county in the vicinity of Beaconsville. The latter settlement was no doubt a continuation of settlements in southern Walsh and northern Grand Forks Counties. Many of these early settlers came from Jackson County, Minnesota. Some also came from Carver and Dakota Counties in Minnesota, most of them settling around Lee.³³ The Devil's Lake country, west of Nelson County, composed of the counties of Ramsey and Benson, came to contain a large number of Norwegians. The earliest settlers in Ramsey County came in 1882 and settled around what later became the towns of Devil's Lake and Grand Harbor. In 1883, the Churches Ferry settlement straddling the county line between Benson and Ramsey Counties, was begun. Many of the early settlers were from Northfield, Minnesota. In Benson County, Leeds and Minnewaukan were early centers of Norwegian settlement. The pioneer Norwegians came to the vicinity of Leeds in 1883 and 1884. The settlements about Minnewaukan were made later and were more a direct outgrowth of railroad expansion, the Northern Pacific branch from Jamestown reaching Minnewaukan

³³Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 32.

in 1885.³⁴ A large settlement was made ten miles west of Minnewaukan in 1887. The railroads were quick to recognize the rich possibilities of the Devils Lake region and both the Great Northern road and the Northern Pacific had lines there by 1885.

In the northern tier of Dakota counties, almost all the pioneer settlements were made well in advance of the railroads. Cavalier County was first settled by Norwegians in 1882 when a group from Jackson County, Wisconsin, settled in the vicinity of Milton and Osnabrock in the southeastern part of the county. The next county to the westward, Towner County, received settlers from St. Croix County, Wisconsin, in 1884, who took land in the vicinity of Maza in the southern part of the county.³⁵ The Reverend John Elegen, on a missionary journey for the Norwegian Lutheran Conference in 1886, stated that there was only one Norwegian family in the village of Cando at one time. The great Mouse River region in Rolette, Bottineau, McHenry and Ward Counties became the destination for a large number of Norwegian

³⁴Smalley, Northern Pacific Railroad, p. 388.
 "The Dakota Division begins at Fargo and ends at Mandan, its length being 199 3/4 miles. . . . The work of construction was begun in the spring of 1872, and the track reached Jamestown, 93 1/2 miles, by the end of the working season."

³⁵Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 32.

pioneers in the eighties.³⁶ The territory about the Willow River, a tributary of the Mouse River, was pioneered in 1882. The Reverend Mr. Blegen in 1886 wrote that there were one hundred people in Dunseith but "only one of these was a Norwegian and I regret to say that he ran a saloon. I was pained and chagrined to learn this".³⁷ He also wrote of the settlements on the Willow River beginning four miles south of Dunseith as follows: "For eight miles down on both sides of the stream the settlers were all Norwegians. Many had lived there for two or three years and had built themselves rather good houses".³⁸ The Turtle Mountain region in northeastern Bottineau County was first settled by Norwegians from Polk County, Minnesota, in 1883. Settlement was made in and near the present town of Bottineau. These pioneer settlers in Bottineau County came overland from Devils Lake. The two first comers came from Polk County in 1883, explored Bottineau region, returned to Crookston, Minnesota to sell their holdings in Polk County, and then returned to Bottineau the same year, walking the hundred miles from Devils Lake on foot. In the succeeding

³⁶Blegen, Norwegian Migration, p. 506.

" . . . About 1883 settlers poured into the valley of the James; and in approximately the same period they headed for the Devils Lake region, pushed into the rich Mouse River country beyond Devils Lake, and built compact settlements in north central Dakota with Minot as a center"

³⁷Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 33.

³⁸Ibid., p. 33.

years, the entire northwestern part of Bottineau County became settled with Norwegians. In 1888 and 1889, a considerable settlement was made in Cordelia township, northeast of Bottineau.³⁹ Those who settled here came partly from Dakota County, Minnesota, and partly from Traill County, Dakota Territory.⁴⁰

The Norwegian settlements in Pierce County were along the line of the Great Northern railroad, largely in the northwestern part of the county. The first settlers came in 1885 and took land in the vicinity of Barton and Rugby. In 1887 the Hurricane Lake settlement in the northeastern corner of the county was begun. This settlement had a difficult time of it at first, frost nipping the crops the first year and drought wiping them out the following three years. The settlers did not leave, however.⁴¹

³⁹Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 33.

⁴⁰Norlie, History of Norwegian People, p. 239.
 ". . . On the Dakota side (of the Red River), Richland and Cass Counties were settled in 1870; Traill and Steele in 1871; Grand Forks in 1872; Walsh in 1878. . . . Beginning with 1877, the Norwegians added Barnes County to their possessions. Then in rapid succession came Ransom and Griggs (1878), Nelson, Sargent and Dickey (1880), Morton (1881), Stutsman, Ramsey and Bollette (1882), Bottineau, Benson, Eddy, Foster and Mercer (1882), and so on, steadily advancing for 30 years until the whole state lay at their feet."

⁴¹Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 33.

"A letter from a settler in McHenry County in 1884, quoted in Andreas' Atlas, read as follows: "During the last summer, Mouse River received her share of immigration, and, notwithstanding it was between eighty and one hundred miles from any railroad, there are now about two hundred families settled on the river in McHenry and Stevens Counties--all of the best class and with fine herds of cattle and horses.⁴² The foreign element is Norwegian--the rest of the settlers being Americans. The Reverend Mr. Blegen passed through this region in 1886 and found Norwegian settlers all along the valley and in tributary valleys such as Antelope Valley, fifteen miles east of the Mouse River. Cattle raising seems to have been the principal occupation there at the time.⁴³

The Mouse River continues up into Ward County and in the entire valley the Norwegians seem to have been among the earliest settlers. Among the first to settle in Ward County were a group from Racine County, Wisconsin, who settled near

⁴²0. G. Libby, editor, History of The Formation of Counties in North Dakota. Collections of The State Historical Society, (Grand Forks, 1923), 7 vols., vol. 5, p. 227.
 "The law of 1891 eliminated from the map the following counties: . . . Stevens." Stevens County became a part of Ward and McLean Counties.

⁴³Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 34.

Minot and Burlington in 1882. With the arrival of the Great Northern in the late eighties and the subsequent building of the Soo Line up the valley, settlements were made up the entire valley centering at such points as Carpio and Kenmare.⁴⁴ According to the Territorial Census taken in 1885, there were 109 Norwegians in Ward County in a total population of 257. This number includes not only the foreign born but also those born in this country of Norwegian parents.⁴⁵ These Mouse River settlements marked the limit of the northwestward advance of Norwegian settlers until in the late eighties and early nineties.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Lounsberry, Early History of North Dakota, p. 340-341.
 ". . . In 1880, the Great Northern Railroad was extended from Crookston to Grand Forks, and from thence on west to the Pacific Coast by successive stages. This system was at first known as the St. Paul & Pacific, then as the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba, taking its present name, the Great Northern, in 1890."

Ibid., p. 341

"The Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railroad, more familiarly known as the "Soo", has also done much for the development of North Dakota. Its lines, too, were extended without a bonus and without a land grant, and were pushed in competition with the Great Northern to almost all parts of the state."

⁴⁵Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 34.

⁴⁶Willson, Hoffsommer, Benton, Bulletin 214, p. 18.
 ". . . The extension of the Great Northern stimulated immigration to a considerable extent, but
 (continued)

In the region south of the Devils Lake territory, Norwegian settlers were taking up land during the eighties along the upper Sheyenne River and in the James River Valley. In Wells County, immediately south of Benson County, the earliest Norwegian settlers took land at the headwaters of Pipestem Creek, a tributary of the James River, in the vicinity of Bowdon. This was in 1884. In 1886, a settlement was made along the Great Northern Railway in the vicinity of Cathay. Later settlers occupied the region at the headwaters of the James River in the northern part of the county. Eddy County's Norwegian settlers located largely in the Sheyenne Valley in the northern part of that county, centering in the vicinity of Sheyenne. The earliest settlement in this locality was "Jotunheimen". Norwegians also settled near New Rockford in 1883. In the next county to the southward, Foster County, Norwegians settled near Carrington in 1883. Settlers flowed into the James River Valley and into the eastern part of the county in 1885 and after, Melby, Glenfield, Nordmore, Garfield and Kvarnes being among the principal settlements there.⁴⁷

The Norwegian settlements in the southern part of

⁴⁶(continued)

there was much unoccupied land further east and the big influx of settlers into the Northwestern part of the State did not start until about 1901."

⁴⁷Qualsey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 34.

North Dakota were to a considerable extent the result of railroad expansion, the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific and the Soo lines all building roads through this area in the eighties.⁴⁸ Sargent County's early Norwegian settlements were in the northeastern part of the county in the vicinity of Milnor and Delamere. These settlers came in 1882 and 1883. At the same time, settlers took land around Perry, Ransom, and Rutland in the southeastern part of the county. The Northern Pacific branch from Fargo to Milnor, built in the early eighties, undoubtedly led settlers into this region. The country farther south was penetrated by both the Great Northern and the Soo lines in the late eighties. In 1882 and 1883, the first Norwegians settled in the

⁴⁸Lounsberry, Early History of North Dakota, p. 339. "In 1880 the Fargo & Southwestern Railroad was built from Fargo to the James River, eighty-eight miles, and La Moure was made its terminus, while Davenport, Leonard, Sheldon, Lisbon and Englevale became thriving centers along its route. A year later, in 1881, the Jamestown & Northern was built to a point in Foster County forty-three miles north. Carrington was plotted and rapidly grew into a thriving town while Pingree, Edmunds and Melville along its route became trade and postoffice centers for districts near them. Many farms were opened by men who bought lands of the road. . . ." These railroads later became part of the Northern Pacific system.

vicinity of Ellendale in Dickey County. These came from Wisconsin. Later, settlements were made in the eastern part of the county around Oakes, Clement and Norway Spur. La Moure County, adjoining Dickey County on the north, was settled by Norwegians in 1882 and after.⁴⁹ These formed the Griswold settlement in the northeastern part of the county. In 1883, Norwegians settled near Edgeley, which was for a long time the western terminus of the Fargo and Southwestern branch of the Northern Pacific. A considerable Norwegian settlement was made in McIntosh County in 1884 and the years following. This settlement centered at Ashley and extended on northward from that point. The settlers were mostly from Wisconsin, and, with the exceptions of a merchant and a laborer, all were farmers, according to the

⁴⁹Lounsberry, Early History of North Dakota, p. 340.
". . . In 1882 the James River Valley Road from Jamestown to La Moure was built and by short extensions met the C. & N. W. and C. M. & St. P. Railroads which had built from the south, and a spur track was built from Carrington to Sykeston, where Mr. Richard Sykes had bought lands and opened several large farms in Wells County. All these roads bearing separate corporate names were built as branches of the Northern Pacific and were projected by the impulse given by the rapid influx of immigrants that followed the settlement and cultivation of the lands along the main line in 1879-80."

1885 Territorial Census.⁵⁰ In 1885, there were forty Norwegians in all in the county in a population of 282. In Emmons County, settlers came in the late eighties and settled in the vicinity of Larvick and along Beaver Creek. The settlements in McIntosh and Emmons Counties were quite far in advance of the railroads, no connections being established until in the nineties when the Soo Line passed through the northern part of the two counties.

The pioneer Norwegian settlements in the western part of North Dakota prior to 1890 were quite obviously the result of the railroad expansion in this region. As early as 1878, a Norwegian settlement was made in Burleigh County in and about Painted Woods.⁵¹ These settlers evidently came on the Northern Pacific to Bismarck and then went up the Missouri River in search of land.⁵² In Kidder County, a

⁵⁰Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 35.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 36.

⁵²Smalley, Northern Pacific Railroad, p. 388.

"During the spring and summer of 1872 the road (Northern Pacific) was built to Bismarck, a new town on the east bank of the Missouri River, which remained the western terminus until 1878."

Ibid., p. 395.

"The building of Missouri Division was begun early in 1878, by the transportation of ties, iron and other material in the dead of winter across the Missouri River on the ice. A track was laid upon the frozen surface of the stream under the direction of General Rosser, then the engineer in charge of construction, and for several weeks locomotives and cars were run from

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Norwegian settlement was made in the western part of the county in the vicinity of Longedahl.⁵³ In Stutsman County, Jamestown and the James River Valley was the center of Norwegian settlement. In the early eighties, a Norwegian settlement was made at Washburn on the Missouri River in southern McLean County. Across the Missouri River on Mercer River, settlers came in 1883 from Glenwood, Minnesota, and settled near Stanton. Morton County was settled by Norwegians as early as 1881 when a few settlers took up cattle raising and wheat growing in the immediate vicinity of Mandan.⁵⁴ Settlements farther west were made in the eighties in Stark, Dunn and Billings Counties. The Stark County settlement was

⁵²(continued)

bank to bank, until the fires were actually put out on the engines by the water which covered the melting ice, and the hazardous passages were discontinued and the track removed a few days before the frozen bridge yielded to the rising current of the river."

⁵³State Planning Board, Consultants Report, December 15, 1935. P. 2.

"Of the 151,000 inhabitants in 1885, the first two north-and-south tiers of counties in the east end contained 116,000 or nearly 77 percent, while the three most easterly rows held 133,000 or 88 percent. Kidder, Burleigh, Emmons and Morton Counties in the central west and southwest part of the State contained 14,000 persons, or slightly over 2.1 percent of all. At that time many of the counties, especially those just named, contained much more territory than they do now."

⁵⁴Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 36.

at Taylor, one of the Northern Pacific towns, to which settlers came in 1883 and 1884. This was the only Norwegian settlement in the county for many years. In Williams County, a Norwegian settlement was made at Hofflund in 1887 and seems to have remained the only settlement for some time. The nearest market was Williston, thirty miles away.⁵⁵ In Villard County, the Census of 1885 reported forty-seven Norwegians.⁵⁶ These were from Illinois and Wisconsin, and, except for some teamsters, were all engaged in farming.

By 1890, the Norwegians had pioneered the desirable agricultural areas in the eastern two-thirds of North Dakota.⁵⁷ Settlement followed the water-courses in general, rail lines being a secondary consideration. Good farming land with plenty of wood and water was the primary factor in the pioneer Norwegians' choice of a place to settle and make a

⁵⁵Willson, Hoffsommer, Benton, Bulletin 214, p. 18.
"The Northern Pacific Railroad was extended west from the Missouri River at Bismarck in 1881 and completed to the coast in 1883, and the Great Northern was built from Minot to Williston and on into Montana in 1887. . . ."

⁵⁶Qualey, Pioneer Norwegian Settlement, p. 36.
Villard County later became part of Stark and Billings Counties.

⁵⁷Willson, Hoffsommer, Benton, Bulletin 214, p. 18.
"The Tree-Claim Act and Preemption Law were repealed in 1891, after which date settlers were limited to homesteading 160 acres or the purchase of railroad land. . . ."

home. At the time North Dakota became a state, the census figures show that the Norwegian foreign born formed 14.1 percent of the total population. If the American-born Norwegians were included, probably twenty-five percent of the total population of North Dakota in 1890 was of Norwegian stock.⁵⁸

Norwegian settlement of western North Dakota continued throughout the 1890's and 1900's, being considerably accelerated by the "back to the land movement" between 1900 and 1910.⁵⁹ Burke and Divide Counties were settled by Nor-

⁵⁸Department of The Interior, Census Office, Statistics of The Population of The United States At The Eleventh Census, (Washington D. C., 1895), Part I, pp. 606, 681, 684, 686, 688, 690. In 1890 there were 25,773 foreign born Norwegians in North Dakota of a total population of 182,719. There were 44,698 Norwegians of native and foreign birth in the State on that date.

⁵⁹State Planning Board, Consultants Report, December 15, 1935, p. 3.
 "Between 1900 and 1910 the population almost doubled, the increase being over 88 percent. The western part of the State now received rapid settlement. Two or three things had happened which account for this. Land settlement laws were made more favorable for those desiring semi-arid tracts. The available supply of first-rate and desirable land elsewhere had been or was being exhausted. That decade witnessed an exceptionally heavy immigration from abroad, much of which was Scandinavian people, who were accustomed to northern climates and were land hungry."
 Willson, Hoffsommer, Benton, Bulletin 214, p. 19.
 "The "Back to the land movement" was on between 1900 and 1910, people were land hungry, fortunes had been made by increases in land values in the
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wegians primarily during this period of accelerated settlement. The enlarged homestead act of 1909 increased the tempo of settlement considerably.⁶⁰ The railroads played their part in the settlement of the western part of North Dakota by building new lines especially between 1907 and 1915.

Norwegian immigrants continued to settle throughout the state in the years to come and today they can be found in every county in the state as prosperous farmers and businessmen.⁶¹

⁵⁹(continued)

central west, and people expected a repetition of those increases in all land. Railroad lines built between 1907 and 1915, opened up practically all the western part of the State to settlement. Not only farmers but businessmen, professional men, laborers, school teachers, and people of every walk in life flocked to the new country to get free homesteads or cheap railroad land."

⁶⁰State Planning Board, Consultants Report, December 15, 1935, p. 19.

"In 1909 the enlarged homestead act was passed which permitted settlers to homestead 320 acres."

⁶¹Ibid., p. 4.

"In 1930 the country providing North Dakota with the largest number of foreign-born was Norway. It was the birthplace of 31,337 which is 29.8 percent of the foreign-born white stock or 4.6 percent of the total population. 22,617 originated in Russia (3.3 percent of the total population); 10,114 originated in Germany (1.5 percent of the total population); 12,241 came from Canada (1.8 percent); 8,470 from Sweden (1.2 percent). Thirty percent of the State's population

(continued)

61 (continued)

is of Norwegian stock, 12.8 percent Russian, 8.0 percent German, 3.9 percent Canadian, and 4.4 percent Swedish. . . . The Norwegian immigrants are distributed over the entire State, showing no special preference for any localities that were chosen by other immigrants also."

CHAPTER IV

THE NORWEGIAN FARMER

The Norwegian immigrant came to the United States and to North Dakota with a strong attachment to the soil. To the land-hungry Norwegian pioneer of the seventies and eighties the seemingly endless reaches of Dakota prairie must have seemed as the fulfillment of his desire for economic security, which to him was of great importance. The Red River Valley with its wood-bordered streams and the rolling plains to the west, was a region ideally suited to the purposes of the agrarian Norseman.

When he first came into the State he settled along the streams and those areas where wood and water were easily available. Being "woods-minded" it took the Norwegian settler some time to become convinced that the prairie could be as fertile and productive as more wooded regions. He found the soil fertile and easy to cultivate for there were no stones or stumps in the way of the plow.

Many Norwegians came into the State during the time of the great land boom, 1879-1886, a period of plentiful rainfall and no droughts to discredit the new territory. He found that hard spring wheat could be grown successfully and that corn could be grown in the southeastern part of the State. Free and cheap land could be easily obtained under the Home-

stead Act, the Timber Culture Act or he could buy it under the Pre-emption Law.¹ This was probably the greatest single attraction in North Dakota for the Norwegian immigrant. Coming primarily from the farming districts in Norway, it is natural that he should seek a like occupation in this country.

The first Norwegian settlers came into the State by oxen and wagon, some of them driving a few head of cattle and horses. Many brought their families with them while others waited until they had staked out their claims and had some sort of shelter built before bringing out their wives and children; which was usually the following summer.

The first spring or summer each settler broke only a small amount of land, usually about five to ten acres on each quarter section. Most of the first summer was spent building a home of logs, sod or a combination of both. If time didn't permit, a roof extending a few feet above a dugout became a temporary residence or sometimes an excavation in a hillside with a lean-to provided shelter.

Along wooded streams the settlers usually built log huts about fifteen by eighteen feet with a loft which was about large enough to enable a man to stand erect in the

¹See footnote 21, Chapter II.

center. That served as a bedroom. The cracks between the logs were filled with clay which was sometimes mixed with grass to give it more of an adhesive quality. The roofs were covered with bark, grass, sod or dirt.

Out on the prairies away from wooded streams they built their first homes from sod. Thus, the sod shanty became characteristic of the prairie settlements. It was made of sod bricks obtained by turning over furrows of even width and depth. The sod was cut with a spade into bricks about three feet long and these were laid side by side around an enclosure which was often about sixteen by twenty feet. Spaces were left for doors and windows and every third layer was placed crosswise for greater stability. The cracks were filled in with dirt. When the wall was built high enough, door frames and window frames were put in and sod built around them. A forked post in each end of the house supported a ridge pole from which rafters could be laid to the top of the wall. Brush, prairie grass and sod were used to complete the roof.

These were usually temporary homes. As soon as railroads reached the vicinity of the settlements, lumber was shipped in and modern houses were built. The first stables were of sod, but after the new frame home was constructed and the farmer felt that he was financially able, he built

modern barns and sheds of lumber too.

The first years the seeding and harvesting were quite often done by hand. The flail or a horse power machine was used to thresh the crop. Usually after the second harvest the farmer was able to buy a horse drawn drill and harvester and also a share in a threshing machine with his neighbors.

Getting the produce to market; wheat, other cereals, potatoes, and sometimes a beef animal or pig, was a problem. The first Norwegians in Traill County had to bring their farm products by oxen and wagon transportation to Alexandria, Minnesota, nearly 200 miles away. But this lasted only a short time since they soon secured a nearer market in Fargo. The farmers in Grand Forks County brought their produce to Fargo as soon as the railroad was built to the town. The trip required about seven days, six of which were spent on the road. Late in the fall some neighbors usually clubbed together, went to Fargo and bought enough supplies to last until spring. Later a supply station was established in Caledonia in Traill County on the Red River near the mouth of the Goose. About 1876 a steam flour mill was built here, to which the settlers resorted for flour and feed.

The railroads were usually not far behind the settler and as he moved west he as a rule had a place to market his

produce within a reasonable distance of his farm.

Labor on the farm was provided by the settler, his wife and children. His son was looked upon as sufficiently developed at fourteen to do the work of a man and the more sons he had the more prosperous he usually became. The wife's work on the farm seemed never done, as a rule it was continuous from daybreak till dark. With the family working together it wasn't long before more farm land was acquired and new buildings and modern conveniences appeared.

The settlers along the rivers usually caught plenty of fish, enough for the summer months and some to salt down for the winter. Upland game birds such as prairie chickens were plentiful. Berry bushes produced quite well along the streams, their fruit giving the regular diet some variety. The food supply was usually plentiful.

Mr. Axel Tollefson in his Historical Notes on The Norwegians In The Red River Valley, gives an interesting account of farming in the Goose River region as related to him by Mathias Kaldor, an early Norwegian settler.

"We had six or eight acres of field and for two years we threshed our crop with a flail. We placed two bassweed logs on either side of the threshing floor to keep the wheat from scattering and blowing away. Either the second or third spring that I was here, I intended to go to Fargo with some

potatoes to sell. At Elm river the bridge was gone. I found a man who had a boat, but its carrying capacity was not very great. I had to take the wagon apart and transport it across in pieces. Then I took the yoke of oxen and had them swim over to the other side."

"The Hudson Bay Company had a store at Caledonia and one at Frog Point. They sold groceries to us on credit. In Caledonia they used to have a barrel of beer standing in the middle of the floor and whoever came in to trade could help himself. One year the Hudson Bay Company threshed our grain and we were to pay for the threshing after we had hauled our grain to market. As a result many old timers are still owing the Hudson Bay Company for threshing as well as for groceries. This was fortunate for us for we had no money with which to buy food.

. . . The first year Simeon was on his claim he lived in a dugout which was made in the side hill. This constituted the improvements necessary to hold the land. There were no sod houses by the river."

"Our nearest market was Benson, Minnesota. My brother Christian was down there in the fall to buy flour. I went to Otter Tail County to buy seed wheat. The only thing we had to sell was a heifer or a calf. Then we came up here in our wagons we had a breaking plow with us. The first

years, my wife and I seeded our little patch of ground by hand. The grasshoppers came across this region and reached our place in the evening. The next morning when they began to move onward again, their flight resembled a vast cloud that swept along like a snowstorm. They destroyed our garden but the grain was not damaged much."

From a letter by Peer Asheim.

"The big snow winter of 1896-97 was the most memorable of the hardships of early days. A neighbor, Albert Loftus, searched for three days, digging in the snow drifts, to locate his stables which he found two feet under the surface of the drifts. Steps had to be cut, in order to get the horses up the steep incline where he had shoveled the snow away before the door. The stable was pressed out of shape and collapsed as soon as the snow^wmelted. At Rasmus Riveland's place, four and a half miles east of Buxton, during that same blizzard, the door of his hut was snowed in and Riveland had to crawl through the upstairs window to get out."²

The farming in the Red River Valley during the first twenty years of occupation was of a rather primitive kind. The use of a breaking plow, the first season, and of the

²Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 268, 272 and 273.

crossplow, the drill, the harvester and the threshing machine, in one continual round, yielded rich returns of wheat and other cereals. But slight attention was paid to other branches of farming, and money as a rule came easy to the farmers. The small shanties gave place to substantial farmhouses, and the temporary stables gave place in time to large barns and machine sheds. However, there was a perceptible decrease in returns from the early farming methods, and gradually the farmers of the valley found it necessary to take up improved methods of farming and raise stock and otherwise diversify their farming in order to secure the best results. Diversified farming was practiced to a large extent throughout North Dakota until recent years, when a trend toward straight grain farming is becoming noticeable, a factor which may prove, economically, somewhat unsound.

The Norwegian farmer's training in handiwork, his working with wood, iron and stone, in his homeland has given him considerable mechanical ability which is one of the essentials of a good farmer. Machinery is used in nearly all enterprises on the farm, therefore some knowledge of mechanics is a great asset.

Norway has given to North Dakota more farmers than any other European country. Of the foreign born farmers in the State in 1910, 29.4 percent were Norwegians, 20.4 per-

cent Russian, 10.6 percent German, 7.8 percent Swedish, and 3.4 percent Danish, followed by others of lesser percentages. If we add to the number of foreign born the descendants having one or both parents of foreign birth we have the following percentages: Norway, 30.3 percent, Russia, 15.3 percent, Germany, 14.7 percent, Sweden, 6.6 percent and Denmark 3.1 percent. The census of 1900 shows that 63 percent of second generation Norwegians live in rural communities.³

In 1910, 3,477 farms belonging to Norwegians of the first generation in North Dakota were free from mortgages and a larger number of the remainder had only small indebtedness. Out of the total of 10,886 Norwegian farm operators in the State, 9,562 owned their farms. This can be considered an excellent record.⁴

During the depression of the thirties many farmers lost their land through mortgages and foreclosures but since the advent of good crops in the forties, a high percentage of the farmers own their farms again.

³T. A. Hoverstad, The Norwegian Farmers in The United States, (Fargo, 1915), pp. 9-11.
Willson, Hoffsommer, Benton, Bulletin 214, pp. 64-68.

⁴Hoverstad, Norwegian Farmers, pp. 20-21.

CHAPTER V

THE NORWEGIANS AND THEIR RELIGION

The Norwegian pioneers generally came from the older settlements where they had spent a few years after their arrival, during which time they had come in contact with one or more of the Norwegian churches in this country. Those coming from the western part of Norway, who had been influenced by the Haugean revival, joined one of the bodies which had its origin in that movement, and those whose sympathies were with the state church at home, generally sought membership in the Norwegian synod.¹ Upon immigrating to new reg-

¹Hillesland, Norwegian Lutheran Church, p. 210.

During the middle period of the 19th century Scandinavian immigrants from Sweden, Norway and Denmark began to arrive. The first of these to organize was the Hauge Synod in 1846. It was named in honor of Hans Nielson Hauge, the Pietist Reformer of Norway, and organized by Elling Ellson, a lay preacher.

J. L. Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, (Burlington, Iowa, 1916), p. 386.

Hans Nielson Hauge (1771-1844).

" . . . He was converted in 1796 and soon began to preach the Word to the people. . . .

He did not put himself directly in opposition to the clergy; but, while their sermons were permeated with rationalistic views, leading to religious indifference, if not to open ungodliness, he preached the gospel in its purity and simplicity, telling sinners to repent, find forgiveness in Jesus Christ, and live a new life. . . ."

ions they sought to extend their church by organizing congregations and calling upon the synod of which they were members to supply them with pastors. In order to assist them in this work and to care for the members who had moved beyond their organized jurisdiction, the synods sent out mission pastors to the frontier settlements. In communities where various groups of settlers had located, and where synodical affiliations differed, matters were complicated. When the settlers could set up separate organizations representing the various tendencies, the difficulty was solved, but in small communities free congregations were organized, leaving the matter of synodical affiliation to be decided at a later date. Generally these congregations became part of the synod of which the pastor was a member.

There were in 1870, four, and in 1876, five synodical bodies of the Norwegian Lutheran faith in the United States. Only the three larger ones were represented in the Red River Valley during the territorial period.² These were: the Norwegian synod, about equal in membership to all the others taken together; the Norwegian-Danish Conference, which having lost the Danish element through a separation and was generally known as the Conference; and the Evangelical Luth-

²Hillesland, Norwegian Lutheran Church, p. 211.

eran Church, which after 1876 was known as Hauge's synod.³ These two latter bodies were small but growing rapidly, and there was strong competition for membership between the Conference and Norwegian synod in the early days in the State.

The schism which occurred in the Norwegian synod, bringing about the temporary organization of the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood in 1886, was also felt in this State.⁴ Ministers and congregations seceded from the Norwegian synod and joined the new organization, thus making four separate church bodies among the Norwegian Lutherans in the Red River Valley, with nearly an equal membership toward the close of the territorial period.

The first Norwegian Lutheran congregations organized

³In 1917, Hauge's synod with two other groups became the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

⁴Neve, Brief History of Lutheran Church, p. 397. "The most violent controversy within the synod (Missouri Synod) raged around the question of predestination (1880). Schmidt attacked Walther's theory of election contained in the synodical records of 1877 and 1879. The synod was divided into two opposing camps. To prevent a division, it left the Synodical Conference in 1883. However, a schism occurred seven years later. Schmidt and his followers (a third of the synod) withdrew and formed a "brotherhood". In 1890 they united with other bodies, forming the United Norwegian Lutheran Church."

in what is now North Dakota, date back to 1871.⁵ During that year the Heene's congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in the northeast corner of Richland County and Tripil congregation of the Norwegian synod was organized in Cass County on the Red River west of Georgetown.⁶ Beginnings of an organization, which were perfected the following year, were also made in Cass County on the Sheyenne River near Hickson. The first organization of a church in Traill County took place in 1872. That year Aal congregation of the Conference was organized on the Goose River, between Hillsboro and Mayville. The first church in Barnes County was the Sheyenne Valley congregation, organized in 1873 northeast of Daily. That same year Trinity church was organized in Walsh County on Park River, four miles west of Grafton. In 1875 two congregations were organized in Grand Forks County, Hol, on the Goose River southeast of Northwood, and Walle east of Thompson. In 1877 the Little Forks congregation was organized in Steele County on the Goose River. The following year the Lutheran church of Rutland was organized in Sargent County. In 1879 the first Lutheran church in Pembina county

⁵Hillesland, Norwegian Lutheran Church, p. 212.

⁶Ibid. p. 212.

was organized in the town of Pembina.⁷ The same year two churches were founded in Ransom County: the St. Olaf congregation on Maple River at Enderlin and the Quam congregation on the Sheyenne River at Oswego. In 1880 the Haakset congregation was organized in Griggs County on the Sheyenne River southeast of Cooperstown. The following year two churches were founded in Nelson County: the Red Willow Lake congregation near Balken and the Northern Sheyenne Valley congregation at Lee postoffice. In 1882 Stefanus Congregation was organized in Cavalier County on the south branch of Park River, southwest of Milton.⁸

During the seventies there were thirteen congregations organized in Traill County, seven in Richland, six in Grand Forks, three in Walsh, two in Ransom, and one in each of the following counties, Barnes, Sargent, Steele, and Pembina. After 1870 a number of early churches were located along the rivers. Soon after 1880 eleven congregations were organized in Richland County, seven in Cass, fifteen in Traill, twenty-seven in Walsh, six in Pembina, seven in Sargent, twelve in Ransom, thirteen in Barnes, nine in Steele, thirteen in Griggs, fifteen in Nelson and eleven in Cavalier County.⁹

⁷Hillesland, Norwegian Lutheran Church, p. 213.

⁸Ibid., p. 214.

⁹Ibid., p. 212.

In 1900 a new body, the Lutheran Brethren, which had been organized in Wisconsin that year, began to establish congregations in the Red River Valley. In 1917, the Lutheran Brethren had nine small congregations located in Richland, Ransom, Sargent, Traill and Grand Forks Counties.¹⁰

The Lutheran Free church, a composite of minority factions organized in 1897, had in 1917, thirty-four congregations distributed throughout the counties in the Red River Valley with the exception of Sargent.

Hauge's synod had thirty-one churches scattered throughout the Red River Valley, with the exception of Pembina. In Walsh County this synod had seven churches and in five counties it had only one congregation in each.

The United Norwegian Lutheran church was represented in all these counties, varying from two to nineteen in each.¹¹ The Norwegian synod had organized fifty-seven

¹⁰Willesland, Norwegian Lutheran Church, p. 212.

¹¹Merlie, History of Norwegian People, p. 263.

"The last of the synods to be founded during this period (1860-1890) is the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. It was founded June 13, 1890, at Minneapolis, Minnesota. And the event is of so great importance that it easily marks an epoch, not only in Norwegian Lutheran church history, but also in the history of the Norwegians without regard to church connections."

congregations, all of which were located in the Red River Valley counties, except Griggs, varying in number from one to ten in the several counties. In Pembina its churches had become part of the Icelandic synod.

Negotiations which for many years had been carried on among the Norwegian Lutheran church bodies, resulted in 1917 in a union of Hauge's synod, the Norwegian synod and the United Norwegian church.¹² This union became the Evangelical Lutheran Church which is also referred to as the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

In 1926 there were 538 Norwegian Lutheran churches in North Dakota with only 162 pastors or an average of one for every 3.3 congregations.¹³ In 1936 this church group had 514 local churches with at least one church in every county in the state except Sioux and Emmons Counties.¹⁴

¹²Hillesland, Norwegian Lutheran Church, p. 221.

¹³E. A. Wilson, Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota, (Fargo, 1928), bulletin 221, p. 49.

¹⁴Donald G. Hay, Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota, (Fargo, 1937), bulletin 288, p. 43.

"There were 12 Lutheran bodies represented in North Dakota in 1936. The Norwegian Lutheran is the strongest church group, according to the number of churches, with 514 local churches. This denomination was most heavily concentrated in the east central section of North Dakota with a strong representation throughout the northern half of the State."

This decrease was probably due in part at least to the following factors: (1) A decrease in number of farms in some areas which has resulted in a decrease in the population and the abandonment of churches, (2) A tendency on the part of some denominations to enlarge parishes by consolidating neighboring congregations, (3) A tendency on the part of some religious bodies to cooperate and combine two congregations of different denominations making one organization.

In 1947, there were 508 Norwegian Lutheran congregations in the State, a gain of 5 percent over the year 1946. The membership consisted of 97,322 souls baptized and 67,206 souls confirmed which was a gain of 3,891 and 1,669 respectively in that year.¹⁵ These 508 churches had only 138 active pastors, an average of one for every 3.6 congregations.

It must be remembered that the entire membership of this church is not of Norwegian ancestry, but they are by far in the majority. The only other religious group in North Dakota of Norwegian extraction at the present time is the Lutheran Free Church. Their membership is not large compared to that of the Norwegian Lutheran Church.¹⁶ Then,

¹⁵T. P. Solem, editor, Lutheran Almanac and Year Book, 1949 (Minneapolis, 1948), p. 15.

¹⁶K. O. Waage, Letter
(Noonan, N. Dak., Jan. 8, 1949)
"You will find on page 13 of this book (Lutheran Almanac, 1949) that there are a number of other
(continued)

too, some Norwegians are members of other Protestant and non-Protestant religious bodies.

Ever since the territorial days the church has depended on the Ladies Aid Societies of the various congregations for much of its support. Assisted by the Young People's organizations, these societies have generally equipped the church edifices with furniture and fixtures. Choirs, temperance societies and men's clubs are social organizations which have been provided for in many congregations.

Sunday Schools are provided for in most congregations. Several weeks of religious instructions are given in many churches during the summer months. The subjects taught have to rather recent times included catechism, Bible history, church history, music and Norwegian. Recently the study of Norwegian has practically been discontinued and all the time is being devoted to religious instruction. Teachers for these schools are being provided for by students from the various church colleges or the pastor himself in many instances does the instructing.

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Lutheran bodies in the United States. Some of these also have churches in North Dakota. Nevertheless their greatest strength lies in other states. The only one of these bodies that is of Norwegian extraction is the Lutheran Free Church. Their membership is not large compared to that of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

. . . nevertheless our church originated among the Norwegians and they are still by far in the majority, . . ."

Besides supporting their local pastor and congregations, the Norwegian Lutherans in North Dakota have carried on various educational and missionary enterprises.¹⁷

¹⁷ Norlie, History of Norwegian People, p. 363.
 "In 1903, the Lutheran Brethren built their first and only school--the Lutheran Bible School, located at Wahpeton, N. D., 1903-1918, . . ."

Ibid., pp. 379-380.

<u>School</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Synod</u>
Grand Forks College	Grand Forks, N. D.	1891-1894	United
Grand Forks College	Grand Forks, N. D.	1900-1910	Norwegian
Lutheran Bible School	Wahpeton, N. D.	1903-1918	Free Church
Northwestern College	Velva, N. D.	1910-1912	Norwegian

CHAPTER VI

THE NORWEGIAN IN POLITICS

The Norwegian usually entered the field of politics rather slowly, he took out his "first papers" for the purpose of acquiring land, not necessarily that he might vote in the next election. But sometimes circumstances were such that the Norwegian pioneer settlers had to manage their own community affairs, manipulate American institutions, and often district and township. He did this usually through force of necessity, especially in newly settled areas. In the early years of his settlement he was usually too busy breaking up the prairie, building a home, learning English and adopting American customs, to give much time and attention to public affairs. Not until the leisure of some degree of success was his, did he yield to his natural inclination for politics of the larger sort.

The Norwegian, of all the Scandinavian peoples, has the strongest liking for politics and has had the most thorough political training at home. Since 1814 he has lived and acted in a community markedly democratic. He understands the meaning of the Fourth of July all the better because he and his ancestors have for three or four generations celebrated the Seventeenth of May the independence of Norway and the advent of republicanism. It may be said

that he brought with him to America a fairly clear understanding of the meaning of republicanism; elections, representation, local self-government and constitutions.

He has a tendency to favor the Republican party in national politics for several reasons. Many of them came to the United States during the Civil War period and shortly thereafter. To them the name Republican had something in it that was fascinating and in their minds the Democratic party had been associated with the maintenance of slavery.¹ It was a Republican north which had opened up the free lands of the West for settlement and it was to that party that they owed their homestead rights. Not until the moral questions were superseded by economic questions relating to

¹Babeock, Scandinavian Element, p. 159-160.

"As they read these speeches of the great leaders, as they heard from Negroes themselves the evils of slavery, as they learned of the high-handed doings in Kansas, the zeal of the Scandinavians for human freedom increased. There were no old party traditions, feelings, or feuds, to keep them from judging the issue of slavery's expansion on its merits; no loyalty to the memories of dead heroes held them in mortmain. Some few of them voted for Cass in 1848 and for Pierce in 1852, but by 1856 there was only one issue for them: simply and straightforwardly and almost to a man, they became Republicans."

the tariff, currency, and labor did the Norwegians begin to arrange themselves in any considerable numbers outside the Republican party.² From 1892 to 1948 they have under varying circumstances left the party five times and after each such excursion they have returned for the most part.³

²Babcock, Scandinavian Element, p. 164.

"Another believes that a considerable portion of the Scandinavians voted the Populist ticket in 1892 and 1894, but that they were normally believers in the protective principle and therefore naturally affiliated with the Republican party. (Letter of C. M. Dahl, Secretary of State of North Dakota, March 24, 1896.)"

Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 165.

"George Taylor Rugh, professor of Scandinavian languages in the University of North Dakota, estimated in 1893 that "until a few years ago over four-fifths of the (Scandinavian) secular press were strictly Republican in politics. (G. T. Rugh, "The Scandinavian American", Literary Northwest, Feb., 1893. He estimated the total number of papers at "about 125".)"

³See Appendix III.

The State went Republican in both the national and state election, 1948.

Larson, Norwegian Element In North West, p. 78.

"Grand Forks County, North Dakota, where nearly one-half of the voting population is Norwegian, offers an excellent illustration of independent or, if one prefers, erratic voting. The county began to vote for President in 1892. Though it has always had a somewhat restless electorate, the Republicans managed to secure majorities for their candidates from Harrison to Taft. Trouble began in 1912. In that year Wilson carried the county, Roosevelt following close behind. Wilson won again in 1916. Since that year Grand Forks County has given majorities to Harding, La Follette, Hoover, and Roosevelt. This is a record that is not easily matched."

In local and state politics they have played much the same role. Party lines aren't followed as closely as in national politics. They have supported the Non-partisan League, a dissident of the Republican party in the State, for a number of years.⁴ They have elected several of their people as governors. Other State offices like those of Treasurer, Auditor and Lieutenant-Governor, not to mention commissionerships and appointments to boards, have also been frequently filled by Norwegians.⁵

They probably made their first venture into politics in township organization and administration. It was organizing these new townships, working the town machinery, carrying on elections, levying and collecting taxes and laying out roads, that the immigrants learned the rudiments of American politics. In some townships all or nearly all the offices are held by Norwegians. Much of the business in

⁴The Non-partisan League movement is an agrarian movement, on the whole a movement of property owners to benefit themselves as such, to insure their own hold upon the land they have acquired and the processes of storage, exchange, and marketing upon which their prosperity depends.

⁵Babcock, Scandinavian Element, p. 150.
"In North Dakota, the legislature of 93 members contained 17 men of Scandinavian parentage in 1895, and 18 in 1901--16 Norwegians. (4 American born), one Dane, and one Iclander."

these communities in their first years was carried on in a foreign tongue but official records were kept in English.

Township affairs shade off almost imperceptibly into county affairs and the Norwegians soon began to take part in the latter. The county offices which seem to be most attractive to them are those of sheriff, treasurer, auditor, and register of deeds.⁶ A high percentage of these offices especially, and also other county offices are today held by Norwegians.⁷

⁶Babcock, Scandinavian Element, p. 147.

"The county offices which seem to be most attractive to Scandinavians are those of sheriff, treasurer, auditor and register of deeds. . . . Estimating on the basis of a sure minimum, with the difficulties in identifying names eliminated, the Scandinavians for several years after 1895 filled approximately . . . , one fifth of the 268 (county offices) in North Dakota. . . ."

⁷Ibid., p. 147.

". . . More recent illustrations are to be found in the election of 1904. In Traill County, North Dakota, the sheriff, judge, treasurer, auditor, register, surveyor, coroner and superintendent of schools were of Scandinavian origin. . . ."

CHAPTER VII

LIFE ON THE PRAIRIE

The standard of living among the Norwegian settlers, whether on the farms or in the towns, has not been very different from that of their American neighbors. It could not vary much in a sod-house or cabin on the prairie whether the occupant was a Norwegian or of other stock. The food was usually of wheat, milk, fish, wild fowl, pork, common vegetables or whatever he grew on his farm or could obtain in town which usually consisted of the basic necessities. The clothing was rather primitive and usually rough but sufficient to protect him from the elements. But with prosperity, Americanization, and the settling of the region about them, they took to comforts and luxuries just as soon as they could afford them.

The hospitality of the Norwegians is one of their greatest distinctions. The coffee pot is always in use, and coffee and pastries made from Old County and American recipes are served whenever anyone chances into a Norwegian home, as well as at meals and between meals. It is still a habit among the settlers to eat a lunch, consisting of coffee, sandwiches and cake in the middle of the afternoon, especially in summer when the days are long. Some also add a

lunch in the forenoon. This habit of eating five meals a day was acquired in the Old Country and the settlers still maintain it.

The Norwegians are fond of music--mountain waltz melodies, polkas and spring dances played on the accordion and violin. This music is enjoyed by both the young and old alike. They brought with them the eight stringed Hardanger violin which was popular during the days of early settlement. Today these violins are found only in museums.

They are also fond of dancing. The most fantastic of the Norwegian dances is the Halling Dance still seen on special occasions. It is reputedly the survival of a "dance of death" from the days when the knife was the means of avenging jealousies among the young men of Halling Valley in Norway. When a man began the intricate acrobatic steps of the Halling Dance, the other dancers knew he had seen an enemy or rival in the crowd, and unobtrusively withdrew to the edge of the dance floor, leaving the enemy, often unsuspecting, in the clear. Then, in a great whirl, the Halling dancer would send his knife spinning through the air with its message of death. The dance today is an acrobatic performance which requires great skill. It includes handsprings, the Hallingkast--a whirling and kicking step and the "Krukeng", a jiglike step done in a half-sitting posture with the danc-

er moving about the floor.

In some Norwegian towns and communities, "Jule Bakke" or Christmas Feels still make the rounds of the homes between Christmas and New Year. They are young people dressed in costume and masked, who call on the neighbors and are given food and drink at each home visited.

A holiday in all Norwegian communities is the Seventeenth of May, Norway's Independence Day. The festivities usually include speeches, picnicking and dancing.

The Norwegians prefer marrying in their own nationality group. In the seventies, if a man sought a wife outside his nationality, he was guilty of a form of disloyalty which could scarcely be forgiven. Marriage with other Scandinavians was always a proper proceeding, a German bride, too, might expect to be blessed, if she was of the right congregation. Today they intermarry with all nationality groups; the mating urge and religious belief of the spouse being primary while nationality is a secondary consideration.

Mr. Norlie in his History of The Norwegian People in America published in 1925 states that ". . . of the Norwegian men who do not take Norwegian girls to wife, 55.1% marry Swedish girls, 10%8% marry Danish, 4.5% marry Finnish, 8.5% marry German and 14.8% marry British and Canadian, whereas only 6.3% marry non-Teutons. Of the Norwegian

women who do not take Norwegian men as husbands, 52.4% marry Swedes, 18.0% marry Danes, 2.6% marry Finns, 8.6% marry Germans, 12.9% marry Britishers and Canadians, whereas only 5.5% marry non-Teutons. The Norwegians, then, seem to be closer to the Swedes and Danes than to any of their other neighbors. This is, at least, the case with the first generation, concerning which these statistics apply."¹

The newly married pair is usually honored by a charivari, or "chivaree", with the bridal couple seated conspicuously on some slow moving vehicle and taken through the streets to an accompaniment of blaring automobile horns and clanging tin pans. The bridegroom is expected to climax this procedure by buying drinks and cigars for the crowd. A wedding dance is usually held at the time of the charivari or shortly after.

NORWEGIAN NEWSPAPERS

From the publication of the first Norwegian newspaper in a Wisconsin community in 1847 to this day, the Norwegian element has never been without newspapers of its own. The newspaper became a forum for debate on problems of American politics and government, a magazine carrying stories and poetry and essays into homes, an Americanizer of the immigrant, a

¹Norlie, History of the Norwegian People, p. 84.

widener of cultural horizons. Besides newspapers there are the books, the radio and the farm magazines which continue to point out new methods, new gadgets, new techniques for blending time and weather, mechanics and chemistry, the genetics of both flora and fauna, into a richer and more fruitful life for the farmer and his family.

In 1937 there were two Norwegian papers published in the State, one in Grand Forks and the other in Fargo.² These circulate largely in the northern and eastern counties. Scandinavian newspapers published outside of the State, also have a wide circulation in North Dakota.

SONS OF NORWAY

The organization bearing this name was formed in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in January, 1895, and its present headquarters is in the New York Life Building of that city.

It was organized by 10 men, and fifteen years later, in 1910, it had 127 local lodges and approximately 8,000 members.³ The chief purposes of the organization are to unite in a fraternal union, men of Norwegian descent or those that have been citizens of Norway, to preserve and promote an interest in the Norwegian language, to give to the

²Hay, Bulletin 268, p. 31-32.

³Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 185.

new country the benefit of the social and political endowments of the members and learn to meet the demands of the new conditions here, to promote a mutual understanding and agreements among Norwegians in America and seek to preserve the history of the Norwegian immigrants.

The lodges have supervision over and distribute aid to their needy members and look after the subscriptions for life insurance. The members keep posted on labor conditions in this country so as to be able to aid the newcomers in securing positions. The organizations seek to secure the best lecturers and by means of song and addresses to develop an appreciation for Norwegian melodies and the memories of the native land.

THE SCANDIA SOCIETY

The Scandia Society was organized in 1893 with its aim being "to stimulate interest in recent problems and in Scandinavian literature", and that this shall be accomplished by means of lectures, debates or discussions, readings, the editing of a paper by the members of the organization and by the forming of a library.⁴

For about thirty years Scandia existed as an important factor in developing the social and intellectual life of the Scandinavians of Grand Forks. During this period the society

⁴Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 187.

had a number of literary programs, concerts and celebrations of various kinds and possessed a library consisting of several hundred books.

GRAND FORKS COLLEGE

Grand Forks College was erected by the Red River Valley Lutheran Association in 1891. This association consisted of persons who were members of Norwegian Lutheran congregations of the Red River Valley. The school was opened in the fall of 1891 with Professor H. Roalkvam as principal and Professor R. S. Knudson as treasurer. According to a report by the latter, July 8, 1893, the total value of the school property was then about \$35,000.⁵

The school had a fair attendance for its kind as 201 students had enrolled during the academic year of 1892-93. Of these one hundred forty were from North Dakota and sixty from Minnesota. In the summer of 1893, at the close of the second school year there were six graduates.⁶

On account of the poor crops among many of the farmers of North Dakota and western Minnesota in the early nineties, the members of the association failed to subscribe to the paying of the college debt. Furthermore, many subscribers were unable to pay their subscriptions.

⁵Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 176.

⁶Ibid., p. 177.

The lack of funds necessitated the discontinuance of the school as a Lutheran institution and it was sold in May of 1894. The college was bought back in 1900 by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran synod.⁷

The main courses offered by the school were a preparatory course for those who had not completed the eighth grade in the common schools, a normal course which included all the branches required for a first grade teacher's certificate, a Luther College preparatory course to meet the demands of those who were preparing to enter the Luther College at Decorah, Iowa, and a commercial course including shorthand and typewriting.

Grand Forks College continued its successful work in Grand Forks till 1911 when it was moved to Velva, North Dakota. A few years later the school was discontinued.

In North Dakota University a Scandinavian department was established in 1891 with George T. Rygh as Assistant Professor. Instruction was offered in Norwegian for beginners as well as for advanced students. In the former course selections were read from Bjornson and Lie, also Ibsen's "Et Dukkehjem" and "Terje Vigen", together with exercises in composition. In the advanced class Kielland's "Skipper

⁷Tollefson, Historical Notes on Norwegians, p. 177.

Worse", Ibsen's "Brand", Lie's "Den Fremsynte" and Tegner's "Frithjofs Saga" were studied besides selected Norwegian poetry.⁸ Later a course was given in the history of Norwegian literature and one in Old Norse. In the latter Vigfusson and Powell's "Icelandic Prose Reader" was used. From 1895 to 1898 the Scandinavian chair was vacant. During the year 1899-1900, Carl J. Rollefson, Assistant Professor of Physics, instructed in Norwegian. . . .⁹

In a relatively short time it has been possible to build up an extensive library of Norwegian, Danish and Icelandic literature, at the University, probably the largest in the West. In 1905 a sum of about three thousand dollars was appropriated at one time for the purpose of putting the Scandinavian library on a good basis, from Scandinavians in the state, and Professor Kingelstad made a personal visit to Norway and Denmark to purchase books.¹⁰

NORWEGIAN COMMISSION AND EXHIBIT IN OSLO

The legislature of 1913 appropriated \$8,000 for an exhibit at Oslo, Norway. The governor appointed a commission to gather exhibits of the products of the state, photographs

⁸George T. Flow, A History of Scandinavian Studies in American Universities, (Iowa City, 1907), p. 25.

⁹Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 25.

of farm buildings, churches, educational buildings erected by Scandinavian people, all tending to show the progress and advancement of Norway's sons in this State, and the opportunities which the state afforded for future immigrants. A fund was raised by the citizens of all nationalities and a statue of Abraham Lincoln was bought. The governor, the members of his staff, and a large committee of prominent Scandinavians accompanied the "commission" to Norway, and Governor Hanna personally, in behalf of the citizens of North Dakota, presented the statue of Abraham Lincoln to the King of Norway.¹¹ The King of Norway in September, 1915, conferred upon Governor Hanna "the order of St. Olaf" of the first class. It is the highest civic decoration given by the Norwegian government.

THE NORSE-AMERICAN CENTENNIAL

The Norse-American Centennial held in Minneapolis in the summer of 1925 celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the "Sloop Party".

The exhibition presented an impressive picture of the pioneer life of the Norwegians in the states of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and other parts of the Northwest, especially bringing out the crude beginnings of that life and tracing the result of hard work and deprivation through the

¹¹Lounsberry, Early History of North Dakota, p. 436.

remarkable development of agriculture and industry in that region where the Norwegians settled in large numbers. The exhibitions included many of the things brought by these immigrants to America, as well as the implements made by their own hands to till the ground and support life in the new country. A great many examples were shown of the handicrafts, especially in textiles and wood which were characteristic of Norwegian home life. There were also examples of painting, sculpture, and craftwork done by both immigrants and their descendants.

This Centennial, by bringing together such graphic and convincing evidence of their labor in developing the Northwest, was a source of pride and satisfaction to Norwegian-born Americans; it was also inspiring to native-born Americans, thousands of whom joined in the unique celebration. The publicity in connection with it was widespread and visitors came from all sections of the country, President and Mrs. Coolidge making a special trip from Washington in honor of the event. It was the occasion for publishing a history of the Norwegians in America--Norlie, Olaf Morgan, History of The Norwegian People in America, Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1925.¹²

¹²Eaton, Immigrant Gifts To American Life, pp. 91-92.

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Paxson, Frederic Logan, The Last American Frontier. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. Pp. 264-283, 358-371.

A good study of the movement of the frontier westward and the Indian situation in the Northwest.

Quigg, L. E., New Empires In The Northwest. New York: The Tribune Association, 1889. Pp. 19-28.

This study is not very reliable and contains very little on the thesis subject.

Ross, Edward Alsworth, The Old World In The New. New York: The Century Co. 1914. Pp. 68-80.

A study of the significance of past and present immigration to the American people.

Skulason, G. B. and Sveinbjorn Johnson, Norwegians And Icelanders in The Red River Valley. History of the Red River Valley In Two Volumes. Grand Forks: Herald Printing Company, 1909. Vol. 1. P. 248.

A not too reliable study of Norwegians in the Red River Valley.

Smalley, Eugene V., History of The Northern Pacific Railroad. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1883. Pp. 334-395.

A study of the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Olaf Morgan Herlie, History of the Norwegian People in America, (Minneapolis, 1925) pp. 122-123.

"The party consisted of 9 married couples, with 21 children, of whom 4 are known to have been boys, and 13 girls, while four are listed simply as children. There were also 13 single men and 1 single woman. The names of these Sloop Folk, together with the years of their birth and death, are given herewith, based largely on R. B. Anderson's "First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration":

Family Heads:

- (1) Larson, Lars (1787-1845)
- (2) Larson, Martha Georgiana, nee Pearson (1803-1887)
- (3) Heredal, Cornelius Nelson (1789-1833)
- (4) Heredal, Caroline, nee Pearson (-1848)
- (5) Heredal, Nels Nelson (1800-1886)
- (6) Heredal, Bertha, nee Hervig (1804-1882)
- (7) Hervig, Henrick Christopherson (-1884)
- (8) Hervig (Harwick), Martha, nee _ _ _ _ (-1868)
- (9) Lima, Simon.
- (10) Lima, _ _ _ .
- (11) Madland, Thomas (1778-1826)
- (12) Madland, _ _ _ (1768-1829)
- (13) Rossadal, Daniel Stenson (1779-1854)
- (14) Rossadal, Bertha, nee Stavson (-1854)

- (15) Stone, Johannes (1779-).
- (16) Stone, Martha, nee Kindingstad (1780-).
- (17) Thompson (Thorsen), Oyen (1795-1826)
- (18) Thompson, Bertha Caroline, nee _ _ _ (1790-1844)

Children:

- (19) Larson, Margaret Allen (1825-1916). Mrs. Hohn Atwater.
- (20) Nelson, (Hersdal), Ann (1814-1858). Not married.
- (21) Nelson, (Hersdal), Nels (1816-1893). Married Catherine Iverson.
- (22) Nelson (Hersdal), Inger (1819-1896). Married John S. Mitchell.
- (23) Nelson (Hersdal), Martha (1823-). Married Beach Fellows.
- (24) Lima, _ _ _.
- (25) Lima, _ _ _.
- (26) Lima, _ _ _.
- (27) Nadland, Rachel (1807-). Mrs. Lars Olson Helland
- (28) Nadland, Julia (1810-1846). Mrs. Gudmund Haugaa.
- (29) Nadland, Serena (1814-). Mrs. Jacob Anderson Slogvig.
- (30) Rosdail (Rossadal), Ellen (1807-1884). Mrs. Cornelius Cothren.
- (31) Rosdail (Rossadal), Aave (Ove) 1809-1890). Married Gertrude Jacobs (1); Mrs. Martha Haagenon (2).
- (32) Rosdail (Rossadal), Lars (1812-1837). Not married.
- (33) Rosdail (Rossadal), John (1821-1893). Married _ _ _ Quam (1); Caroline Pearson (2).
- (34) Rosdail (Rossadal), Helga Hulda (1825-1914). Mrs. Erasmus Olson.

- (35) Stene, Helene Cora (1812-).
- (36) Stene, _ _ _.
- (37) Thompson, Sara (1818-). Mrs. George Olmstead (1);
Mrs. Wm. W. Richey (2).
- (38) Thompson, Anna Marie (1819-1842). Mrs. Wm. W. Richey.
- (39) Thompson, Caroline (1825-1826).

Single Men:

- (40) Bjaadland, Thorstein Olson (1795-1874). Married Guro Olson.
- (41) Dahl (Dall), Endre (Andrew). Married Mrs. Sven Aasen.
- (42) Erikson, Nels.
- (43) Haugass (Hogas), Gudmond (1800-1849). Married Julia Madland
(1); Caroline Hervig (2).
- (44) Holland, Lars Olson. Married Rachel Madland.
- (45) Hettletvedt, Ole Olson (-1849). Married _ _ _ Cham-
berlain (1); _ _ _ (2).
- (46) Iverson, Halvor.
- (47) Johnson, George (-1849). Married _ _ _ Nordboe.
- (48) Johnson, Ole (1798-1879). Married Mrs. Malinda Frink (1);
Ingeborg _ _ _ (2); Ingeborg Iverson (3).
- (49) Slogvig, Jacob Anderson (1807-1864). Married Serena Madland.
- (50) Slogvig, Knud. Married _ _ _ Olson Hettletvedt.
- (51) Stangeland, Andrew. Married Susan Cary.
- (52) Thompson, Nels (-1863). Married Mrs. Bertha Caroline
Thompson.
- (53) Larson, Sara. Deaf and dumb sister of Lars Larson. Not
married.

APPENDIX B

MEMBERSHIP--1947¹
 By Circuits
 The Evangelical Lutheran Church
 NORTH DAKOTA DISTRICT

Circuits	Congrega- tions	Active Pastors	Souls Baptized	Souls Confirmed
Bismarck	12	4	3,490	2,338
Cooperstown	41	11	7,599	5,266
Crosby	25	4	3,497	2,097
Dickinson	14	4	1,441	966
Fargo	34	16	11,178	7,527
Goose River	22	8	6,263	4,642
Grand Forks	24	9	7,487	5,469
Harvey	21	5	3,079	2,226
Hettinger	19	4	2,720	1,807
Lake Region	32	8	7,640	4,997
Lakota	15	5	2,502	1,891
Max	31	9	4,270	2,944
McKenzie	16	4	1,644	1,112
Minot	29	8	6,621	4,569
Oakes	27	8	5,373	3,751
Park River	36	8	5,985	4,107
Turtle Mt.	47	9	6,238	4,455
Valley City	25	7	4,765	3,232
Williston	38	7	5,530	3,810
Total	508	138	97,322	67,206

¹T. P. Selem, editor, Lutheran Almanac and Year Book, 1949, (Minneapolis, 1948), p. 17.

APPENDIX C

TABLE SHOWING VOTES FOR CANDIDATES IN NORTH DAKOTA, 1889-1944
FOR GOVERNOR

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1889	Miller	Rep.	25,365
	Roach	Dem.	12,733
1890	Burke	Rep.	19,053
	Roach	Dem.	12,604
1892	Burke	Rep.	17,236
	Shortridge (Fus.)	Pop.	18,995
1894	Allen	Rep.	23,723
	Kinter	Dem.	8,188
	Wallace	Pop.	9,354
1896	Bridge	Rep.	25,918
	Richardson (Fus.)	Pro.	20,690
1898	Fancher	Rep.	27,308
	Holmes	Dem.	19,496
1900	White	Rep.	34,052
	Whippleman	Dem.	22,275
1902	White	Rep.	31,613
	Cronan	Dem.	17,576
	Grant	Soc.	1,245
1904	Barles	Rep.	48,026
	Hegge	Dem.	16,744
	Aaker	Pro.	1,388
	Basset	Soc.	1,760
1906	Barles	Rep.	29,309
	Burke	Dem.	34,424
	Dow	Soc.	978
1908	Johnson	Rep.	46,849
	Burke	Dem.	49,398
	L. F. Dow	Ind.	490
1910	G. A. Johnson	Rep.	44,555
	John Burke	Dem.	47,005
	I. S. Lampman	Soc.	2,524

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1912	Hanna	Rep.	39,811
	Hillstrom	Dem.	31,554
	Swet	Pro.	9,406
	Bowen	Soc.	6,835
1914	Hanna	Rep.	44,278
	Hillstrom	Dem.	34,746
	Aaker	Pro.	4,263
	Williams	Soc.	6,019
1916	Frasier	Rep.	87,665
	McArthur	Dem.	20,351
	Oscar A. Johnson	Soc.	2,615
1918	Frasier	Rep.	54,517
	S. J. Doyle	Dem.	36,733
1920	Frasier	Rep.	117,118
	O'Connor	Dem.	112,448
1922	Lenke	Rep.	74,517
	Nestos	Ind.	107,249
1924	Sorlie	Rep.	101,170
	Halverson	Dem.	86,424
1926	Sorlie	Rep.	131,003
	Holmes	Dem.	24,287
1928	Shafer	Rep.	131,193
	Maddock	Dem.	100,205
	F. Loesch	Lab.	824
1930	Shafer	Rep.	120,247
	Blewett	Dem.	40,363
1932	Langer	Rep.	134,231
	Da Puy	Dem.	109,863
1934	Langer	Rep.	127,954
	Moddie	Dem.	145,333
1936			
1938	Hagen	Rep.	125,246
	Moses	Dem.	138,270

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1940	Patterson	Rep.	101,287
	Moses	Dem.	173,278
1942	Hagen	Rep.	74,577
	Moses	Dem.	101,390
1944	Aandahi	Rep.	106,687
	De Puy	Dem.	59,371
	Strutz	Ind.	38,639

FOR PRESIDENT

1892	Harrison	Rep.	17,519
	Cleveland	Dem.	
	Weaver	Pop.	17,667
1896	McKinley	Rep.	26,335
	Bryan	Dem.	20,686
1900	McKinley	Rep.	35,898
	Bryan	Dem.	20,531
	Debs	Soc.	518
1904	Roosevelt	Rep.	52,595
	Parker	Dem.	14,273
	Debs	Soc.	2,005
1908	Taft	Rep.	57,680
	Bryan	Dem.	32,885
	Debs	Soc.	2,424
1912	Taft	Rep.	23,090
	Wilson	Dem.	29,555
	Roosevelt	Prog.	25,726
	Debs	Soc.	6,966
1916	Hughes	Rep.	53,471
	Wilson	Dem.	55,206
	Benson	Soc.	5,716
1920	Harding	Rep.	159,997
	Cox	Dem.	37,442
	Debs	Soc.	8,282
1924	Coolidge	Rep.	94,816
	Davis	Dem.	13,830
	LaFollette	Prog.	89,733
	Foster	Workers	370

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1928	Hoover	Rep.	131,441
	Smith	Dem.	106,648
	Thomas	Sec.	842
	Foster	Workers	936
1932	Hoover	Rep.	71,772
	Roosevelt	Dem.	178,350
	Thomas	Sec.	3,521
	-----	Com.	830
	-----	Lib.	1,817
1936	Landen	Rep.	72,751
	Roosevelt	Dem.	163,148
	Thomas	Sec.	552
	Lenke	Union	36,708
	Browder	Com.	360
	Calvin	Proh.	197
1940	Wilkie	Rep.	154,590
	Roosevelt	Dem.	124,036
	Thomas	Sec.	1,279
	Knutson	Com.	545
	Babson	Proh.	325
1944	Dewey	Rep.	118,535
	Roosevelt	Dem.	100,144
	Thomas	Sec.	943
	Watson	Proh.	549

¹Paul R. Fossuy, The Agrarian Movement in North Dakota
(Baltimore, 1925), p. 165.

APPENDIX D

THE DAKOTA TERRITORIAL CENSUS OF 1885

(From the Original Records
on File at Bismarck, N.D.)

Census Returns for the Counties of Allred, Bowman, Buford,
Dunn, McIntosh, McKenzie, Mercer, Mountrail, Oliver, Renville, Stanton,
Towner, Villard, Wallace, Ward, Wells and Wynn.

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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ALLRED COUNTY

NONE

BOWMAN COUNTY

Amonds, Jake	M	--	Trapper	Norway	Norway	Norway
Amuelson, S.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Amuelson, Louisa	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Amuelson, Ella	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Amuelson, Ole	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Amuelson, Peter	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Amuelson, Mary	F	Daughter	---	New York	Norway	Norway

BUFORD COUNTY

Johnson, Martin	M	--	Soldier	Norway	Norway	Norway
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DUNN COUNTY

NONE

McINTOSH COUNTY

Josva, Jno.	M	--	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Josva, Sarah	F	Wife	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
owell, Rosa	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
owell, Mary	F	Daughter	---	Dakota	Wisconsin	Norway
Black, G. O.	M	--	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
ommen, Andrew	M	--	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
ostad, K. F.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
pringen, J. G.	M	--	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway

	Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
McINTOSH COUNTY (cont.)						
Sundby, A. A.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Moen, John	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lucken, Chris	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Lars	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Johanna	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Adolph	M	Son	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Tervel	M	Son	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, John	M	Son	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Louisa	F	Daughter	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Laura	F	Daughter	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Moen, M. C.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christaphason, W.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christaphason, L.	F.	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christaphason, L.	F	Daughter	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Christaphason, H.	M	Son	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christaphason, F.	M	Son	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christaphason, M.	F	Mother	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Cringlen, H. J.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Andresen, A.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Sakstad, John	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Springen, Fosten	M	--	Merchant	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Springen, G. K.	M	Father	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Gulick, T. O.	M	--	Merchant	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of Family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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McINTOSH COUNTY
(cont.)

Overinsson, Robert	M --	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
und, Edward	M --	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
und, Martin	M Brother	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
und, Nels	M --	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
und, Lena	F Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
und, George	M Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
und, Nellie	F Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
nth, Ole	M --	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

McKENZIE COUNTY

eterson, Mary	F Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
eterson, Louisa	F Daughter	---	Dakota	Sweden	Norway

MERCER COUNTY

acobson, A. J.	M --	Carpenter	Iowa	Norway	Norway
ee, John	M --	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
hamme, Erick	M --	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
aglei, Helik	M --	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
aglei, Betsy	F Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
aglei, Andrew	M Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
aglei, Gilbert	M Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
aglei, Carolina	F Daughter	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
aglei, Anna	F Daughter	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
aglei, Julia	F Daughter	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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MERCER COUNTY
(cont.)

Finstad, --	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
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MOUNTRAIL COUNTY

NONE

OLIVER COUNTY

Feeters, J.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Johnson, J.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Johnson, S. E.	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Johnson, H. E.	F	Daughter	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Janson, S.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jasperson, C.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jasperson, M. E.	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jasperson, A. E.	F	Daughter	---	Ohio	Norway	Norway
Jasperson, Rose	F	Daughter	---	Ohio	Norway	Norway
Jolander, G.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jolson, H.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jolson, R. E.	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jolson, Annie	F	Daughter	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Janson, G.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Janson, H.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jolson, J.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jolson, Mary	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jolson, Ole	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Jolson, Carl	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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OLIVER COUNTY
(cont.)

Dalson, M. E.	F	Daughter	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Dalson, John	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Sagley, John	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Sagley, Mary	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Sagley, G. T.	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Sagley, Lena	F	Daughter	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Sagley, S. G.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Sagley, L. E.	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Sagley, G. M.	M	Brother	Farmland	Norway	Norway	Norway
Sagley, G. M.	M	Father	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Finsted, H.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Finsted, Ole	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

RENVILLE COUNTY

NONE

STANTON COUNTY

Megelson, Austin	M	--	Carpenter	Iowa	Norway	Norway
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TOWNER COUNTY

Mervan, T. S.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Meson, G. H.	M	--	Hotel keeper	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Meson, Olga	F	Daughter	---	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Norway
Meson, Henry	M	Brother	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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**TOWNER COUNTY
(cont.)**

Gather, Pete	M	Servant	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Rollin, John	M	--	---	Kansas	Norway	Norway
Silbertson, Hattie	F	Servant	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Mallum, Louis	M	Boarder	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Edstrom, P. T.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Edstrom, Mary C.	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, John	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Caroline	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Ole	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, S. C.	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Emma	F	Daughter	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Wenonson, Soren	M	Father-in-law	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Adam	M	Brother	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Serg, G.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Serg, Hans	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Serg, J.	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
father, A.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
father, J.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
arson, Lars	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

VILLARD COUNTY

Blankenburg, G.	M	--	Lumberer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Blankenburg, Julia	F	Daughter	---	Illinois	Norway	Illinois

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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VILLARD COUNTY
(cont.)

Blankenburg, Alice	F	Daughter	---	Illinois	Norway	Illinois
Oibus, John	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Nelson, Irnbret	M	--	Carpenter	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, L.	M	--	Plasterer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, A.	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, C	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, J.	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, J.	M	Son	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, H.	F	Daughter	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, O.	F	Daughter	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, L.	F	Daughter	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, H.	M	Son	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Austin	M	--	Teamster	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Annie	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Henry	M	Son	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Alice	F	Daughter	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Maggleson, H. G.	M	--	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Gundmanson, Ole	M	--	Hunter	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, August	M	--	Carpenter	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Gus	M	Son	Carpenter	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Hilda	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Fanny	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Hilda	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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**VILLARD COUNTY
(cont.)**

Anderson, Hans	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Anton	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Chris	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hellman, Chas.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hellman, Anna	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hellman, Anna	F	Daughter	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Hellman, Anton	M	Son	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Hanson, Peter	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Abramson, Chris	M	--	Farmer	Norway No	Norway	Norway
Abramson, Gunda	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Abramson, Guseld	F	Daughter	---	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, A.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, H.	M	Son	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Indegard, Peter	M	Son	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Indegard, Carolina	F	Dght-in-law	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Indegard, Geo.	M	Grandson	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Eklund, I.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Young, John	M	--	Farmer	Illinois	Norway	Germany
Young, Mrs. John	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Young, Jenny	F	Daughter	---	Illinois	Illinois	Norway
Young, Frank	M	Son	---	Illinois	Illinois	Norway

WALLACE COUNTY

NONE

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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WARD COUNTY

Lygeson, Ed.	M	--	Laborer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Lebacker, O. E.	M	--	Laborer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Johnson, E.	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Strand, O. E.	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Merlan, Peter	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lyveson, Lou	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Grandhove, E.	M	--	Laborer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Lebeker, A. J.	M	--	Laborer	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Matni, I. O.	M	--	Miller	Norway	Norway	Norway
Matni, O. L.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Matni, Sarah	F	--	Dressmaker	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mvenson, P.	F	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Morwalson, K.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Morwalson, L.	M	--	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Muleson, K.	M	--	Farmer	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Muttleson, E.	M	--	Farmer	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Mikely, E.	M	--	Farmer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Mikely, Liva	F	Wife	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Mikely, Selmer	M	Son	---	Dakota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Mikely, Sven	M	Son	---	Dakota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Mirkelie, Henry	M	--	Farmer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Maugen, S. P.	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mupe, Ole	M	--	Laborer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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WARD COUNTY
(cont.)

Oleson, Knute	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jameson, Ole	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Ole	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Baker, John	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Filgren, John	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lin, Ole	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Bogerson, T. K.	M	--	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Welson, J. A.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Welson, Anna	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Welson, Dora	F	Daughter	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Welson, Andrew	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Welson, Albert	M	Son	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Bakony, I. A.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ageson, Hans	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ageson, Johanna	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Huistad, Peter	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Huistad, Mary	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Huistad, Henry	M	Son	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Saleson, John	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Saleson, Haren	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Saleson, Jenny	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Saleson, Haren	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Saleson, Hans	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of & family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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WARD COUNTY
(cont.)

Saleson, Syrina	F	Daughter	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Galeson, Atele	F	Daughter	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Mule, J. S.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mule, Lena	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mule, Hans	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Mule, John	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Mule, Andrew	M	Son	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Mule, Maren	F	Daughter	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Sjerky, Peter	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hay, Johan	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hay, Bergyta	F	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Sarah	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Sweden	Sweden
Oleson, Chas.	M	Son	---	Norway	Sweden	Sweden
Spokely, O. T.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Guril	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Knute	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Jones	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Kjersten	M	Son	---	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Chas.	M	Son	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Engbert	M	Son	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Kragenes, A. G.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jernes, K. J.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Gesman, Alfred	M	--	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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WARD COUNTY
(cont.)

Gesman, Minnie	F	Wife	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Gesman, Alfred	M	--	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Ganger, Stork	M	--	---	Michigan	Norway	Norway
Hibinbly, Ole	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hygeseu, Ole	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hygeseu, Woldem	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hygeseu, Annie	F	Daughter	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Larson, Betsey	F	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramstad, Erick	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramstad, Lena	F	Wife	---	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Rullesen, Betsey	F	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramstad, Annie	F	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramstad, Bertha	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramstad, G.	M	Grandson	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramstad, Peter	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramstad, Mary	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramstad, Ola	M	Son	---	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Skaro, Erick	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Skaro, Betsey	F	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Thompson, Sven	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Thompson, Liva	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Tom	M	Son	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Iver	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway

Sex	Relationship to head of family	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthpl.	Mother's Birthpl.
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WARD COUNTY
(cont.)

Swenson, Stene	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Ragnild	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Annie	F	Daughter	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Ole	M	Son	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Thorleson, N.	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, Olaf	M	--	---	Norway	Norway	Iowa
Larson, Jenny	F	Wife	---	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Larson, G.	M	Son	---	Dakota	Norway	Iowa
Larson, Chas.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, Carl	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, Alice	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, L. O.	M	Son	---	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Larson, Olaf	M	Son	---	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Neilson, O.	M	Son	Farmer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Neils	M	--	Farmer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Haldis	F	Wife	---	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Gustad	M	Son	---	Dakota	Minnesota	Norway
Oleson, Ole	M	Son	---	Dakota	Minnesota	Norway
Neilson, Iver	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

WELLS COUNTY

Johnson, Mathias	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Kotter, Adams	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Kelerson, H.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Brynjulsen, Geo.	M	--	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

(continued)

WYNN COUNTY

NONE

*Collections of the State Historical Society of North
Dakota, O. G. Libby, Editor. Fargo: Knight Printing
Company, 1913. 7 volumes. Vol. 4, pp. 338-448.

APPENDIX E
CENSUS OF 1890

COUNTY	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	NORSE FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE FOREIGN BORN TO TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE TO FOREIGN BORN POPULATION
Barnes	7,045	2,798	1,150	16.3	41.1
Benson	2,460	974	462	18.7	47.4
Billings	170	56	7	4.1	12.5
Bottineau	2,893	1,721	348	11.3	20.2
Bowman	6	--	--	--	--
Buford	803	291	17	2.1	5.8
Burleigh	4,247	1,177	107	2.5	9.1
Cass	19,613	7,740	2,428	12.3	31.3
Cavalier	6,471	4,052	680	10.5	16.7
Church	74	20	3	4.0	15.0
Dickey	5,573	1,716	450	8.07	26.2
Dunn	159	79	1	.6	1.2
Eddy	1,377	525	146	10.6	27.8
Emmons	1,971	802	47	2.3	5.8
Flannery	72	23	6	8.3	26.0
Foster	1,210	494	101	8.3	20.4
Gargfield	33	5	--	--	--
Grand Forks	18,357	7,971	3,518	19.1	44.1
Griggs	2,817	1,338	822	29.1	61.4
Hettinger	81	13	--	--	--
Kidder	1,311	249	24	1.9	9.6

CENSUS OF 1890
(cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	NORSE FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE FOREIGN BORN TO TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE TO FOREIGN BORN POPULATION
La Moure	3,187	1,235	337	10.5	27.2
Logan	597	382	16	2.0	4.1
McHenry	1,584	673	389	24.5	57.8
McIntosh	3,248	2,221	74	2.3	3.3
McKenzie	3	--	--	--	--
McLean	860	365	4	8.6	20.2
Mercer	428	264	1	.2	.3
Morton	4,728	1,919	252	5.3	13.1
Mountrail	122	62	21	17.2	32.9
Nelson	4,293	1,890	1,098	25.5	58.6
Oliver	464	162	15	3.2	9.3
Pembina	14,334	9,144	390	2.7	4.2
Pierce	905	461	289	31.9	62.6
Ramsey	4,418	1,844	676	15.3	36.6
Ransom	5,393	2,031	947	17.5	46.6
Renville	99	66	5	.5	7.5
Richland	10,751	4,062	1,837	17.0	45.2
Rolette	2,427	1,397	182	7.5	13.0
Sargent	5,076	1,791	732	14.4	40.8
Sheridan	5	1	--	--	--
Stark	2,304	916	113	4.9	12.3

CENSUS OF 1890
(cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	NORSE FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE FOREIGN BORN TO TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE TO FOREIGN BORN POPULATION
Steele	3,777	1,567	1,118	29.6	71.3
Stevens	16	8	--	--	--
Stutsman	5,266	1,621	121	2.2	7.4
Towner	1,450	570	169	11.6	29.6
Traille	10,217	4,701	3,572	35.0	70.0
Wallace	24	3	--	--	--
Walsh	16,587	8,559	2,523	15.2	29.4
Ward	1,681	698	382	22.7	54.7
Wells	1,212	570	81	6.6	14.2
Williams	109	42	22	20.1	.5
Unorganized	511	192	19	3.7	9.8

CENSUS OF 1900

COUNTY	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	NORSE FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE FOREIGN BORN TO TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE TO FOREIGN BORN POPULATION
Barnes	13,159	4,357	1,630	12.4	37.4
Benson	8,320	2,132	1,045	12.5	49.0
Billings	975	253	24	2.4	9.4
Bottineau	7,532	3,246	908	12.0	27.5
Burleigh	6,081	1,494	116	1.9	7.7
Cass	28,625	9,025	2,548	8.9	28.2
Cavalier	12,580	6,153	782	6.2	12.7
Dickey	6,061	1,808	307	5.0	16.9
Eddy	3,330	901	259	7.7	28.7
Emons	4,349	2,005	80	1.8	4.0
Foster	3,770	779	180	4.7	23.1
Grand Forks	24,459	8,483	3,308	13.5	39.0
Griggs	4,744	1,784	1,031	21.7	58.3
Kidder	1,754	550	26	1.4	4.7
La Moure	6,048	2,203	402	6.6	18.2
Logan	1,625	859	28	1.7	3.2
McHenry	5,253	1,849	541	10.3	29.2
McIntosh	4,818	2,302	43	.9	1.4
McLean	4,791	1,770	99	2.9	5.6
Mercer	1,778	834	40	2.2	4.8
Morton	8,069	3,381	285	3.5	8.4
Nelson	7,316	2,483	1,462	20.0	58.9

GENSUS OF 1900
(cont.)

COUNTY	TOTAL POP.	TOTAL FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	NORSE FOREIGN BORN POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE FOREIGN BORN TO TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT OF NORSE TO FOREIGN BORN POPULATION
Oliver	990	368	29	2.9	7.8
Pembina	17,869	9,027	328	1.8	3.6
Pierce	4,765	1,798	590	12.3	32.8
Ramsay	9,198	2,866	1,026	11.1	35.8
Ransom	6,919	2,097	1,026	14.8	48.9
Richland	17,387	5,318	2,174	12.5	40.8
Rolette	7,995	2,165	262	3.2	12.1
Sargent	6,039	1,754	668	11.0	38.1
Stark	7,621	3,381	136	1.7	4.0
Steele	5,888	1,857	1,297	22.0	80.0
Towner	6,491	1,544	318	4.9	20.6
Traille	13,107	4,797	3,472	26.4	70.2
Ward	7,961	2,445	606	7.6	24.8
Wells	8,310	3,195	627	7.5	19.6
Williams	1,530	416	47	3.0	11.3
Standing Rock Reservation	2,208	111	1	.04	.9

Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota,
O. G. Libby, Editor, Bismarck: Tribune, State Printers and Binders,
1906. 7 volumes, Vol. 1, pp. 150-151.