

# *The Odyssey of Minnesota's*



**IN MAY 1894** a party of 20 men trekked some 1,100 miles from Crookston, Minnesota, to Alberta, Canada, in search of good farmland. Making their way first to Winnipeg, the men were met by an immigration official who assisted them with advice and information. Farther west at Calgary, they transferred to a branch-line train headed north. Stopping at the village of

Wetaskiwin, a Cree word meaning “Hills of Peace,” they rested in a large tent erected for immigrants. There they abandoned their previous plan to join the nearby New Norway settlement founded the previous year. Instead, guided by fellow Norwegian Edmund Thompson, who later became an official land guide and land promoter, a scouting party of four explored unoccu-

# *Bardo Norwegians*

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pied land some 60 miles northeast, by Beaver Lake (now Beaverhill Lake). Learning that the area had bountiful fish in addition to good soil, prairie openings with luxuriant grass, and hills covered with trees, these sons of the North decided, "This is the place we are looking for." They returned to Wetaskiwin to report to the others that suitable land had been located, and,

**Gathering to celebrate Syttende Mai (Constitution Day) in 1890, Norwegian immigrants to the Midwest showed their strong loyalties to kin, community, and tradition.**

after all inspected the site, they dispatched a telegram back to Crookston announcing that “land has been found.”<sup>1</sup>

The settlement they founded in 1894 was named after their home in the Norwegian county of Troms, Bardo (now Bardu). People from that community had established their first settlement in Minnesota’s Red River Valley in 1876. Almost 20 years later they became a part of a larger migration from the Upper Midwest into Canada’s prairie provinces. The group’s willingness to move on demonstrates a continuous process of rural-to-rural migration and suggests how agricultural communities were created and transplanted within Norway itself and again across the North American continent in a multistage migration spanning several generations.<sup>2</sup>

United by kinship, communal bonds, and a common system of values, institutions, and traditions, these Norwegians maintained steadfast regional and familial loyalties that held groups together in many dissimilar circumstances and geographic environments. This group’s odyssey began in the 1790s, when families moved from southern to northern Norway together. A century later it entered a second phase, when their descendants arrived in Minnesota, and it found completion nearly two decades later on the plains of Canada.

**FIFTEEN OF THE 20 EMIGRANTS** who left Bardo, Norway, in 1876 reported northwestern Minnesota’s Moorhead as their destination. (The remaining 5 listed Benson in western Minnesota.) Among the former were the 55-year-old Bersvend Anderson, his wife, Marit, 50, and seven children ranging in age from 23 to 7. Strong lay religious movements had swept Bardo, where Anderson had been an evangelistic lay preacher in the spirit of the religious leader Hans Nielsen Hauge. Anderson made his living farming and fishing. In America he continued his zealous missionary acti-

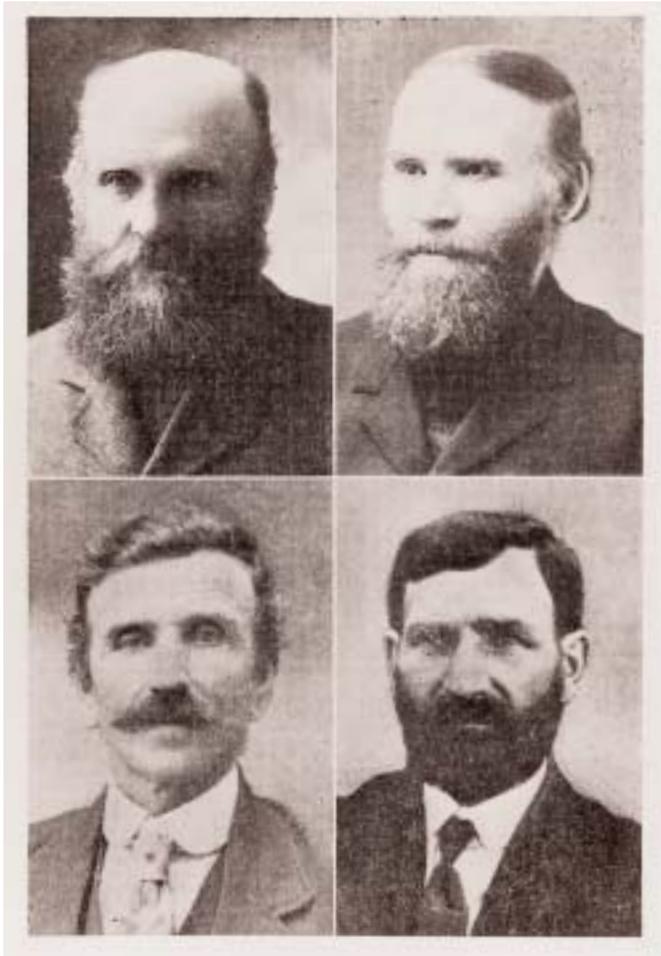
vity, being ordained into the low-church Hauge’s Synod in 1878 and becoming the first ordained Lutheran minister in Bardo, Alberta, in 1894. Anderson’s father, Anders Pedersen from Inderøy in North-Trøndelag, had belonged to the 1790s pioneer generation in Bardo. Anderson’s mother, Barbro Finseth, came from Sørreisa—adjoining Bardo to the west—but died at Bersvend’s birth. Martin Finseth, a Sørreisa-born relative on his mother’s side, also emigrated to the United States in 1876 with his wife Karen and their children and helped found the Canadian Bardo settlement.<sup>3</sup>

A similar migration saga was that of Nels Jevning, 34, his wife, Maren, 32, and their three sons, ages 6 to 3. Nels was a grandson of Norway’s Bardo settler John Simonson Kalbækken, who had moved north in 1791 from the community of Tynset in North-Østerdalen. The Anderson and Jevning families founded the Bardo settlement in Alberta, although the aging Bersvend Anderson did not accompany the first exploration party.<sup>4</sup>

Arriving in Minnesota’s Red River Valley in 1876, the Anderson, Finseth, and Jevning families each took land close to Polk County’s commercial center of Crookston. They helped organize a Lutheran congregation in 1878 with the name Bardo and a township named Roome a year later. In 1886 the steeple of a completed church marked the location of the settlement. Other immigrants, who clearly perceived the district as a new Bardo across the sea, joined them, settling in Roome and neighboring townships. In 1893, for instance, Rasmus Nilsen and his wife Anna sold their farm in Bardo, Norway, and emigrated with their six children to the place they identified on their emigrant trunks as “The Red River Valley, Bardo Colony, America.”

The Bardo community found its new home through the work of men such as Paul Hjelm-Hansen, an agent for the state of Minnesota. He began directing his compatriots’ attention to the possibilities of settlement in the Red River Valley in a series of articles printed in *Nordisk Folkeblad* and other Norwegian-language newspapers in 1869. Another strong incentive developed when a Northern Pacific Railroad line reached Clay County’s Moorhead in 1871. Norwegians arrived that same year and settled in a section of Polk County (later Norman County). Norwegian pioneers also took land along the Sand Hill River in Vineland Township adjacent to Roome Township. Among the Sand Hill group in 1871 was 21-year-old Ole Jevning, who had emi-

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Among the first Norwegian settlers in Minnesota who later moved to Alberta were (top, from left) Martin Finseth and Nels Jevning, (bottom, from left) John Lerbekmo and Peter Anderson.

grated in 1866 from Bardo and would become one of the Sand Hill settlement's leaders. Jevning was the first known Bardo resident to settle in the Red River Valley. By 1875 the upper Red River Valley of Minnesota was home to 1,234 Norwegians, about 42 percent of the total population.

The Bardo immigrants of 1876 thus arrived in Minnesota during a very early stage of its settlement. They made their way by ox-cart from Moorhead to their new homes. Three years later, when the United States land office moved west from Detroit Lakes to Crookston, it became easier for them to register land claims and receive title under the Homestead Act of

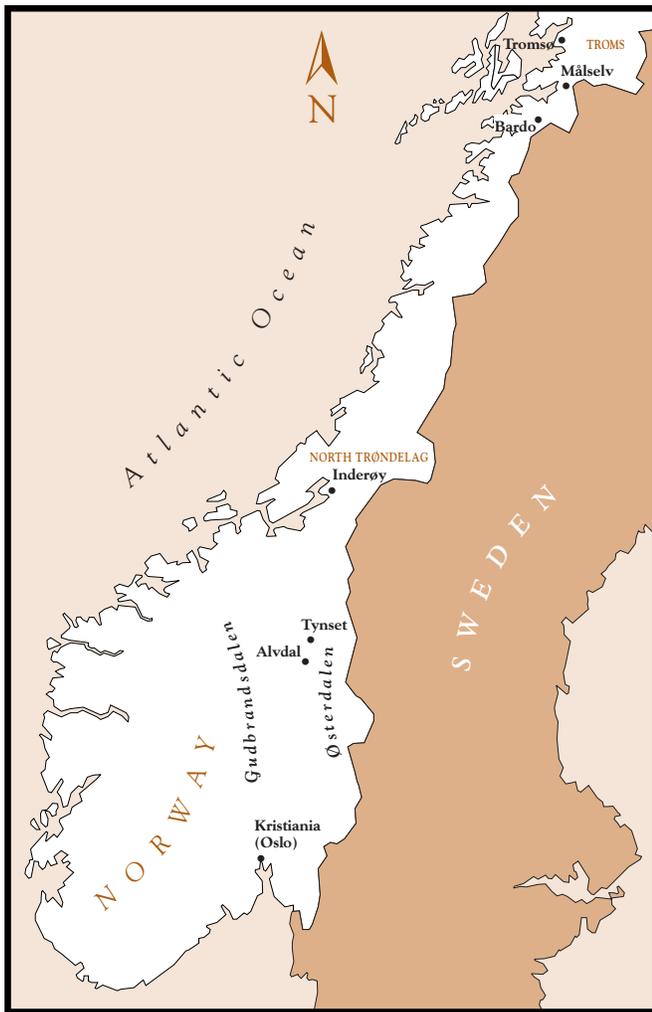
1862. Earlier Ojibwe inhabitants who had been removed to the White Earth and Red Lake agencies still camped along the way on their regular trips between the reservations and established friendly relationships with settlers. The burgeoning number of homesteads on their former hunting grounds gradually discouraged these relations.

**THE NORWEGIAN HOME COMMUNITY** that was the source of the Minnesota colony had itself been created by migration. Sami reindeer herders had traveled through the district for centuries but established no permanent dwellings there because of the dense forest infested with flies and mosquitoes and ravaged by predatory animals. In the late 1700s, however, a traveling bailiff named Jens Holmboe noted the possibility for agricultural cultivation in the unpopulated Målselv and Bardo Valleys. The first families moved from southern Norway to the vast Målselv Valley in 1787, and others arrived in the large Bardo Valley in 1791. The movement north began in Østerdalen and Gudbrandsdalen and then spread to the county of North Trøndelag, which was a resting place on the way north for the migrants.<sup>5</sup>

According to the 1801 Norwegian census, the permanent population of the Bardo Valley was 58 people in 10 families residing on as many different farmsteads. By 1845 Bardo's population had climbed to 536. Thereafter, the influx from southern Norway declined because migrants increasingly preferred the fertile, uncultivated prairies of the American Midwest over Norway's bleak northern lands.<sup>6</sup>

"America fever," as it was called, raged not only in the Norwegian districts that had sent their surplus population north. Bardo itself caught the fever and experienced a large overseas exodus. The first group of Bardudøls left in 1852, and within three years 40 people had departed for America. Their migration was incomprehensible to the local sheriff, who noted, "They were all people in good financial circumstances, some even well-off, and the harvest had been very good for several years."<sup>7</sup>

For these earliest emigrants, Bardo was a mere stage in their migration odyssey. Originally from North-Østerdalen, they pioneered once in the Bardo Valley before doing it again in America. Although this stage migration was likely not their original strategy, it was perhaps fairly easy to pull up stakes a second time in



The first settlers in Bardø, Norway, arrived from Tynset and Alvdal in the Østerdalen Valley in 1791. Inderøy in the county of North Trøndelag became a regular stopover for migrants moving north.

response to the call of opportunity. Bardudøls would have known residents from home districts in the south who left for America, and before long America boasted settlements of kin and neighbors ready to receive them. Strong motivating forces included the lure of free or inexpensive land to farm and the promise of a better life. Economic conditions on both sides of the Atlantic determined the ebb and flow of the emigrant wave. It fell and rose according to the needs of the American marketplace and economic activity at home.

An estimated 800 people moved to America from Bardø from first to last. About 60 left in 1860 alone. Surely there also were Bardudøls among the 589 emigrants from Troms—a strikingly large number—who crossed the Atlantic in 1864 from Tromsø to Quebec on

two large ships. In the 1860s emigration increased rapidly, and after 1866 passenger and police rosters make it possible to track the number of “America travelers.”<sup>8</sup>

Using these sources, Jan Dybdal at Norway’s State Archives in Trondheim lists the names, ages, and occupations of 476 people from Bardø who emigrated to Canada or the United States between 1867 and 1914. Nearly 25 percent left in the 1880s, when Norway itself experienced the peak of its nineteenth-century emigration. Following a slow period in the 1890s due to an industrial depression and unemployment in the United States, the movement gained strength again. About 43 percent departed from Bardø in the first decade of the century, more than the percent leaving Norway as a whole. Another 167 had left Bardø by 1930. Thus, Bardø Valley lost a substantial number of its people to emigration.<sup>9</sup>

A pronounced feature of the Bardø movement overseas was its family character. From 1867 to 1914, some two-thirds traveled as family groups, as widows and widowers, and as single men and women with children. The near-equal balance between the genders supports the family nature of the Bardø emigration. In contrast, nearly twice as many men as women emigrated from rural Norwegian districts as a whole between 1900 and 1910. The family nature of the Bardø migrants may help explain the strong communal cohesion of the two settlements they founded in the New World.

**THE UPPER RED RIVER VALLEY**, both the Minnesota and the Dakota sides of the river, was one of the principal areas of Norwegian settlement in the Northwest. In 1895 Polk County alone had more than 8,000 Norwegian-born residents. The area was part of what agricultural historian John D. Hicks labeled the “western Middle West,” distinguished by its predominantly rural nature and propensity for agrarian revolt. Two decades of rural depression there beginning in the mid-1880s was intensified by agricultural crisis after 1893, and Norwegian settlers played a prominent role in the agrarian protest against economic conditions and inadequate credit.<sup>10</sup>

The situation in the Midwest was especially depressing for farm laborers, who in 1900 made up about a third of the farm population, as well as for tenant farmers. By 1910 tenants who paid high rental costs held about half of the Red River Valley’s farms and faced



**“America fever” brought so many Norwegian families to the Midwest that schools such as Fosston’s in 1895 claimed pupils exclusively “Skandinavien.”**

what historian Kenneth O. Bjork summarized as “increasing costs of production, a shortage of capital, rapidly rising land prices, and the likelihood of remaining renters for the remainder of their lives.” Not surprisingly, then, the close-at-hand prairie provinces of Canada—Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta—became nearly irresistible to these farmers, seeming to offer “the best, perhaps the last, great source of free or cheap farmland.”<sup>11</sup>

Canadian authorities working in close cooperation with the Canadian Pacific and other railways vigorously communicated information about the conditions and opportunities in the western provinces. Dominion immigration agents opened offices in the Upper Midwest and gave special attention to Scandinavians, whom they considered to be desirable settlers. Authorities also worked hand-in-hand with railroad and

steamship companies to attract immigrants directly from Scandinavia.

Pioneers and immigrants joined forces in colonizing western Canada, but “Canada fever” did not erupt overnight. Agricultural depression and a stagnant economy diminished the attraction of the prairie provinces until 1896, when abundant work and capital were matched by reports of bumper wheat crops in the West. This prosperity was to continue until 1914, making Canada seem to be a land of as much promise as the United States.<sup>12</sup>

Canada’s Land Act had made homesteads available to settlers in 1872, and by 1877 the Blackfeet and Cree Indian tribes had been moved off their traditional hunting grounds to reservations. Growth and settlement proceeded slowly, however, until the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1881–85, which geo-

graphically unified Canada. The main line of the Canadian Pacific passed through Calgary, Alberta, and in 1892 a branch line stretched north to Edmonton. This line passed through Wetaskiwin some 60 miles from the Bardo settlement founded two years later.<sup>13</sup>

Taking its cue from the United States, though implementing a much more flexible policy, the Dominion granted land tracts on either side of the rail line, reserving alternate sections for homestead and pre-emption purposes. Colonizing companies as well as speculators were free to purchase unused railroad holdings. The ascendancy of Canada's western provinces was thus launched through access to abundant free or inexpensive land and transportation. By the end of the 1890s an increase in wheat prices and a decline in transportation costs produced a boom that created a new society of immigrant communities in the three prairie provinces. From 1896 to 1914 this growth was the outstanding feature of Canadian economic development.

**PLANNED SINGLE-NATIONALITY** immigrant colonies such as Bardo have been described by historian Robert England as Canada's "experiment in nation building." Such names as New Iceland, New Sweden, New Norway, Viking, and Skandia identify the nationality of many of these colonies. The Canadian census of 1931 lists 122,000 residents in rural Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta of Scandinavian origin. The largest contingents were Norwegian and Swedish, with smaller Danish and Icelandic groups. These census figures may even be low, and Alberta's Norwegian population alone may have been 60,000, more than double the official count.<sup>14</sup>

Prairie-province land-seekers included Nordic immigrants arriving directly in Canada and migrants of Scandinavian origin from the United States. Between 1893 and 1914, as many as 98,000 Scandinavian Americans took part in the land rush into the Canadian prairie provinces from the American Midwest. Some 55,000 were of Norwegian origin. Those from Bardo probably experienced a rustle of history from a century

**Good farming on land available for free homesteading in the unsettled prairie provinces fueled "Canada fever."**





— — — — — Railroad  
 — — — — — Route to Bardo area, 1894

can frontier. “To the Scandinavian immigrant, who had homesteaded in a sod house in Dakota,” wrote historian James Hedges, “there was the promise of a chance to repeat the performance on a new frontier.” In 1892 a new Dominion agency, one of many to come, opened in Crookston; it effectively spread its propaganda about free homesteads and assistance for group settlement through newspaper advertising and general publicity. It was to this promising news that the growing Jevning, Finseth, and Anderson families responded, surely

propelled in part by the lack of land for the next generation around Crookston.<sup>16</sup>

past when they again considered trekking north to find a better life.<sup>15</sup>

Pamphlets published by the Dominion for distribution in the United States year after year bore the title *The Last Best West*, suggesting that the Canadian prairie was to be considered a natural extension of the Ameri-

can frontier. “To the Scandinavian immigrant, who had homesteaded in a sod house in Dakota,” wrote historian James Hedges, “there was the promise of a chance to repeat the performance on a new frontier.” In 1892 a new Dominion agency, one of many to come, opened in Crookston; it effectively spread its propaganda about free homesteads and assistance for group settlement through newspaper advertising and general publicity. It was to this promising news that the growing Jevning, Finseth, and Anderson families responded, surely

propelled in part by the lack of land for the next generation around Crookston.<sup>16</sup>

**TAKING UP THE DOMINION** agent’s offer of free transportation to inspect the Canadian land in the spring of 1893, Martin Finseth, Nels Jevning, and two other area farmers, Andrew Malmberg and John Wallerbeck, determined to make the arduous journey to the Canadian West. Their goal was the country along the recently completed Calgary-Edmonton line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, more than a thousand travel miles away. (While they were exploring central Alberta, immigrants originally from the Norwegian districts of Hedmark, Numedal, and Ringerike were also moving to that same part of Alberta from the Fosston area in Minnesota’s Polk County. New Norway, as this settlement was called, later received many Norwegian settlers, especially from South Dakota, and prospered.)<sup>17</sup>

Finseth and Jevning’s return to Crookston in 1893 with glowing reports of the Canadian West’s potential inspired the next year’s larger exploration party. This group, also headed by Finseth and Jevning, included Peter Anderson, son of the aging Bersvend Anderson. Another group member was John Lerbekmo from Salangen, Norway, a district just west of Bardo, who had emigrated to western Minnesota the previous year. (In 1895 his wife Dorthea emigrated directly to Alberta with their three children, accompanied by Lerbekmo’s brother Carl, demonstrating in one family the prairie provinces’ two sources of population growth.)<sup>18</sup>

The 1894 exploration was successful, and later that year the Bardo settlement was founded just a few miles north of New Norway. Guide Edmund Thompson





Into the twentieth century, Bardo settlers often lived in log houses such as this one built in 1894, also home to the community's first church services (photo about 1914).

helped the landseekers from Crookston register their sections, surveyed the year before, at the government land office at East Beaver Lake. The site selected for Bardo was on Amisk Creek south of Beaverhill Lake. By Canadian law each homesteader had to live on his or her land half of the year and break five acres each year. In three years settlers received title to the land and became naturalized Canadian citizens.

Surviving accounts suggest that not all the men were pleased with the land in Canada. Some thought it a mistake to abandon the Crookston district for a home in the wilderness and returned. Others, including Martin Finseth, Nels Jevning, Peter Anderson, and John Lerbekmo, liked what they found and never returned to Crookston. They were joined by others

who responded to their unqualifiedly positive telegram and quickly started for Canada with several carloads of goods and provisions.<sup>19</sup>

**ACCORDING TO RAGNA STEEN** and Magda Hendrickson, who grew up in the colony and later wrote the brief but captivating account *Pioneer Days in Bardo, Alberta*, 44 men, women, and children from Minnesota's Red River Valley, including Bersvend Anderson, moved to the Bardo settlement that first year. The next year, 11 more joined them, some directly from Norway, including Lerbekmo's family, and some from the United States. In 1896 and 1897 six married men with families and two single men joined them from across the American border.<sup>20</sup>

From 1900 on, most immigrants to Bardo arrived directly from Bardo, Norway, although some initially stopped with kin in the Crookston area for a short time. In 1901, for instance, when some 44 Bardudøls crossed the Atlantic—a high point in emigration from the community—as many as 19 gave Wetaskiwin, Alberta, as their final destination, presumably to join family and previous neighbors in the Bardo settlement. Only 10 were destined for the Red River Valley of Minnesota. For the years 1900 to 1904, Steen and Hendrickson provide an incomplete list of 113 settlers (in some cases giving only household heads). Of these settlers, 68, or about three-fifths, were from Bardo, Norway. They either emigrated directly or via Crookston to the expanding community of Bardudøls on the western prairie that stood ready to receive and assist newcomers. Letters and prepaid tickets from established kinfolk and acquaintances there applied powerful pressures on those at home to join them in the Canadian West.<sup>21</sup>

Primitive pioneer conditions persisted in central Alberta, however, for years into the twentieth century. Many farmers lived great distances from towns reached only over boggy prairie trails that wound around lakes, across streams, and through the often flooded gullies of the Beaver Hills. As the previous generation had done in Minnesota, many resided in sod cellars or log cabins with sod roofs until better dwellings could be erected with logs hauled from hills miles away. Institutions and social life sprang up quickly, however. A Lutheran congregation formed in 1895, with the elderly Bersvend Anderson conducting services in the settlers' homes. A dedicated church building stood ready in 1908 as a religious and social center.<sup>22</sup>

In 1896 the resourceful settlers hired Peter Finseth, Martin Finseth's son, to conduct classes for the children until a public school district was organized two years later. The women of the

community founded the Bardo Ladies' Aid Society, and bazaars and mission meetings became important community-building social events. The existence of a literary society, a young people's choir, and a brass band suggested the cultural interests and social needs of a self-contained community. So did the marksmanship match of the rifle club held during the May 17 Norwegian independence celebration in 1899, the idealistic activities of the Fram temperance society, and the many picnics and social gatherings the settlers arranged. In 1900 the first wedding took place in the log schoolhouse, and two years later the enterprising Martin Finseth opened the Bardo Store. The Bardo post office, opened in 1904 following a successful petition to adopt that name, proudly identified the origin of the settlers.

Bardo's economic base was farming, and throughout western Canada, Norwegians, as well as Swedes and Danes, engaged almost exclusively in agriculture. Primitive farming equipment, a short growing season, and the challenges of finding varieties of wheat and other

**By 1899, Bardo's families had several dozen children attending public school.**





**Syttende Mai celebration in Camrose near Bardo, 1911**

crops suitable to the far northern climate meant, however, that it would be years before central Alberta became one of Canada's major wheat-growing areas.<sup>23</sup>

**THE NATURAL STATE** of a population may be immobility, but as historian Marcus Lee Hansen has written, "When the ties did snap and the farmers sought new lands, then also history was made." The migration odyssey of the Bardudøls that began in southern Norway and finally ended in the American and Canadian Middle West demonstrates Hansen's "mankind in motion" over several generations. Their experiences show how

the bonds of family and community determined the nature and direction of migrations. By moving to new lands, people transplanted and grew new rural communities, each existing in a different environment and confronting changing challenges and conditions. The Bardo community in Norway, itself a transplanted community, successfully uprooted and replanted itself twice, first in the Red River Valley and then in central Alberta. In this communal migration, linguistic and social linkages, reinforced by shared values based on kinship, community, and institutional ties, insured the Bardudøls' eventual success.<sup>24</sup> □

## NOTES

1. Ragna Steen and Magda Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo, Alberta* (Tofield, Alberta: Historical Society of Beaver Hills Lake, 1944), 22–23; Gulbrand Loken, *From Fjord to Frontier: A History of the Norwegians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1980), 64–65.

2. Eystein Eggen, *Bardu bygdebok* (Bardu, Norway: Bygdeboksnemnda, 1950, 1960), 1: 14–17; Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 15–19, 22–27. In 1882 the Dominion of Canada's Northwest Territories was divided into four provisional districts, one named Alberta, but not until 1905 did population growth spur the creation of two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

3. O. M. Norlie, *Norsk lutherske prester i Amerika* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing Co., 1914), 164; Eggen, *Bardu bygdebok*, 1: 226, 2: 85–86, 359–60, 428, 487–88; Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 15–16, 101–11, 227–28.

Forms of personal names in this article are those used after coming to America. In the emigrant protocols, Bersvend Anderson is listed as Bersvend Andersen Bonæs and Nels Jevning as Niels Johansen; both are identified as farmers.

4. Here and three paragraphs below, Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 101–11; Carlton C. Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement in the United States* (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938), 126–28; Eggen, *Bardu bygdebok*, 2: 376–77, 492; *Bicentennial History of Polk County, Minnesota: Pioneers of the Valley* (Crookston: Polk County Historical Society, 1976), 375–76, 427, 434; T. M. McCall, *Centennial History of Polk County* (Crookston: Board of County Commissioners, 1961), n. p.

5. Eggen, *Bardu bygdebok*, 1: 18–34, 39, 78–83. In 1866 Finnmark and Troms became separate counties.

6. Eggen, *Bardu bygdebok*, 1: 150–51, 156–57; Andres A. Svalestuen, “Om den regionale spreininga av norsk utvandring før 1865,” in *Utvandringa—det store oppbrotet*, ed. Arnfinn Engen (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1978), 57–85.

7. Ingrid Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. [W. Nygaard], vol. 1, 1941, vol. 2, 1950), 1: 419.

8. Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*, 2: 80.

9. Here and below, Eggen, *Bardu bygdebok*, 1: 156–57, 2: 484–502; K. G. Nilsen, *Østerdølenes saga* (Duluth: Fuhr Publishing and Printing Co., 1938), 154–72, 176–87; Odd S. Lovoll, *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 23–29; Julie E. Backer, *Ekteskap, fødsler og vandringer i Norge 1856–1960* (Oslo: Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1965), 166–67.

10. Carlton C. Qualey and Jon A. Gjerde, “The Norwegians,” in *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups*, ed. June D. Holmquist (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981), 223; Karel Denis Bicha, *The American Farmer and the Canadian West, 1896–1914* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1968), 9–31.

11. Kenneth O. Bjork, “Scandinavian Migration to the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1893–1914,” in *Norwegian-American Studies* (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association,

1974), 26: 4, 5.

12. Bjork, “Scandinavian Migration,” 5; Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 217–19.

13. Here and below, Hedges, *Building the Canadian West*, 32–61, 70, 126–29; Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement, 1896–1934* (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1936), 53–64.

14. England, *Colonization of Western Canada*, 250, 258.

15. England, *Colonization of Western Canada*, 250, 258; Bjork, “Scandinavian Migration,” 20–22. Bicha, *The American Farmer and the Canadian West*, 9–11, states that 590,000 Americans entered farming in the Canadian prairie provinces between 1896 and 1914.

16. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West*, 136, 227–28.

17. Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 16–17, 225; England, *Colonization of Western Canada*, 256. The Canadian Pacific played an important part in inducing another group of Norwegian settlers from the Crookston area to go to the West Coast, where they founded a colony in 1894 in the Bella Coola River Valley of British Columbia.

18. Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 225, 227; England, *Colonization of Western Canada*, 256; Eggen, *Bardu bygdebok*, 2: 347–53.

19. Loken, *From Fjord to Frontier*, 64; Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 23–25.

20. Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 227–28.

21. Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 227–28; Eggen, *Bardu bygdebok*, 2: 493–94.

22. Here and below, England, *Colonization of Western Canada*, 256–58; Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 79–81, 94, 96–97, 104–06, 113–15, 121–22, 126–27, 150, 189–90.

23. England, *Colonization of Western Canada*, 156, 256–58.

24. Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (1940; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 3, 13. By 1907 most of the best land had been taken. Thereafter some newer Bardo residents from Norway, not satisfied working for the settlers who preceded them, moved several hundred miles northwest to the Peace River district. See Steen and Hendrickson, *Pioneer Days in Bardo*, 196–200. For an excellent study on communal migrations, see Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835–1915* (Uppsala, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988).

*The photos on p. 359 and 365 are from Steen and Hendrickson's Pioneer Days in Bardo, Alberta (1944); on p. 366, from Loken's From Fjord to Frontier; on p. 364, courtesy Camrose Museum Society, Alberta. All the other images, including the Syttende Mai celebration in South Dakota's Deuel and Codington Counties on p. 356–57 and the farm field in Saskatchewan's Stewart Valley on p. 362–63, are from the MHS collections. The maps were drawn by Lois Stanfield.*



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