

# 'A Paper for the Scandinavians in Edmonton': The Norwegian Immigrant Experience in Alberta as Recorded in the Norwegian-Language Paper *Vikingen*

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**ABSTRACT:** Of the more than 2,000 Scandinavian newspapers published in North America prior to World War I, few have been preserved for posterity. One long-forgotten paper recently resurfaced: the Norwegian language newspaper *Vikingen* of Edmonton, Alberta, published by the Scandinavian Literary and Youth Societies on the eve of World War I. A survey of *Vikingen*'s editorials provides an insight into an active and vibrant community, struggling to retain its Scandinavian identity while trying to establish itself in Canadian society. Nostalgia for the old country and a certain alienation from the mainstream Anglo-Saxon society found an outlet in an intense Norwegian patriotism and a backward-looking cultural nostalgia. *Vikingen* gives us a glimpse of the lively social and political life of the Scandinavian pioneers in Western Canada and lets us revisit the keen debates surrounding suffrage rights, immigration, and alcohol prohibition.

**RÉSUMÉ:** Des deux milles journaux scandinaves publiés en Amérique du nord avant la première guerre mondiale, très peu de ces périodiques ont été conservés jusqu'à nos jours. Un de ces journaux disparus vient de refaire surface—le journal de langue norvégienne *Vikingen* publié peu avant la première guerre mondiale à Edmonton en Alberta par la Scandinavian Literary and Youth Societies. Une vue d'ensemble des articles éditoriaux de *Vikingen* démontre l'effort fourni par cette communauté active pour maintenir son identité scandinave tout en s'efforçant de s'intégrer à la société canadienne. Les articles témoignent d'une nostalgie pour le pays d'origine ainsi qu'un sentiment de séparation et d'isolement parmi une société principalement anglo-saxonne – ces préoccupations semblent se traduire par un regard rétrospectif sur la culture d'origine et un profond patriotisme norvégien. *Vikingen* nous laisse entrevoir l'expression culturelle dynamique de ces pionniers scandinaves de l'ouest du Canada ainsi que plusieurs aspects de leur vie politique active. Ce journal nous permet de revisiter les débats intenses de l'époque tel le droit de suffrage, l'immigration, et la prohibition de l'alcool.

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The years 1910-1914 were the apogee of Scandinavian immigrant culture in North America (Barton 210). The numbers of Scandinavian-born North Americans reached their peak and the political climate allowed acceptance of Northern and Western European immigrant culture. The Scandinavian press flourished. By 1910, no fewer than 1158 Swedish-American newspapers and journals had been founded in North America (Beijbom 221). In addition, between 1847 and 1925, there had been some 500 Norwegian papers in North America (Loken 168).

One of these newspapers was *Vikingen*, a local paper in the Norwegian language, published bi-monthly by a literary society called the *Skandinaviske Ungdomsforening i Edmonton* [the Scandinavian Youth Club in Edmonton] (*Vikingen*, No. 1, 13 December 1911, 1). The language of the publication was almost exclusively Norwegian *riksmål*, with a few individual articles in *landsmål* and English. The expressed purpose of the publication was to keep the members of the community informed about the activities of the local Scandinavian community in Edmonton and Northern Alberta. “Den skal have som sit formål at holde medlemmerne underrettet om nyhederne blandt Skandinaverne i Edmonton og omegn” [Its objective is to keep the members informed about the news among the Scandinavians in Edmonton and its surroundings] (Ibid.). The editor of the paper had high ambitions, and intended to expand its circle of readers to all Scandinavians in America and to have the paper’s coverage expanded beyond merely local news.

*Vikingen* udkommer som regel 2 gange hver maaned. —Det er et originalt og meget literært blad, tilægnet hele det skandinaviske folk i America. Bladet leverer den bedste folkelige læsning, ved berømte skandinavisk Americanske [sic] forfattere, som det er muligt at faa.

[As a rule, *Vikingen* is published bi-weekly. It is an original and very literary paper, for all Scandinavians in (North) America. The paper delivers the best available popular reading, by the best known Scandinavian American authors which it is possible to get.]

(Haakon Floen, “Til Abonenterne!” *Vikingen*, No. 14, 2 October 1912)

While these ambitious plans did not materialize, *Vikingen* did become a forum for literary discussion, a polemical arena for debating the political issues of the day in Canadian, American and Scandinavian politics. Two topics in particular attracted special attention—women’s suffrage rights and the burning issue of alcohol prohibition.

*Vikingen* published poems of varying quality, written by members of the Norwegian community. Many of the literary contributions allegorically depicted

the members of the society as fearless explorers and brave Vikings, the successors of Leif Eriksson and Bjarni Herjólfsson. The Scandinavian societies in Edmonton were extremely active. They arranged popular lecture series, occasionally with extraordinary guest speakers.

This publication offers a glimpse into the life of the Scandinavian community in Edmonton. It gives an insight into everyday concerns of the Edmonton Scandinavians, their political and cultural preoccupations, and their attitudes toward other immigrant communities.

To date no copies of the printed newspaper have been found, but the original hand-written master copies for the paper have survived and are in very good condition. In 1996 they were presented to the local Sons of Norway Lodge 143, *Solglyt*, by one of its members, Astrid Hope. She in turn had received the material from a member of the Lutheran Church that she attended (Domier 2004). The master copies of the articles printed in *Vikingen* were all entered into large, 300-page legal size volumes before being type-set and published in the form of a newspaper or newsletter.<sup>1</sup>

While no copies of the paper appear to have been preserved, it is reasonable to assume that *Vikingen* actually appeared as a printed paper.<sup>2</sup> *Vikingen* is consistently referred to in the two volumes as a “paper.” In any case, *Vikingen* had both an editor and a co-editor. One year’s subscription cost CAD \$8.75, one year’s back issues CAD \$7.77. The newsstand price for one issue was 19.5¢. Ads and announcements were 11¢ per word (Unsigned article “Oplysning om Bladets formål,” *Vikingen*, No. 1, 13 Dec 1911, 1). Reports on a strike among the printshop workers in 1912 are a further indication that *Vikingen* was type-set and printed.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the paper’s existence, the editor’s office moved from 862 McDougall Avenue (*Vikingen*, No. 22, 16 March 1913) to the printing house at 115 Kennedy Street;<sup>4</sup> to the notice of this move was added the comment “Alle maskjinerne er installerede og færdige til bruk” [All the presses are installed and ready for use] (Unsigned article, *Vikingen*, No. 42, [n.d.—February 1914?], volume 2, 60).

This essay is based on the hand-written original manuscripts for *Vikingen*. The hand-written Norwegian texts are cited verbatim, complete with grammatical and spelling errors, to give the reader a sense of their stylistic peculiarities. The texts provide a sense of the varying backgrounds and education levels of the contributors. The English into which the Norwegian is translated is conversely Standard English.

Unfortunately, most of the entries are unsigned. So it is not always easy to orient oneself among the different contributors to the paper. The Scandinavian community in Edmonton was of limited size. The authors appear to have supposed that the reader would be able to identify the contributing writers. There were only 301 Norwegians in Alberta in 1901 (Loken 76). The 1901 Canadian census gives the following numbers of Scandinavians in Edmonton itself:

Swedes	6
Danes	19
Norwegians	29 (Loken 76)

In the 1906 census the numbers of Scandinavians had increased to

Swedes	15 (Domier “Swedes in Edmonton”)
Danes	62 (Domier “Danes in Edmonton”)
Norwegians	44 (Domier “Nor[wegians] in Edmonton in 1906”)

*Vikingen*'s hand-written books list the number of members of the Scandinavian Literary Society between 1905 and 1915 as 73 (Domier “Nor[wegians]—Edmonton 1904”). The Sons of Norway formed *Nordpolen* Lodge No. 143 on April 21, 1913 (*Sønner av Norge Årsbok 1939* 28; Domier 2003 1). For the year 1913-1914, they had 49 paying members (Domier “Sons of Norway Members”). Yet these figures may not accurately reflect the number of Norwegians in Edmonton. Other contemporary sources record a far higher number. In an interview with the *Edmonton Bulletin* on February 5, 1913, Ludvig Saxe, from *Nordmanns Forbundet* in Kristiania, comments: “An effort has been made to form a ‘Sons of Norway Society’ in Edmonton, where there are probably in the neighbourhood of 1,000 Norwegians” (*Edmonton Bulletin*, 5 February 1913). Probably Saxe included in this number the Norwegians within a radius of 100-150 km of Edmonton, an area where many Norwegian farmers had settled.<sup>5</sup> World War I came as a severe blow to the lodge, for many of the most active members were drafted into the army. As was the case with the *Skandinaviske Ungdomsforening/Skandinaviske Litterære forening*, the activities of *Nordpolen* almost ceased, since there was little interest in the club during the war. The lodge was not reorganized until 1927 when it was given the new name *Solglyt* (*Sønner av Norge Årsbok 1939*, 28; see also Hansen). The 1914 *Henderson's Directory For Greater Edmonton* lists 30 Norwegians in the city (Domier “Nor[wegians] in Edmonton, 1914”).

The Scandinavian community in Edmonton was thus fairly small, but very active, as many of the local Scandinavians were involved in local Scandinavian cultural events. The people behind *Vikingen* were also active in *Nordpolen*. Its first editor was the warehouseman Haakon E. Floen.<sup>6</sup> Other contributors were the music professor Alfred Lee (Lie),<sup>7</sup> the writer Leland, the musician and professor Rolf C. Brekke (Brocke),<sup>8</sup> the humourist Bowness,<sup>9</sup> the historian and critic Ola Veggum (Weggum), doctor Knut Finseth,<sup>10</sup> and G. Sörenson, *Nordpolen*'s regent (Unsigned article, “Det siste blad,” *Vikingen*, No. 35, 8 September 1913, 300).<sup>11</sup>

Besides these Scandinavian cultural societies, there were several Scandinavian stores, such as Stockholm Café at 848 101<sup>st</sup> Street, Scandia House at 10139 106<sup>th</sup> Street and Swea Fruit Store at 10267 (811) 101<sup>st</sup> Street. There were also two Scandinavian Lutheran Churches: the First Scandinavian Lutheran Church under Rev. T.E. Knudson, founded in 1909 on the corner of Willard and Gallagher (94<sup>th</sup> Street and 109A Avenue), and the United Lutheran Church at 1044 Kinistino (today 96<sup>th</sup> Street), under Rev. O.T. Nelson (Domier “Nor[wegians] in Edmonton, 1914” and Domier “Norwegians Founded”). The United Lutheran Church opened October 19, 1913, and became the new meeting place for the Edmonton Scandinavians (Leland, *Vikingen*, No. 36, 21 October 1913, volume 2, 19). Previously, cultural events such as discussion meetings, literature lectures, and poetry recitals, had been held in the German Lutheran Church. The relations between the German Lutherans and the less-than-pious *Skandinaviske Litterære forening* were not free of conflict. Following some apparently loud festivities in the German Lutheran Church, the Scandinavians were evicted, forcing them to look for an alternative meeting place.

Det er nok saa, at det ikke er bare for at lege, vi har vor forening, men lidt uskyldig moro skader dog ikke. Man skulde næsten fristes til at tro, at man var hensat til pietistmets mørkeste tider i 1770-80 aarene, naar man hørte kirketjeneren tale om formegen støi o.s.v. Hvis det havde været en katolik, som havde en slig opfatning af kristendommen, skulde jeg ikke sagt eller tænkt saa meget om det; men at en luteraner skulde se saa mørkt og forvrangt paa sagen, vakte min største forundring.

[While our society does not exist for entertainment purposes alone, a little innocent fun does not hurt. One is almost tempted to think, that we were brought back to the darkest times of pietism in the 1770s and 1780s, when we heard the [German Lutheran] sexton talk about too much noise and so on. Had it been a Catholic, who had such an attitude about Christianity, I would not have thought or said so much about it; but that a Lutheran would have such a dark and distorted view caused my greatest surprise.]

(Unsigned article, “Hvad Skal vi Gjøre?” *Vikingen*, No. 21, 19 February 1913, 198)

The question of finding an alternative meeting place to the German Lutheran Church arose more than once (Unsigned article, *Vikingen*, No. 19, 8 January 1913, 180; unsigned article, “Hvad Skal vi Gjøre?” *Vikingen*, No. 21, 19 February 1913, 198). During the period before the completion of the United Lutheran Church the Scandinavian Literary Society met at the Blue Moon Tea Room (Unsigned article, *Vikingen*, No. 22, 16 March 1913, 203).

To the Norwegian community, the Lutheran religion was an important identity marker. Yet religious topics were of secondary concern to *Vikingen*'s

editors. Instead, the most divisive issue in the community was the question of female suffrage, a debate that was raging across the western world.<sup>12</sup>

*Vikingen* was published during the years when the debate was at its most intense. During the first year of its publication, *Vikingen* aggressively and categorically opposed female suffrage, and questioned the very assumption that women were capable of governing. Yet already towards the end of the period of publication the aggressive tone of 1911-1912 had mellowed considerably.

Min væsentlige analyse gjaldt om de, af Kvinderne som forlanger almindelig stemmeret og som besitter de nødvendige qualificationer at udøve dem—om de sat inde med makten at bruke den ... Kvinderne [har] endnu ikke hævdet sig over sin eller mændenes humanitet, —de ... tilhører en falden slægt, og som saadan vilde de knapt være istand til at retfærdiggjøre vor politik.

[The essential question in my analysis is whether those women who demand universal suffrage and possess the necessary qualifications to exercise it—possess the necessary strength to use it ... Women (have) still not established their claim to their own or to men's humanity. They ... belong to a fallen tribe, and as such they are hardly qualified to participate in the (male) political culture.]  
(Unsigned editorial, *Vikingen*, No. 6, 17 April, 1912, 53-54)

The opposition to women's suffrage rested mainly on the argument that change for the sake of change was not logical. The editor of *Vikingen* argued that it would be a grave humiliation to the proud sons of Vikings and conquerors to be ruled by women. He claimed that history had firmly established women's intellectual inferiority to men, and worried that empowering women would return the sons of Norway to medieval darkness.<sup>13</sup>

Muligens det mest væsentlige, eller det stærkeste argument for eders stemmeret var at den var indført i Norge, men i dette var en likesaa væsentlig ufuldstændighed—næmlig den, at endnu er ikke eders gode frugter af eders stemmeret—der—bleven moden ... Forandring for forandringens skyld er ingen logik ... Den dag kommer vist aldrig da vi—vikingestammens skud, skulde styres og regjeres af bløde kvindehænder—eller lules ind i en diplomatisk søvn af pure kjedelighed. Om saa da kommer 400 aarig-natten igjen til at ruge ikke over apekatten men over et folk, som trodde sig selv paa høide med verdens mest fremskredne kulturstater ... Jeg vil ikke gaa ind paa nogen navngjærning, eller paabevise den intellekte forskjel mellem [sic] mand og kvinde. Men saa langt er det vi som har været kulturens bærere, og civilizationens advancegarde.—ikke bare i den materiale verden er udødeligheten i vor kunst indpræget—men ogsaa i tankens rike har vi bygget verker der høiner og hævder sig, —og som i dag skinner i morgensolens glands like klart og lysende, som i de dage da Phidias forskjønner Athenernes Parthenon, og Plato ad tænkningen udroper slægtens udødelighet—og stadfæster dens gudommelighet.

[Perhaps the most essential, or strongest argument for your suffrage was that it has been introduced in Norway, yet we have not seen the consequences of this (reform). The fruits of universal suffrage (in Norway) have still not ripened ... Change, for the sake of change, is not logical ... That day will certainly never come when we—the descendants of the race of the Vikings, would be ruled and governed by soft female hands—or be rocked into a diplomatic sleep of pure boredom. If that happens, the 400-year-night<sup>14</sup> will again descend on a people, which thought itself equal with the most advanced civilized countries of the world ... I do not want to do any name calling, or prove the intellectual difference between man and woman. But up until this point it has been (we men) who have been the bearers of culture, and the avant-garde of civilization. Not only in the material world is immortality engraved in our art—but also in the realm of thought have we built works which have risen and hold their ground—and which today shine in the radiance of the morning sun just as clearly and radiantly as during those days when Phidias decorated the Parthenon of the Athenians, and Plato through philosophy proclaimed the immortality of our race—and confirmed its divine nature.]  
(Unsigned article, *Vikingen*, No. 6, 17 April 1912, 54-55)

*Vikingen's* editor was particularly concerned about the harm that could be caused by rhetorically skilled women without the biological endowments needed to think deep thoughts:

Kvinderne er lettalende, undtagelsevis ogsaa veltalende, —men skjelden eller aldrig dybtænkende. Derfor taler de saa meget og siger saa lidet. Kvinderne i det heletaget ligner fuglene under himmelen—De tiltaler os ved sit væsen, sin sang og sin flugt. Vi beundrer deres skarpsindighed i at udvælge en plats for sit rede, samt deres ferdighed i at bygge det.

[Women speak with ease, in exceptional cases also well—but seldom or never are they capable of thoughts of any depth. Therefore they talk a great deal but say very little. On the whole, women resemble the birds of the sky—they appeal to us through their nature, their song and flight. We admire their acumen in choosing a place for their nest, as well as their skills in preparing it.]  
(Unsigned article, *Vikingen*, No. 6, 17 April 1912, 56)

*Vikingen's* editor feared that women would lose their femininity if voting rights extended to them. However, he found some comfort in the fact that providence itself was on the side of the opponents of female suffrage. “Forsynet selv har skabt og indsadt enhver function af skaperverket i sin tilværende plads; —og uten tvivl var i kvinder tilltænkte at være kvindlige” [Providence itself has created and established each function of creation in its current place. Women were, without doubt, intended to be feminine] (Unsigned article, *Vikingen*, No. 6, 17 April 1912, 56).

The editors reserved particular scorn for British suffragettes, whose militancy editor Alfred Lee often ridiculed.

Forskjæl.

Nyligen mødte Canadas literært intereserte kvinder her i byen. *Vikingen* fik dog ikke en eneste linje fra dem. Havde det vært i Norge, vilde *Vikingen* vært begravet i skrivepapir. Vi faar imidlertid prise os lykkelige, at vi lever i det fredlige Canada, hvor kvindene er fromme som duer. Havde et slikt kvindemøde vært holdt i England, vilde sannsynligvis stadens vinduer faat ungjælde, hvis ikke de smukke har brugt bomber paa det sterke kjøen forat faa dem under toffelen.

[Difference.

Recently, Canadian women with literary interests met here in the city. *Vikingen*, though, did not get a single line from them. Had this been in Norway, *Vikingen* would have been buried in writing paper. Still, we have to praise our good fortune, that we live in peaceful Canada, where the women are gentle as doves. Had a similar meeting been held in England, all the windows of the city would have paid a price, if the fair sex had not used bombs on the strong sex in order to hen-peck it.]

(Alfred Lee, "Forskjæl," *Vikingen*, No. 28, 17 June 1913, 249)

To be sure, these slurs do not seem to have gone unopposed by the women in the community. Several women, as well as socialist males in the society expressed their opposition to these attitudes. "Når kvinden har opnaaet lige rettigheder med manden, vil vi se et renere politisk liv, et renere socialt liv og mere forstaaelsesfulde hjem" [When women have achieved equal rights with men, we will see a cleaner political life, a cleaner social life and more understanding homes] (Unsigned article, "Kvindens rettigheter i samfundet," *Vikingen*, No. 33, 2 August 1913, 290).

The impact of developments in their native country can be seen as the more extreme opposition to female suffrage was weakened significantly after Norway in 1913 extended full suffrage rights to women. A number of articles in favour of women's rights appear towards the end of the short lifespan of the paper. Some of the articles are written by women in favour of suffrage and women's rights. Already the fact that Marie Curie was awarded the her second Nobel prize, in Physics, in 1911 was seen as a proof that women indeed were capable of the same achievements as men.

Kvindene [har] virkelig taget en aktiv del i verdensudviklingen på alle områder; udenom at være mødre til alle de storskoltede mænd som verden har så mange af ... Nobelstiftelsens pris blev dette år uddelt til en fransk dame, for hendes opfindelse af Radium, og forøvrigt alle hendes værdifulde opfindelser på medicinens område, og det påstås at hun af udseende er lig os andre kvinder.

[Women (have) truly taken an active part in the development of the world in all areas, in addition to being mothers to all those big-headed men, which the world has so many of ... The Prize of the Nobel Committee was this year awarded to a French lady, for her discovery of Radium, and for all her other valuable discoveries within the field of medicine, and it is claimed that she looks like all us other women.] (Signature Ærbørdigst en Norrøna-jente [Courtesy of a Norrøna girl], "Et svar til Kvindehaderen" [A Reply to the Women-hater], *Vikingen*, No. 5, March 1912, 44-45)

At a public discussion organized by the literary society, the opponents of female suffrage found themselves under attack from female members who demanded the same voting rights in Canada as Norwegian women had already achieved.

The leader on the affirmative side—or the women [sic] side—was Sieverts. He was applauded from the kitchen, —which by the way is said to be the womens [sic] stronghold—by a bunch of suffragets [sic], who clearly showed on which side they were. The rattling of dishes cept [sic] the speakers on the negative side in fear of being made a target for the furious suffragets [sic], while they were speaking. The coffee and cakes saved the day for the womens [sic]. Even a bachelor like the president said in closing the debate on the negative side, that he could smell the coffee and that he would let the coffee and cakes settle the question. Mr. Sieverts were [sic] told by one of the fair ones that he decerved [sic] sugar in the coffee for the speech he made for the womens [sic] cause. The fellows on the negative side got looks from those they were denying equal right [sic], that was enough to freeze any body [sic] to the backbone. The secretary of the society had afterwards in the kitchen an awful time explaining away, why womens [sic] should not have equal rights.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the arguments advanced in favour of female suffrage were based upon notions of racial hierarchies, which were never questioned by the paper. One of the arguments advanced was that current Canadian laws treated Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian women worse than people of "undesirable" races and nationalities. Ironically, racial hierarchy was used as an argument for promoting equality between the sexes, at least among the "civilized" peoples of Canada. Under the heading "Skulde kvinden have lige retigheder med Manden?" [Should women have the same rights as men?], the "Ole Canuck" writes the following:

Hvorfor ikke give kvinderne de samme rettigheder som manden? Hvorfor giver ikke den Canadiske rejering homesteads til sine egne døttre, når de giver dem bort til mandfolk—av nær sagt alle nationer—baade halvville og forbrytere. De giver disse siste retigheder som borgere, mens deres egne kvinder, der kjænder landets forhold, og derfor har betingelser for at være med at styre landet, saa det kunde

gaa fremover baade i den ene og anden henseende, de nægtes simpelthen disse retigheder.

[Why not give the women the same rights as men? Why doesn't the Canadian government give homesteads to their own daughters, when they give them away to men of almost all nations—both semi-barbarians and criminals? They give these latter people citizenship rights, while their own women, who know the conditions in the country, and therefore are well qualified to participate in the governance of the country, so that it could advance in various respects, are simply denied these rights.]

(*Vikingen*, No. 35, 23 September 1913, volume 2, 3)

As one of these “halvvilde” or “semibarbarian” nations, *Vikingen* clearly designates the Ukrainians, or the “Russians,” which was the term the paper used to refer to them. Among the major political events during these years were the two Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913, the first one fought by (Orthodox) Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Romania against (Muslim) Turkey, the second one fought by Serbia, Greece and Romania against Bulgaria. *Vikingen* puts its own spin on these events: “Det er intet under at krigen mellem Balkanstaterne føres med den største vildhed; de er alle katolske—og dertil græskkatolsk” [It is no wonder that the wars between the Balkan states are conducted with the utmost cruelty; they are all Catholics—and Greek Rite Catholics on top of that] (Alfred Lee, Unsigned notice, *Vikingen*, No. 30, 15 July 1913, 263).

The Scandinavians themselves often felt their race and culture was superior to the Anglo-Saxon mainstream society and did not like being looked down upon. Often, the institutionalized racism of the new country provided the Scandinavians with a tool they were able to use for their own purposes. Even if they generally ended up as second to the Anglo-Saxons in the ethnic hierarchy in Canada, the Scandinavians were still counted as one of the “preferred” and assimilable groups of immigrants. They were generally considered superior to Americans, who often were thought to be contaminated by republicanism, and therefore held suspect as potential troublemakers and not necessarily worthy of becoming His Majesty’s subjects. Beneath the Americans were the Slavs and Magyars, who were considered superstitious and backward. Beneath these, in turn, came the Southern Europeans, such as Italians and Greeks, who were considered ill-suited for the harsh Canadian climate. Still further down, were the Jews, thought to be tainted by Russian-inspired radicalism, not to mention their reputation as perennial outsiders and poor farmers. Closer to the bottom of the hierarchy came the small communities of Armenians, Sikhs and East Indians. Lower still were the Chinese and Japanese, who were considered unassimilable; strong forces wanted to restrict these to British Columbia, or at least keep them out of the Canadian mainstream society. Below them were the small communities of Blacks on the prairies, descendants of escaped slaves. At the very bottom of the hierarchy were the

Natives. The French were tolerated as long as they stayed in Quebec. Western Canada, the home of most Canadian Scandinavians was to be reserved for Anglo-Saxon or at least protestant farmers (Barber xii-xx).

Emphasizing their glorious Viking past and juxtaposing their own virtues to the perceived lack of virtues of the “semi-barbarian” peoples from Eastern Europe appear to have been an attempt by the Scandinavians to establish themselves as “good” Canadians, without giving up too much of their own identity. Indeed, the Scandinavians assimilated quickly and lost their languages as they became Canadianized, often within the second generation. Adopting some of the stereotypes of the Anglo-Saxon society helped the Scandinavians to establish their Canadian credentials and assert their place in the ethnic hierarchy, easing their entry into the Canadian mainstream.

The Scandinavian self-image was one of brave pioneers, explorers and risk-takers. They identified with the Vikings and saw the resurrected Norway as an embodiment of a “Viking spirit.” A highlight of the pre-war intellectual life of the Edmonton Scandinavian Community, was Roald Amundsen’s visit to the city in May, 1913.

Den 22de Mai holdt kaptein Amundsen et foredrag og fremviste lysbilleder fra sin færd til sydpolen. Foredraget holdtes i Methodistkirken. Paa en jevn og ligefrem maade fortalte han efterhvert som billederne kom frem om sin reise over isvidderne. Man kunde næsten fristes til at tro, det var en lystreise, hvis man ikke hørte om de uhyre afstande og det barske klima. De uhyre store, vilde og enformige ismarker, taler, desuden sit tørre (?) sprog, om hvor stor udholdenhed, styrke og dygtighed der skal til forat naa sydpolen. Scott expeditionens skjæbne og de andre nationers mislykkende forsøg på at naa polen, syner frem hvad stof det var i disse norske.

[On May 22, Captain Amundsen delivered a lecture and showed slides from his journey to the South Pole. The lecture was held in the Methodist Church. In a calm and dispassionate way he showed slides of his journey across the desolate icy plains, commenting on each picture. One would almost have been tempted to believe that this was a pleasure trip, had we not been reminded of the incredible distances and the harsh climate. The incredibly vast, wild and monotonous ice-fields speak in plain language about the great tenacity, strength and skill needed to reach the South Pole. The disaster of the Scott expedition and the failed attempts of other nations to reach the Pole show what kind of spirit these Norwegians possess. ]  
 (“Roald Amundsen,” *Vikingen*, No. 27, 6 June 1913, 246)

The glorious past and the virtuous present of Norway was often contrasted to the perceived lack of virtues of other immigrant groups, Slavs in particular.

There were both economic and political reasons behind the resentment of Slavic immigrants. The influx of unskilled labourers from Eastern Europe kept

wages down and weakened the bargaining position of the Scandinavian immigrant labourers. The Norwegians in Alberta tried to lobby the Liberal Party to prevent reduction of their wages through the “dumping” effect created by the influx of cheap Eastern European labour.

Her Smith skulde ... ordne og advertere alle sociale sammenkomster som fra tid til anden maatte arrangeres inden den den [sic] norske koloni—före det liberale parties sag under en valgkamp modtage penge fra det liberale parti baade her og i Ottawa afvende og forhindre russere i at komme her ut og arbeide for 1.50 per dag sælge avertissementer indkræve penge for samme samt i det heletaget at løfte det norske i sociale sammenkomster baade her i byen og ute ved Holden og Ryley [sic].

[Mr. Smith ... was supposed to organize and advertize all social gatherings which from time to time need to be organized within the Norwegian community—and to promote the cause of the Liberal Party during the election campaign. (We need to raise) money for the Liberal Party both here and in Ottawa, in order to prevent the Russians from coming here to work for \$1.50 a day. (We need) to sell advertisements, collect money for this purpose and generally promote things Norwegian in social gatherings both here in the city and out in Holden and Ryley.] (Co-editor, “Vikings Standhaftighed,” *Vikingen*, No. 42, n.d., volume 2, 84)

The political leanings of the wave of of Scandinavian immigrants to Canada around the turn of the century were generally left-of-centre. The political divide within the Scandinavian community in Edmonton at this time appears to have run between liberals and socialists, reflecting the social backgrounds of the immigrants. The Liberal Party attracted many immigrant votes. But populist Christian ideas, prohibitionism and anarchism appear to have exercised significant attraction. During the last few months prior to the outbreak of World War I, socialist and anti-war voices were heard in the paper.

Kampen staar nu mellom det kapitalistisk-militæristske ideal og det socialistiske. De er samfundets to poler. Socialistene faar stadig høre af sine modstandere at de er fædrelandsløse. Det er ikke sandt. Men der er en forskel i opfatningen av fædrelandet og dets stilling, som de andre partier ikke er opmærksom på. De maaler socialisterne med sine egne gamle maal ... Et folk, som frygter krig og ser sig omgitt av fare er let at regjere. Det er lydigt og offervilligt ... Rustninger føder krig, og krig avler ny krig. At ville avskaffe krigen ved stadig økede rustninger er at utdrive satan ved Belzebub. Det er noget graadig ved militærvennernes fædrelandsfølelse. De ønsker sit eget fædreland stort og mægtigt selv om det gaar ud over andres fædreland. Socialistenes syn kan formes slik: Mit fædrelands ret ophører der andres fædreland begynder ... Respekter andres fædreland, som du vil at andre skal respektere dit. Her er kjernepunktet i socialistenes fædrelandsfølelse.

[The struggle is between the capitalist-militarist ideal and the socialist ideal. They are the two poles in society. Socialists constantly hear from their opponents that they are without a homeland. That is not true. But there is a difference in the perception of the homeland and its position, which the other parties do not notice. They portray the Socialists in the light of their own old standards ... A people that fears war and sees itself surrounded by danger is easy to rule. It is obedient and prepared to sacrifice. Armaments give birth to war, and war generates new war. To want to abolish war by perpetually increased armaments is to drive out Satan with Beelzebub. There is something voracious about the patriotism of the militarists. They wish to see their own homeland great and powerful even if it causes the homeland of others to suffer. The view of the Socialists can be articulated thus: the rights of my homeland end where the homeland of others begins ... Respect other people's homeland, as you would want others to respect yours. This is the central point in the patriotism of the socialist.]

(Einar Lunde, "En tale af grosserer Einar Lunde," *Vikingen*, No. 44 (n.d. [June 1914?]), volume 2, 97-99)

Supporters of the Canadian Liberals were impressed by William Jennings Bryan and the Democrats in the United States, a country through which many of the Alberta Scandinavians had arrived.

Naar vi saa betænker, at han [Bryan] er en sand og opriktig kristen vil vi forstaa, hvorfor Wilsons administration allerede har magtet at udføre saa meget godt arbejde ... Wilson er selv total afholdsmand og bruger aldrig sterke drikke i sit hjem. Men Bryan gaar saa vidt, at han ved sine officielle banketter og middage, aldrig sætter vin eller andre sterke drikke paa sit bord. Gjæstene maa derfor nøie sig med almindelig ugjæret druesaft ... De, som saaledes forsvarer en last i frihedens navn, ved ikke hvad frihed er. Thi frihed er ikke fri anledning til at gjøre alt, som falder en i sinde, men dermed menes,—fri anledning at gjøre hvad en ved eller tror er ret ... Frihed til at stjæle eller gjøre andet galt findes ikke. Dersom anledning dertil gaves for nogen, vilde der blive alt andet end frihed for andre. Naar vi derfor taler om frihed mener vi frihed for samfundet, ikke frihed for individet, paa samfundets bekostning ... Dersom drukkenkap er en last, er den moralisk talt,—en forbrydelse og burde forbydes. Den eneste virksomme maade at forbyde den paa er at stanse tilvirkning af berusende drikke. Først naar dette sker, faar vi frihed, hvad drukkenkap angaar ... Men siger mange, det er ikke bra at diktere til nogen, hvad man skal drikke eller ikke drikke, det har vi ikke ret til. Men kjære dere, har vi ikke ret til at forbyde hvemsomhelst at drikke sig ihjæl paa gift, eller forgifte andre? Andre mener som saa, at det faar komme an paa ens egen vilje og behag enten man vil ødelægge sig med sterke drikke eller ei. Faar man man [sic] denne frihed, vælger man sikkert ædruelighed eller maadehold. Ja saaledes er det anarkistene tænker om alle andre forbrydelse.

[When we then consider that he (Bryan) is a true and sincere Christian, we will understand why Wilson's administration already has managed to accomplish so

much good work ... Wilson himself is a complete teetotaler and never uses strong drinks in his home. But Bryan goes so far, during his official banquets and dinners, as never to put wine or other strong drinks on his table. The guests therefore have to be content with regular, unfermented, grape juice ... Those who thus defend a vice in the name of freedom, do not know what freedom is. Because freedom is not a free opportunity to do everything that comes into your head, but rather by that is meant—the free opportunity to do what you know or believe to be right ... Freedom to steal and do other wrong things does not exist. If the opportunity for this were to be given to someone it would be everything but freedom for others. Therefore, when we speak about freedom, we mean freedom for society, not freedom for the individual at the expense of society ... Since drunkenness is a vice, it is, morally speaking, a crime, and ought to be forbidden. The only effective way to prohibit it is to stop the production of intoxicating drinks. Only when this happens, will we have freedom, as far as drunkenness is concerned ... But, many say, it is not good to dictate to anybody what he should drink or not drink, that we do not have the right to do. But, dear people, don't we have the right to prohibit anybody at all from drinking himself to death on poison or to poison others? Other people are of the opinion that it should be up to the individual if he wants to ruin himself with strong drinks or not. If one has this freedom, certainly he would choose soberness or moderation. Indeed, that is the way the anarchists think about all other crimes.]

(Unsigned article, "Nogle ting som yderverdenen kan lære os," *Vikingen*, No. 27, 2 June 1913, 240-43)

Politically, the Edmonton Norwegians seem to be fairly representative of the Norwegian-Canadians on the prairies. What is noteworthy is that even moderate socialists who favoured a republican form of government identified with the newly established Norwegian monarchy. However, enthusiasm for Norwegian royalty did not extend to the British monarchy and political rituals, which were seen as archaic or alien to the Scandinavian immigrants. When the new legislative building in Edmonton opened, *Vikingen's* correspondent had the following to say:

Vice guvernören, inhyllad i sin guldbroderede klær, forekom mig nesten som en sardin i en blikdaase. Dragten har til sine tider havt mere værdighed end den som bar den. Det ser dog i et hvert tilfælde lit naragtigt ut. Salen er udstyret med malerier av kongen og dronningen og en del poletikkere, Nei undskyld: - statsmænd ... Vice guvernören oplæste åbningstalen sittende, mens forsamlingen måtte staa. Dette forekom mig noget despotiskt.

[The lieutenant governor, wrapped in his gold-embroidered clothes, appeared to me like a sardine in a tin. The costume has from time to time had more dignity than the one who wore it. In any case, it looks a little ridiculous. The assembly hall is decorated with paintings of the King and Queen and a few politicians—excuse

me—statesmen ... The lieutenant governor read the opening address sitting, while the deputies had to stand. This struck me as somewhat despotic.]  
 (Unsigned article, "Alberta's Parliament åbnes," *Vikingen*, No. 35, 23 September 1913, volume 2, 4-5)

Although *Vikingen* embraced a number of different viewpoints, the editorial position was less flexible and it generated a considerable opposition. Indeed, there was an attempt made to establish a rival Norwegian paper in Edmonton.

*Vikingen* er fremdeles nordmændenes sterkeste organ her i Edmonton. Der har været gjort flere forsök paa at begynde en avis som opposisjon imot *Vikingen* men endnu har alle forsök strandet. For et par aar siden kom en af *Norröna's* redaksjons styrke herrud og begynde at ruske i den norske presse og ligne actier for et nyt norsk blad men *Vikingens* koldblodighed og bestemte optræden likeoverfor en rival tok modet væk endog fra det politiske geni hr. Liljan og følgen blev at *den norske settler* döde en naturlig död og begroves i Winnipeg i 1912. *Vikingens* medredactor fik liksom en opreisning ved *den norske settlers* hedengang.

[*Vikingen* is the strongest organ of the Norwegians here in Edmonton. Several attempts have been made to start a paper in opposition to *Vikingen* but so far all attempts have failed. A couple of years ago one of the strongmen of *Norröna's* editorial board came out here and began shaking up the Norwegian press and assessing stocks for a new Norwegian paper but the coldbloodedness and firm stance of *Vikingen* toward a rival took away the courage from even that political genius Mr. Liljan and as a result the the *Norwegian Settler* died a natural death and was buried in Winnipeg in 1912. The co-editor of *Vikingen* gained a sort of satisfaction at the demise of the *Norwegian Settler*.]

(Alfred Lee, "Vikingens Standhaftighed," *Vikingen*, No. 42, n.d., volume 2, 82.)

In regard to Norway and "Norwegianness," many of *Vikingen's* articles were intensely patriotic. The Norwegian achievement of full independence in 1905 was a source of immense national pride.

Maalet er naaet! Og idag staar vort land — Norge, som det frieste blandt frie riker paa jord. Og under glandsen af sin borgerkrands, kan nordmæn, med fryd, se tilbage paa sit folks — og lands udvikling i det aarhundrede, som svinder.

[The goal is achieved! And today our country—Norway, stands as the freest among free nations on earth. And in the civil wreath of its independence can the Norwegians, with joy, look back upon the past century, (the successes of which) make us dizzy.]

(Alfred Lee, "Vort National Minde!" *Vikingen*, No. 7, 8 May 1912, 64-65)

Yet the fact that Canadian society regarded Scandinavians as model immigrants was not only a source of pride. The cultural proximity to the Anglo-Saxon mainstream was also problematic. In particular, *Vikingen's* editors worried about the future of the Norwegian language, which was seen by first-generation immigrants as a carrier of Norwegian identity. The Norwegian language was soon pushed aside and replaced by English.

#### Patriotisme

Hvilken fremmed klang for mange norskfødte amerikanere. Hvilken afstand mellem det at tænke sig selv en patriot og det at være det. Den norske patriotisme; — jeg mener den, vi praktiserer over her,— er i sig selv et saa skuffende blendværk, at den mangler ofte det mindste fnug til inspiration ... At vi ikke er patrioter, merker sig først i vort sprog. Sproket er i mange henseende barometeret for et folks patriotisme og mer; den er det ogsaa for en nations kulturtrin. Intet folk er bleven beseiret som har bevaret sit sprog ... Engelsk maa vi tale, skal vi tale pent—engelsk maa bruges, naar der tales stykt. Ja, det er jo de "smarter" og lærdes sprog — og hvem er det ikke som ei vil være lærd? sproklig? ... Hos mange gjælder det at tale "brokekt" og halvblandet norsk forat bevise sin "superioriet" i engelsk ... Det er i det hele mangel paa finere aandsdannelse som gjør, at vi ikke skatter det sprog, som vore store mænd har brukt ... At reise det norske flag over et folk, som har forglemt sit folk og sit lands pligter, er haan.

#### [Patriotism

What an alien sound for many Norwegian-born Americans. What a distance between thinking of oneself as a patriot and (actually) being one. Norwegian patriotism—I mean the one we practice over here—is in itself such a disappointing delusion, that it often lacks the least particle of inspiration ... That we are not patriots is first noticed in our language. Language is in many respects the barometer for the patriotism of a people and more—it also is an indicator a nation's cultural level. No people, which has retained its language has ever been defeated ... We have to use English, when we want to speak politely—and we have to use English, when we want to speak nastily. No doubt, (English) is the language of the "smart" and learned—and who does not want to (appear) learned, and fluent in English? ... Some think it necessary to speak "brokekt," mangled Norwegian in order to prove their superiority in English ... On the whole, it is our lack of more refined culture that makes us not treasure the language, which our great men have used ... It is a mockery to raise the Norwegian flag over a people that has forgotten itself and the duties of its country. ]

(Alfred Lee, "Patriotisme," *Vikingen*, No. 25, May 13, 1913, 221-23)

Recently arrived immigrants were struggling to fit in, hiding their Norwegian accents, while at the same time feeling an urge to pass on their culture to their children. Their children, in turn, saw the trouble that their parents encountered as due to their limited command of English, and often attempted to distance

themselves from the “ethnic” culture of their parents, and be as “Canadian” as possible. Many of the first-generation immigrants had a hard time adjusting to the fact that their own children often turned their backs on the culture of their ancestors. As a result of this, the Edmonton Norwegians eagerly lobbied to have Norwegian introduced at the newly opened University of Alberta (Unsigned article, “Vort sprog!” *Vikingen* No. 42, (n.d. [Feb. 1914?]), 74). But besides the social stigma of speaking broken English, there were economic reasons for the decline of the Norwegian language in Alberta.

Along with the tributes to the Norwegian language, the paper contained articles which debated whether the use of the Norwegian language ought to be discontinued in the local church. The very last issue of *Vikingen* suggested that switching the language of service from Norwegian to English might lead to an enlargement of the congregation through attracting people from outside the Scandinavian community, and that this would lead in turn to an increased cash flow from churchgoers. It also indicates that the local Scandinavians may have been less pious than other ethnic groups. “[A]ntage at disse vilde komme till kirken en gang hver søndag, og at tyskere, danskerne, og russerne gav henholdvis 25, 20, og 10 cent hver og svenskene og norskene vilde give 5 ¢ hver til den kirkelige kasse” [Assume that these would come to church every Sunday, and that the Germans, Danes, and Russians would give an estimated 25, 20 and 10 cents each whereas the Swedes and Norwegians put 5 cents each in the collection box] (Unsigned article, “Burde det norske sprog avskaffes i vort kirkearbeite?” *Vikingen*, No. 45, 14 July 1914, volume 2, 107).

The next issue of *Vikingen* was scheduled to be published July 28, 1914, the same day Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife traveled down the streets of Sarajevo in an open car. The bullets of Gavrilo Princip put an end to both their lives. Within a week Europe was at war. Great Britain and Canada declared war on Germany on August 4. With the outbreak of World War I the old order, which George Steiner has described as the “imagined garden of liberal culture” (5), came to an end. The repercussions of this were soon felt in Edmonton and other outskirts of the British Empire. *Vikingen* did not go to print as scheduled on July 28, 1914. In the climate of Anglo-Saxon nativism foreign-language papers and publications appeared suspect, particularly those published in a Germanic language. Many of the most active members in the Edmonton Norwegian community went to Europe to fight in the war. Among them were Haakon Floen, who lost a leg at the Somme (“Haakon E. Floen Dies May 8, 1938,” *Edmonton Bulletin* May 9, 1938). The war led to the dissolution of the Scandinavian Literary Society and the cessation of the activities of *Nordpolen* lodge (Domier “History of Sons of Norway in Edmonton”).

While the Scandinavians, as a “preferred” group of immigrants, experienced fewer difficulties than other ethnic groups, they were subjected to certain discrimination, often based on accusations of pro-German sentiments (Ljungmark 165, Strickton 44). However, the Scandinavians escaped some of the ordeals of

other communities like the Ukrainians, Germans and Hungarians, many of whom lost their jobs, were deported or interned or had their lives threatened, a discrimination that in many cases extended to those who were naturalized British citizens.<sup>16</sup> The war changed the political atmosphere and led to a significant decline in Scandinavian cultural and social life in Canada. Furthermore, it exacerbated certain divisions among Scandinavian Canadians, reflecting the traditional division in political orientation between Sweden and Norway. While Sweden oriented itself towards Prussia and Germany, Norway was more pro-British. The attitudes of the Norwegian-Canadian community were, in general, more positive to the war effort. Individual members of the Norwegian community in Edmonton made enormous personal sacrifices for their adopted country. An initiative from the Norwegian community led to the creation of a Scandinavian battalion in Winnipeg.<sup>17</sup> The Swedes, on the other hand, remained cool towards the war effort. Reflecting this reality, the leading Swedish newspaper in Canada, *Svenska Canada-Tidningen* opposed the war draft (Ljungmark 171). Along with the French Canadians, the Swedish Canadian community were among the most vocal opponents of this measure (Theobald 1-19). When the draft was introduced in July, 1917, *Svenska Canada-Tidningen* advised its readers how naturalized British citizens could regain Swedish citizenship (Ljungmark 171, citing *Svenska Canada-Tidningen* October 31, 1917). It protested the government's revoking of voting rights for immigrants from the Habsburg and German Empires, who had been naturalized after 1902, as "shameful" and "an attack" on the people of German descent (Ljungmark 172, citing *Svenska Canada-Tidningen* July 25 and September 12, 1917). During the first years of World War I, many Swedish- and Norwegian-Americans left Canada, returning to a neutral United States, seeking an environment more accepting and less tense than that in war-time Canada. This changed when the United States entered the war in 1917.

## Conclusions:

The picture of the Scandinavian community in Alberta that emerges from the pages of *Vikingen* is that of a community with an identity crisis. Jingoistic patriotism is mixed with serious concerns about its ability to protect its culture and identity from the dominant—and closely kindred—Anglo-Saxon majority society. The recurrent emphasis placed on the community's cultural superiority over Eastern European immigrants was partly intended to make the Scandinavians appear less alien and to ensure that they entered the cultural mainstream without surrendering too much of their own identity. Their centre-left political orientation and belief in social engineering did not translate into a belief in the equality of other immigrant groups or—on the part of male members of the community—into regarding women in their own community as equals.

The war severely curtailed a thriving flora of Scandinavian-language publication in North America. *Vikingen* was but one of the papers affected. In 1914, it died along with many other ethnic Scandinavian papers—the heyday of the Scandinavian press in North America was coming to a close.<sup>18</sup>

#### NOTES

1. *Vikingen* survives in two volumes of legal sized paper, one of 300 pages, the other of 108 pages. These contain 46 consecutively numbered issues of the paper. Most, but not all, of these issues are dated, yet it is possible—given the publication schedule planned—to make a reasonable guess as to when the undated issues appeared. Issues 1 through 34 are included complete in the first of the two volumes, 35 is split between the two, with the remaining issues included in volume 2. (In the references included in this essay, only those items appearing in volume 2 are so identified.) Each issue comprises approximately 11 manuscript pages, each of about 200 words. Had these ca. 2,000-2,500 words been printed on the 11" by 17" broadsheet, typical of the time, with the usual number of advertisements, the paper would have been about 4 pages long. Each issue included an editorial, some of which are signed, and a variety of articles on a range of cultural, historical and political topics. The number of these articles per issue, which are only occasionally signed, ranges from 1 to 10. Copies of the handwritten originals are kept with the Scandinavian Program, the Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton.
2. There have been a number of Scandinavian papers in Alberta. Gloria M. Strathern lists three Danish, one Finnish, one Swedish, one "Scandinavian" paper, but no Norwegian paper in Alberta. Very few of these papers have been preserved. Nowhere does Strathern mention *Vikingen*. (489-94).
3. "Subskribenterne og rapporterne har været ude paa streik i de sidste to uger og resultatet er at *Vikingen* lider en svare nød, og endog Redaktören, bestyreren, compositören, typografen, ogs. lige ned til vor 'printing devil' har taget pen i hånd og pint udav sine törre overanstrengte hjerner saa meget som var muligt saa det enda indtil det sidste ganske trykkende ut." [The writers and reporters have been out on strike during the past two weeks and the result is that *Vikingen* is suffering badly, and though the editor, the assistant, the setter, the typographer, and even our 'printing devil' have taken the pen in hand and forced from their dry, overworked brains as much as possible, it still looked pretty depressing until very recently.] (Unsigned Editorial [presumably Alfred Lee] *Vikingen* No. 17, n.d., 165.)
4. Many of the named streets in Edmonton were changed to numbered streets. This changed the numbering of the numbered streets. Thus, 1st Street became 101st Street, whereas Kennedy Street became 93rd Street. At the same time, "1000" was added to all street numbers. Thus, 115 Kennedy became 10115 93rd Street, and so on. The changes can be found in the 1914 *Henderson's Directory* in the City of Edmonton Archives.
5. The 1911 census reported 5,761 Albertans born in Norway. In 1921 21,321 people of Norwegian origin lived in Alberta, 17,614 of them in rural areas (Loken 76).

6. Haakon E. Floen was born in Trondheim, Norway, in 1880 and immigrated to Edmonton in 1902. He homesteaded and worked with the Hardisty Cartage Company for seven years. He enlisted with the 49th battalion, also known as The Loyal Edmonton Regiment, in 1915, and advanced to the rank of Major. He died in 1938 and is buried at the Edmonton Municipal Cemetery. (Domier, "Haakon E. Floen," citing *Edmonton Bulletin*, April 14, 1938).
7. A certain A. O. Lee settled in the Ryley District in 1902 with his family. He accompanied 18 other Norwegian pioneer families, taking up homesteads in the area (Loken 248).
8. In the 1914 *Henderson's Directory* Gunder Brocke, agent for Mutual Life of Canada, lived at 115 93rd Street (Kennedy Street). This was also the address where *Vikingen* was published. A certain G. Brokke also served as Assistant Norwegian Consul for Edmonton/Camrose in 1912 (Domier, "Honourary Norwegian Consuls in Edmonton/Camrose"). Gunder Brocke had emigrated from Bardo, Norway to Amisk Creek in 1895 with his parents Olav and Anne and his siblings Gustava, Torvall and Torfinn (Loken 249). Also spelling his name Gunnar Brocke, he was *Vikingen's* editor in 1913. (*Vikingen* No. 27, 2 June 1913, 241)
9. A Jacob Boness Sr and Hans Boness with his children Olaf, Trina, Petra emigrated from Bardo, Norway, and settled in Amisk Creek in 1900-1901 (Loken 249). The signature "Bowness" never appears with a first name, but the writer may very well have been Hans Boness.
10. The Finseth family belonged to the very first settlers coming to Bardo, Alberta. Originally they were from Sør-reisen, Norway. They settled in the Red River Valley in 1876, moving to in Bardo in 1894 (Loken 249).
11. O. Sørenson was one of the first settlers in Viking, Alberta, in 1903 (Loken 249).
12. New Zealand was the first country to give women the right to vote. This change was enacted in 1893, even though women were not allowed to stand for election until 1919. The United States had allowed women to stand for election already in 1788, although they could not vote until 1920. In 1906 the Grand Duchy of Finland, was the first country—not only among the Nordic countries, but in the world—to give women full suffrage rights as well as the right to stand for election. The other Nordic countries were slower to enact similar legislation. Norway allowed women to stand for election in 1907, but gave them the vote only in 1913. Denmark enacted female suffrage in 1915, the Baltic states in 1918, while Sweden followed suit only in 1921. Canada gave women the vote in 1918, but did not allow them to stand for election until 1920. All information here comes from the Inter-Parliamentary Union's site <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/suffrage.htm> (Accessed May 6, 2004).
13. Ironically, while women played a minor role in the open political life, they had relatively strong positions in Viking society and had legal responsibilities comparable to those of men. (Byock 196).
14. This commonly used term refers to the 400-year period of Danish rule, prior to 1814, during which Norway had lost its independence.
15. Alfred Lee, "The debate on equal rights for women," *Vikingen* No. 37 (n.d., but October or November 1913), volume 2, 26-27. This is one of the few articles written in English.

16. "Under the emergency powers of the War Measures Act, the federal government began to intern enemy aliens suspected of being anything other than peaceful and trustworthy residents of Canada. A total of 8,579 enemy aliens were interned, of whom only 1,192 were Germans resident in Canada. Some 5,954 internees were described as Austro-Hungarians and the overwhelming majority of these were almost certainly Ukrainians ... Some Ukrainians were interned for attempting to enlist in the Canadian army!" (Gerus and Rea 11).
17. By 1916, a captain Henneson of Winnipeg raised some 400 men from Manitoba for a Scandinavian military unit, the 223rd Scandinavian Battery Battalion, which belonged to the regiment in Winnipeg. He made a recruitment tour to Alberta, where, according to the *Edmonton Journal* he expected to recruit some 150 men ("Tries to Raise 150 Men for the Scandinavian Unit: Capt. Henneson Has Headquarters in Winnipeg; Successful in East," *The Edmonton Journal*, May 18, 1916; "Military Gossip: To Recruit Scandinavians," *Edmonton Bulletin*, May 18, 1916).
18. The author wishes to thank Professor Chris Hale and Professor Emeritus Ken Domier at the University of Alberta for suggestions, support and encouragement. Special thanks also to Mrs. Astrid Hope, Edmonton, for preserving this material and bringing it to our attention.

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