THE NORWEGIAN COMMUNITY OF BALLARD, WASHINGTON: VISIBLE LANDSCAPE, VERNACULAR REGION

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty of California State University, Hayward

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts in Geography

By Katherine Nashleanas
August, 1991
To Sandy ... without whom
the possibilities would not even exist.
Nothing is impossible!
THE NORWEGIAN COMMUNITY OF BALLARD, WASHINGTON:
VISIBLE LANDSCAPE, VERNACULAR REGION

by
Katherine Nashleanas

Approved:  
[Signatures]

Date:
[Signatures]

July 26, 1991
[Date]

July 27, 1991
[Date]

July 30, 1991
[Date]
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Dei kom frå heile Noreg,
men mest frå bygdene.
Byen kunne utvidast heime.
Bygdene utvida seg
i settlementa i Amerika.

Arfinn Bruflot.
Dei kom til Amerika (1975)
Chapter 1
Focus and Orientation

I first became interested in the community of Ballard, Washington, when I was living on the west coast of Norway. During the years I was teaching at a west coast "folk college" (folkehøgskule) in 1976 and 1977, I had the opportunity to spend many hours with an American student who was from Ballard. She shared a great deal about her community, its activities, and her growing up there as a Norwegian-American: the performances of the Norwegian Male Chorus, the activities at Leif Erikson lodge, Julefost (Christmas festivities), and their annual 17th of May parade. It seemed like a fascinating place and I was curious to see for myself, someday, if Ballard was as Norwegian to an outsider as it might appear from the perspective of the Norwegian-Americans who lived there.

Purpose of Study

The focus of this study, then, is Ballard, Washington, a "neighborhood community" of Seattle. My research has been designed to answer three questions, first: How Norwegian is Ballard and how do I know that? Second: How is Ballard Norwegian, and how does the Norwegian community retain its identity within the larger heterogeneous community? Finally,
of what importance is this cultural persistence to the Seattle area?

This study is first of all a study in cultural landscape. Most ethnic groups in the United States are woven within a larger "Fabric of American culture." Their contributions are often unique, and they can even shape the personality of a region. This cultural expression on the landscape may be an element of cultural persistence if it perpetuates a broader acceptance of a specific ethnic group within a larger heterogeneous community. Lewis (1979) suggests landscapes are reliable indicators of culture in that changes in the landscape indicate changes in culture. Conversely, lack of change in the landscape may indicate stability or stagnation within a culture. An analysis of the cultural landscape of Ballard, then, may provide not only a strong visual image of Norwegian presence in the community, but it may also be a clue to the Norwegian community's persistence.

Landscape is also one of the purest, most unconscious forms of communication about a culture; it at once speaks of intent, of function, purpose, and identity. It can stand as an icon to history and whisper possibilities about the future; however, material evidence in the landscape alone is not enough to maintain a culture. Leitner (1989), for example, equates locality studies in the United Kingdom with a rediscovering of "place" in United States geographical research, emphasizing "connecting social and
spatial relations and conceptualizing place as a construct of human activity" (Leitner 1989: 554).

Social and spatial relations within a construct of human activity implies a study of social institutions and, according to Norton, an "emphasis on communication processes through which symbolic interactions take place .... There are emphases on the inevitable integration of social and geographical identities, on the social structure of space, on the spatial structure of society, and on social and spatial change" (Norton 1989: 118). For an analysis of the cultural landscape to have dimension, then, it must also include the social and spatial relations which provide the function the cultural landscape was designed to support.

Definition of Ballard

Originally incorporated as an independent town in 1889, Ballard was annexed to Seattle in 1907. Approximately six miles northwest of downtown Seattle, Ballard is bounded by Salmon Bay to the south and Shilshole Bay to the west. Although Ballard's historical boundaries are well-defined, extending north from Golden Gardens Park along NW 80th Street to 8th Avenue NW and south to Salmon Bay, today Ballard is more of a perceptual or vernacular region whose boundaries and definition depend on who is being asked.

What is considered the current Ballard community,
comprises approximately 3.25 square miles, extending north to NW 85th Street (fig. 1.1). However, the larger Ballard District as defined by the Seattle Parks and Recreation Department, comprises approximately 5.5 square miles, and includes the Blue Ridge, North Beach, Loyal Heights, Whittier Heights, and Sunset Hill communities, as well as Ballard. It extends from Carkeek Park and NW 110th Street to the north, east to 1st Avenue NW and then south to Salmon Bay, supporting a population of approximately 40,000.

According to the United States Post Office, Ballard consists of the 98107 and 98117 zip codes whose northern boundary extends from NW 100th Street to 1st Avenue NW, then south to Salmon Bay. For the purposes of this study, the zip code boundary will identify the community of Ballard. It roughly corresponds to the Ballard District as defined by the Seattle Parks and Recreation COMPLAN, to the new boundary expansion voted on by the Ballard District Council as well as to my respondents, whom, for purposes of both confidentiality and anonymity, I will group only by zip code.

**Physical Geography**

Ballard is located on the eastern shore of Puget Sound, which extends from present-day Olympia to Whidby Island, and within what is termed the Puget Sound Lowland. Between the
beautifully glaciated, north-south trending volcanic mountain
chains of the Olympic Mountains and the Cascades, the Puget Sound Lowland is considered by some geologists to be an
extension of the Willamette Valley of western Oregon, and
similar in structure to the basin of the Willapa Hills south of
Chehalis (fig. 1.2). The Sound’s basin structure was not carved by
glacial activity as once thought, but it is composed of a series of
fault blocks which have dropped and into which have been
deposited glacial till and outwash from the last ice age. These
deposits are over 3,000 feet thick in some areas, and it is only surmised that the underlying bedrock of this area consists of
oceanic material.\(^3\) The steep hills, or drumlins, which characterize the undulating topography around Ballard, rise from sea level to 280 feet within 2.25 miles. For example, along Market Street, the main street through the community, the elevation rises only 82 feet in approximately 1.75 miles, but rises 197 feet in the last .5 mile. This provides Ballard with some striking physical characteristics similar to the breathtaking landscapes of Norway’s fjorded coast, although on a much smaller scale (fig. 1.3). Dominating the view from anywhere in the town is the majestic, snow-capped Mt. Rainier at 14,408 feet.

The Puget Sound itself consists of several inlets and islands including the Strait of Georgia, Strait of Juan de Fuca, and the Hood Canal. Lake Washington and Lake Union are the main
Figure 1.3
A view of Ballard from Phinney Ridge. Looking west toward Shilshole Bay, Ballard is to the north.
inland water bodies, while the Green, White, and Cedar rivers provide sources of fresh water which replace the groundwater stores in the unconsolidated aquifers. Salmon fishing has been a lucrative industry throughout the history of this region. Around the turn of the century, salmon fishing was so profitable that the Puget Sound became the third ranking area in salmon packing on the Pacific coast (after Alaska and British Columbia). As early as 1901, though, Ballard was already feeling a growing concern for its dwindling salmon populations which resulted from improved fish traps and increased demand. If the industry was to survive, the development of hatcheries and artificial propagation techniques would be required.

Because of the location and configuration of Lake Washington and Lake Union, there had been talk since the late 1800s of dredging a canal linking the two, through Salmon Bay by a series of locks, to Puget Sound. In 1901, the United States Naval Board visited Ballard to determine the advisability of making Lake Washington the site for a fresh-water naval base serving vessels out of commission. By March of 1902, Congress appropriated $160,000 for work in Shilshole and Salmon bays as preliminary to the development of the Lake Washington Ship Canal and locks. By July 1916, the small lock was working, and the large lock became operational the next month. In May of 1917,
the channel between Lake Union and Lake Washington was completed, and the dedication took place July 4.

This engineering design lowered Lake Washington nearly nine feet in order to equal the level of Lake Union, and resulted in the loss of its southern outlet through the Black and Duwamish rivers (fig. 1.4). The Cedar River, which had emptied into the Black River, now flowed into Lake Washington, and Shilshole and Salmon bays, which normally became nearly dry at low tide, were now navigable all year long. In 1917, with the completion of the eight mile ship canal, a fish ladder was then constructed to aid the spawning salmon and trout upstream to the Lake Washington Fish Hatchery.5

The marine climate of Ballard and the Seattle area consists of relatively dry, warm summers and cooler, wetter winters. The air masses against the mountain ranges along the west coast provide ample orographic precipitation at about 60 inches per year. Seattle's July average maximum temperature is approximately 75° Fahrenheit with an average daytime humidity of 50 percent or less. Summer nights are cool, ranging from 50° to 55° Fahrenheit. Winters are mild, cloudy, and moist, with cloud cover reducing sunlight approximately 25 to 30 percent. Winter rains are usually of low intensity and gentle, averaging 16 to 18 days each month for December and January. The highest monthly
precipitation is in December averaging approximately 6 to 9 inches, and winter snows may total 10 inches. Total annual precipitation is approximately 35 to 45 inches. Annual range in temperature in the Seattle area is about 23° Fahrenheit.

Vegetation in this region includes the western hemlock, Douglas pine, Oregon white oak and Douglas fir. Although today the area is largely urbanized, historically most of the hills around Lake Washington and Lake Union were covered with primary forests, an early attraction for lumber mills. For example, between 1885 and 1886 alone, over 1,200 square miles of timber were logged in the Seattle area, including 80,000 acres of hardwoods such as maple, alder, and ash; 6,000 acres of white pine, 64,000 acres of cedar, 650,000 acres of fir, and 10,000 acres of spruce.6

Ballard was especially well-known for the manufacture of cedar shingles, calling itself the "Shingle Capital of the World", even using a shingle mill as the logo on the masthead of the local paper. However, logging was so intense in this area, that within a short span of seven years, by 1902, there was growing concern about the future of the red cedar industry. By April of that year, both the Salmon Bay Shingle Company and the King Mill Company were closed indefinitely due to a scarcity of logs, and in August, the Ballard News no longer sported a shingle mill as its logo.
Norwegian Migration to the Pacific Northwest

Joining waves of other ethnic groups from Europe, (fig. 1.5) by 1900, Scandinavian immigrants were increasing in

![U.S. Population: Foreign-Born by Country of Birth, 1850 - 1970](image)


Figure 1.5

numbers and moving across the United States; and they were finding the Pacific Northwest increasingly attractive (fig. 1.6). The first substantial settlements of Norwegians in the United States appeared in 1825, in Kendall, New York, (approximately 30 miles southwest of Rochester) and then in 1833, near Fox River Illinois, with succeeding migrations north to Chicago and
southeastern Wisconsin as land became available (fig. 1.7). By the 1850s, still cheaper land was to be found ever westward in southwestern Wisconsin and Iowa. By the 1850s Minnesota also was attracting settlement by Norwegian immigrants from

![States Ranked by Preference for Location of Norwegian Settlement: 1900-1920](image)

*Figure 1.6*

southeastern Wisconsin where farm income could be supplemented by logging. The Homestead Act of 1862 enabled many more immigrants to put down roots in the Midwest, although
PATTERN OF EARLIEST NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENTS
1820s - 1870s

Figure 1.7
settlement in the grasslands of northwestern Minnesota and the eastern Dakota territories was delayed until the railroads, built in the early 1870s, could bring lumber for construction. Of the several agents promoting migration to the Pacific Northwest, the Great Northern (1883) and Northern Pacific (1890) railroads were an especially dynamic force. These companies hired representatives who specifically sought out Midwest immigrants in order to entice them to buy land and settle, offering reduced passenger fares and transport of household goods. Those Norwegians, who had become disillusioned with farming in the Midwest and yearned for fresh opportunities and landscapes similar to the coastal areas of Norway they had left, were eager to believe the promises of railroad agents and boosters.7

The territorial governors of Washington before statehood in 1889, as well as individual cities, also actively sought immigrants. These efforts were often underscored by businesses and agencies who actually commissioned scouts or agents to travel to Norway in order to spread the word about life in the Pacific Northwest and assist those who wished to make the journey. Finally, the Scandinavians themselves, upon settlement, continued promoting this region on an ethnic basis. For example, the Scandinavian Immigration and Aid Society of 1876 had "... the object of encouraging immigration, answering letters, establishing a land
ofice in Seattle, and furnishing tickets for people who might wish to go to Scandinavia to recruit immigrants" (Dahlie 1967:26).

There is no evidence of how long this organization existed, how successful or how widespread this phenomenon was, but it shows a conscious decision on the part of Scandinavian immigrants that, once settled, they would seek to recruit their own.

While various agents were getting the word out to settlements in the Midwest and hometowns in Norway, the Norwegian-language press was also a common agent and means of communication and persuasion to family and friends in the Midwest or in Norway. Immigrants could publish reports and appeals for their new home not just to other Norwegians, but specifically to those who were from the same district or bygd in order to encourage or re-establish a familiar community of neighbors on the west coast. If additional incentives were needed, the Norwegian-language press also published reports of Norwegians who had become successful in the community.

For those from the Midwest willing to make the long trip, the advantages were clear: farmers in the Midwest could sell their farms for $40-$75 per acre and buy land in Washington for $3 to $4 per acre. In many areas the glacial sediments of the Puget Sound Lowland soils were not as fertile as the rich black prairie soils of the Midwest, and crops would be different west of the Cascades, but there was ample fishing and the lumber industries
were growing. The west coast climate was more moderate in both winter and summer, and a proximity to the sea and mountains was a welcome change for many Midwest Norwegians.

For immigrants settling directly from Norway, the advantages included not only a similar landscape to Norway, but provided broader economic support, land availability, and levels of personal freedoms which were not available in that country. By the 1900s, there was also a growing population in Norway with resultant land scarcity beginning a rural to urban migration. A move to the Pacific Northwest promised fresh opportunities for these Norwegians who could leave the more stratified rural society with its perceived social and political inequalities (Dahlie 1967, Bjork 1958).

Although no single Scandinavian group ever comprised more than 23.4 percent of the total Norwegian ethnic population in the Puget Sound area in the early 1900s, if all the Scandinavian groups were combined, their presence in this area was indeed noteworthy, ranging from over one quarter of the population to nearly one half (fig. 1.8). This presence provided ample support for the development of a Scandinavian cultural infrastructure. If first-generation Scandinavians, whose parents (one or both) were born abroad and perhaps migrated from other areas of the country, were included in this characterization, the percentages would have been even higher. However, the term "Scandinavian"
meaning all five Scandinavian cultures: Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Finnish, and Icelandic) should be used with caution. Assuming that all the Scandinavian cultures are similar and exert only a combined cultural influence ignores important differences.

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<td>Washington State</td>
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<td>Seattle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tacoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spokane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everett</td>
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<td>Bellingham</td>
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Figure 1.8

between these groups and the separate contributions they each have made to the area. Beyond their combined influence, Swedes, Danes, Icelanders, and Finns, as well as Norwegians, all have important stories to tell and have been uniquely important in the economic and cultural development of this region.
Review of the Literature

Research pertaining to contemporary Norwegian settlement in the Puget Sound is strikingly sparse. Most sources are concerned with general Scandinavian migration and acculturation in the Midwest, Norwegian migration to the Midwest, general Scandinavian and Norwegian settlement patterns throughout the Pacific Northwest, and Norwegians in specific Pacific Northwest industries. Many histories of the Pacific Northwest lack significant reference to Scandinavian or Norwegian settlement. However, these sources have provided excellent background material of the region and the conditions and dynamics which led to secondary stage migration of Norwegians from the Midwest.

Much has been written about Norwegian immigration to the United States, mostly extending only as far as the Midwest region. Larson (1937) chronicles Norwegian settlement in the northwest from the first settlement in Kendall, New York in 1825, to the Fox River colony in Illinois, 1833. He offers a good description of settlement and some of the background leading to the eventual secondary stage migration to the Pacific Northwest. This did not occur in significant numbers until after the Civil War. Qualey (1938) provides a good general history of migration and distribution of the Norwegian population especially in selected Midwest states: Wisconsin, Iowa, and North Dakota. In this
discourse, reflecting perhaps a common Midwest perception of the time, Washington State settlements are treated like "island colonies" separated from the main body of Norwegian immigrants. Stine (1900) offers thumbnail sketches of prominent Norwegian citizens within various Puget Sound settlements, and provides some commentary on cultural activities such as the demise of various Norwegian-language papers.

Bjork (1958) provides the best and most complete discourse on Norwegian migration to the west coast. Concentrating on the period from 1879 to 1894, Bjork presents an excellent history regarding the dynamics of Norwegian westward migration, population characteristics, and patterns of cultural expression and assimilation. However, his concentration is at a macroscale comparing and contrasting patterns of migration and assimilation in California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Smaller communities, such as Ballard, unfortunately, are only briefly mentioned.

Consulting resources on life in the Pacific Northwest region, Leighton (1884) offers one of the most interesting glimpses in her diary as one of the first Caucasian women to travel throughout the Puget Sound region. Observations of logging camps, descriptions of meetings with native Indians, and living conditions in early settler camps and villages abound. Schwantes (1989) and Egan (1990) offer contemporary views. Schwantes
offers an evaluation of Washington history based on natural resource use and depletion, and Egan provides a beautifully interpretive historical essay evoking the personality of place.

Murphy (1991) suggests this concept of place and region has been playing an increasingly significant role in the theoretical literature on society. Local context is the realm in which people experience, interpret and reconstruct social structures. Murphy sees places and regions as the result of spatial processes that reflect and shape particular ideas about territory – ideas which influence the activities, experiences, and interpretations of the inhabitants of those places and regions (Murphy 1991:24).

To date, there have been only two histories of Ballard published. Margaret I. Wandrey (1975), who grew up in Ballard at the time of its annexation in 1907, has published a collection of personal memoirs of the town and many of its most interesting citizens. Although Wandrey was Icelandic, there is very little in her book in reference to the ethnic mix in Ballard, and nothing about the Norwegians in the community is mentioned. Kay Reinartz (ed., 1989) has compiled a rather impressive local history of Ballard, in which the Scandinavian presence is acknowledged, although only briefly. Much of this history was based on voluntary responses from the community, and, according to the author, many Norwegians simply did not choose to volunteer.

Ethnic and sociological studies, as well as geographic area studies have highlighted additional cultural interactions and patterns, and have provided clues as to how one could look at the evolution of Ballard. For example, the study conducted by Chrisman (1981) focuses on the ethnic persistence of Danes in the San Francisco area and Arreola's (1975) master's thesis concerns ethnic persistence and change in the Chinese community of Locke, California. These two studies both incorporate dynamics of the cultural landscape with historical development and social meaning.

Parsons, in his study of the San Joaquin Valley, observed that "cultural geographers seek to know the personality of a geographical space by examining its physical form, its inhabitants, and their relationship with both the land they occupy and the world beyond, most profitably in historical perspective" (1986, 371). Marsh (1987) suggests place is "Janus-like" as both
the product of the past and producer of the future, while Murphy (1991) suggests regions are the results of social processes. Lewis (1979, 1985) exhorts students of geography to go out and see for themselves.

Data Collection

Research began in the fall of 1989 and continued through spring of 1991, and included fieldwork in the community of Ballard. Investigations were also conducted at the University of California, Berkeley, the Government Documents Room at Stanford University, California State University, Hayward, the Suzzallo Library at the University of Washington, and the Seattle Public Library, Ballard Branch. Additional background material was obtained by mail from the Norwegian-American Historical Association in Northfield, Minnesota.

Field research began with a six-day walking tour of Ballard in the fall of 1989. This was followed by three additional trips in May and July, 1990, and March 1991. These subsequent trips included interviews with residents and business persons, informal conversations in local Norwegian gathering places and homes, attendance at lodge meetings, and excursions with Norwegian-American residents of Ballard. In July of 1990, 1,600 questionnaires were distributed to Norwegian and Norwegian-American residents who belong to Norwegian organizations which
meet in Ballard and who live in the "98" zip code area which is the Puget Sound area.

I have subscribed to both local newspapers, the Ballard News-Tribune and the Western Viking for over a year, and joined the Ballard Historical Society as well as the Nordic Heritage Museum to stay in touch with events going on in the community throughout the course of my research. Finally, although I am not Norwegian and have no Norwegian affiliation of any kind, I have been a participant-observer of Norwegian events and traditions in southern California for the past 15 years, as well as having lived in the Hardanger region on the west coast of Norway for nearly two years.

Organization of Thesis

Chapter 1 has provided some background and structure for framing the research parameters of this study. The study of culture and the cultural landscape is both an interdisciplinary endeavor and requires a variety of methodologies. The focus of each succeeding chapter has allowed me to evaluate my subject area from a fresh approach and with a different methodological tool.

Chapter 2 addresses the historical development of Norwegian social and cultural institutions during the greatest influx of migration to Ballard. Norwegians are not the largest
ethnic group in Ballard, and never have been, and they were not the first, so that "first effective settlement", in Zelinsky's terms, does not apply (Zelinsky, 1973:13-14). The historical perspective, however, provides both insight and flavor into the early settlement, and to the dynamics of Ballard's Norwegian ethnic persistence.

Chapter 3 asks, "who are the Norwegians of today's Ballard, where did they come from, and how active are they within their ethnic community?" This chapter focuses on the demographic information provided by the 1600 surveys distributed.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the visible and sensual cultural landscape of Ballard, based primarily on field observations. It suggests Ballard has become a cultural nucleus for the larger Norwegian community throughout the Puget Sound area, and can be termed a vernacular region as used by Wilbur Zelinsky (1990).

Chapter 5 extends the meaning of the vernacular landscape to the cultural networking throughout the Puget Sound area in which Ballard becomes one of several interactive Norwegian communities mentioned by my respondents. The impact of this larger perceptual region is also felt in the increasing economic investment in the area as discussed with several members of the business community. Chapter 6 provides some concluding comments and suggestions for further research.
Early Ballard

Margaret Wandrey, who grew up in Ballard in the late 1880s, remembered the early town as a forest primeval. "The main street," she wrote, which was "a skid road where logs had been drawn by teams of oxen, now had white markers to designate lots on which business buildings were soon to be built. The street merged into a wooded background. Only a wall of burnt stumps marked the line of progress which was a steadily growing concern to a neighboring city which lay over the hills a few miles southeast, called Seattle" (Wandrey 1975:17). Most of the hills around Lake Washington and Lake Union were indeed covered with primary forests which were logged for such hardwoods as maple, alder and ash, along with the softer, coniferous white pine, cedar, Douglas fir, and spruce (fig. 2.1).

By 1889, the year of Ballard's incorporation, the town numbered over 1,600 residents. Issues of law and order, regulating firearms, electing a sheriff, building a jail, and developing fire protection and road improvements (planking the dusty, and by turns, mucky dirt streets) were of high priority. In 1891, the local paper, News-Echo, began circulation. Six years later it had changed its name to the Ballard News. In 1894 work development began on Ballard's shoreline. Issues regarding
Ballard with its first bridge under construction. The tiny island has been cleared of its timber and is now void of life but a single bush. This bridge was built on Fourteenth Avenue as of today. [Railroad Avenue then]

Figure 2.1
Ballard's forested slopes: 1891
taken from Wandrey, Four Bridges to Seattle
waterways, oyster bed protection, land sales, and harbor leases became the growing concerns of the town. The new sheriff was also having a busy time seeing that vandals did not remove the wooden planks from the streets and walks (Wandrey 1975:100).

The town of Ballard at the turn of the century was somewhat different from that of the early 1880s. Wandrey recalled "its mill shacks, old hotels and saloons, men reeking with the smell of fresh hewn cedar .... Mill smoke sent cinders far into the countryside, it was a doom on wash days, sawdust and trash burners let the flames reach high into the heavens; they were not capped. Shingles and lumber were being towed, on scows out into deeper water, by tugs; there it was loaded on vessels that traversed the earth" (Wandrey 1975:149-153). By 1900, Ballard was booming from the business of the Sinclair, Phoenix, and Stimson sawmills. Other businesses specialized in fishing gear, engine repair, hull rebuilding, and boat building, such as W.T. Tickle Sail Makers, Foss Maritime tugboat service, and Cedar Lumber of Ballard (Wandrey 1975:167).

Ballard, known for the manufacture of cedar shingles, was considered the "Shingle Capital of the World". The King Mill Company alone could cut over 200,000 shingles per day on a double run, and estimates for 1902 were running as high as 5,000,000,000 shingles, total annual production. However, 1902 was also considered to be Ballard's last great year for shingles;
there was growing concern about the future of the red cedar industry: "Cheap timber is already a thing of the past," lamented a Ballard News editorial on February 22, 1902, "and it will be only a short time until it will not be plentiful at even high prices. The shingle mills are feeling the change from over-supply to scarcity, some of them frequently having to suspend operations for a time because no logs are to be had, and because there is a steady advance in the cost of timber." By April of 1902 both the Salmon Bay Shingle Company and the King Mill Company had closed indefinitely due to a scarcity of logs.

Because Salmon Bay was too shallow and narrow to be used as a freight corridor for lumber and shingles, the larger sailing (and later, steam) vessels were prevented from docking and loading. A brisk business in tugboats and barges developed in Ballard, transporting such loads to ships waiting in deeper water (fig. 2.2). Wandrey fondly recorded: "Many are the old boats in memory's book, loading lumber and shingles, being repaired and taking form from the massive trees that had adorned our countryside only a short time before. One always remembered them being towed out the channel, seeing the sails sometimes unfurl, then go with the wind o'er the seven seas. The world was theirs and the oceans their destiny" (Wandrey 1975:123). Salmon Bay was accessible to the smaller fishing boats and trawlers, bringing in catches of salmon, cod, and halibut. However, as
Stimson's mill in the foreground, the church is the Methodist Episcopal. This was Stimson's second mill, the first having been destroyed by fire.

Figure 2.2
Stimson Mill, Ballard: 1890s
taken from Wandrey, Four Bridges to Seattle
mentioned in Chapter 1, by 1901, Ballard was already becoming concerned for the dwindling salmon populations and the need to develop hatcheries and artificial propagation techniques.

Added to this solid economic base was a growing and diversified population, as well as a stable city government. Northminster Presbyterian Church was in place before 1900 as well as Gilman Park Methodist Episcopal, St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Church, St. Stephen's Episcopal Mission, and the United Evangelical Free Church. The W.M. Curtiss Mercantile, Ballard Pharmacy, W.H. Sandborn Beekeeper and Hardware Dealer, and Dean Plants Company Cash Grocer, as well as numerous saloons, provided for most daily needs. Susan Hennig and Patricia Tripp, both contemporary residents and local historians, colorfully describe Ballard at this time as still "a raw, feisty little logging town with shingle mills and saloons far outnumbering churches and schools" (Hennig and Tripp 1988:58).

On May 17, 1899, the cornerstone of the new City Hall was laid. Nicknamed "Hose Hall," the Ballard City Hall included a new jail, city vault, offices, and fire department on the first floor. It was an impressive building with toilets and electric lights on each floor. Ballard was becoming a very attractive town. An editorial in the Ballard News on March 30, 1901, complained, "new houses are springing up in Ballard like mushrooms. There is hardly a street, or a block for that matter, but where one may see new
structures being erected. It seems the only way to obtain a house now is to build it. All are occupied and still the people come." In December of that same year, the editor warned of talk in Seattle newspapers contemplating Ballard's possible annexation and boldly asked, "Ballard is growing faster than any other town in the vicinity of Seattle, and the relative business expansion surpasses that of our neighboring city. Why not annex Seattle?"

The population by 1902 had increased from about 5,000 to 8,000, eleven brick business blocks had been completed, and over 300 building permits had been issued. There were seven miles of street improvements, two streetcar franchises, fifteen shingle and saw mills, three shipyards, and an iron foundry. The Great Northern Railway, the Northern Pacific, and the Union Pacific had linked Ballard to the rest of the country overland. There was talk of a ship concern spending $1,000,000 to locate in Ballard in order to build twenty steam and sailing vessels, from three-masted to full-rigged ships; the United States Naval Board was considering Lake Washington as a site for a fresh water naval base; a locomotive manufacturing plant was considering building a plant in Ballard; and there was growing talk of a canal to connect Lake Washington to Lake Union through Salmon Bay to Puget Sound. Such development prompted a Ballard News editorial on January 4, 1902, to proclaim: "The old year will always be remembered by the citizens of Ballard as the year in which the place broke loose
from its moorings as a suburban manufacturing village and launched forth as an independent and wide awake city."1 It was within this matrix, then, among the English, German, Irish, and other Scandinavian settlers, that Norwegians began building their presence on Puget Sound.

Norwegian Cultural Development: 1850-1907

Norwegians first made their appearance along Puget Sound by the late 1850s as isolated adventurers. By 1889, they were arriving in larger numbers. Although they were not the original Ballard settlers, the town soon began to develop a distinctly Norwegian flavor by the presence of the Norwegian press and churches, as well as by fraternal and other social organizations. Among the earliest organized activities (which are still active today), The Norwegian Male Chorus and the Washington Posten, one of the first of several Norwegian-language newspapers on Puget Sound, both made their appearance in 1889.

The Washington Posten had been started by Frank and Richard Oleson, immigrants from Trondheim, who worked in the Seattle post office. Noting the many subscribers of Chicago's Skandinaven, and the Decorah-Posten among Seattle's Norwegian residents, they decided to start a rival West Coast paper. In 1889, right after the big Seattle fire, they opened their office in Bell Town at First Avenue and Bell Street.2 There they leased
their presses to other publications that were running extra editions covering the aftermath of the fire. This money helped the Olesons pay for their printing equipment and provided a strong financial base with which to start their paper.\(^3\) A second Norwegian-language publication, the *Tacoma Tidende*, followed the next year, and several Swedish-language papers joined them.

About the same time, Seattle's Scandinavian-American Bank opened its doors, and Johnson's Groceries, owned by a Norwegian immigrant, began to compete with W.M. Curtiss Mercantile, both of Ballard. Pacific Lutheran University was founded in 1894 by the Norwegian Lutheran Synod of Decorah, Iowa, and in 1899 there was a Norwegian Methodist Church of Seattle.

Although there were numerous attempts to establish other Norwegian-language papers in the area, few made it past their first year. Thomas Ostenson Stine, who at the turn of the century, published a description of various Scandinavian communities on Puget Sound, noted that Seattle seemed to have had more than its share of short-lived Scandinavian newspapers. He records:

Julius and Engward Sunde organized and published Fram, which blossomed and bore fruit, but one sad day it was stretched on a lazy bier and wheeled to the grave. Folketidende popped into existence about four years ago but through some intrigue it died and was buried minus tears and ceremony. Folkets Blad was the next of the ephemeral journals; it was born in 1899, lingered through a
few sunny months, then swallowed, without pity, by Tacoma Tidende (Stine 1900:91–93).

Seattle Tidende and The North, both published by lawyer C.M. Thuland, were other short-lived journals.

The Washington Posten, which only moved to Ballard in 1960, along with the Tacoma Tidende, became the voice of the Norwegian immigrant for the entire Puget Sound area. Their pages mirrored issues important to the Norwegian community and, indeed, through their circulation, were instrumental in transforming what could have been isolated ethnic neighborhoods into an integrated community. Both papers ran ads and announcements for dances, social activities, restaurants, and stores all around the Puget Sound that catered to Norwegian traditions and tastes.

As the Norwegian community grew and prospered, these papers served as a forum for debate over the preservation of Norwegian language and culture, as well as a means for easing the process of assimilation and "Americanization." Jorgen Dahlie evaluated the early debates in both the Swedish and Norwegian press of the Puget Sound, 1895 to 1910, regarding assimilation versus retention of traditions. He found that Scandinavians could identify readily with certain characteristics of American culture, such as freedom, democracy, and individualism, institutions
familiar to them from their respective home countries. But debates regarding the continued use of the mother language and the preservation of culture traits and culture elements were heated.\footnote{In 1902, for example, the early Norwegian press supported immigrants' continued use of Norwegian instead of broken English, but by the end of the decade, after much rousing debate, the editors felt Norwegian culture and traditions could be maintained even when Norwegian was not spoken in the home. A letter from a reader, O. R. Saether, of Seattle, to the \textit{Washington Posten} June 24, 1910, reflected the attitude of many Norwegians at the time: "... I don't think even if we came from Norway that it's absolutely imperative to speak Norwegian among ourselves. If we intend to live here it's necessary to learn the language and speaking Norwegian at each opportunity will not help. . . . I remember children in Trondhjem [sic] born of English and German parents who knew little or nothing of these languages; they became Norwegians and the same holds true here; let them become American" (quoted in Dahlie 1967:70). However, the fact that there was a need for a Norwegian-language press within which to discuss and debate this issue indicates freedom from the "mother tongue" was far from comfortable or even desirable at this time. A bigger question than the preservation of language for the Norwegians, however, was the broader balance between}
maintaining loyalty to the old culture while embracing the new. The foreign-language press was perceived as an agency for helping to keep "Old Country" traditions and values alive. Reporting on events and celebrations around Puget Sound with their attendant ethnic foods, and publishing pictures and stories of familiar communities in Norway for homesick immigrants, eased the assimilation process for seasoned immigrants and reassured the new ones. More practical reporting in the Washington Posten focused on news from Norway, including real estate transactions, reports of business activities and failures, as well as the proceedings of the Storting [parliament]. This information was especially helpful to those who expected eventually to return home.5

Both the Washington Posten and Tacoma Tidende rallied for greater solidarity among Norwegians and were often at the center of such activities. It was not necessary to reside in a well-defined, or well-populated ethnic neighborhood to join Norwegian-American organizations or to find groups of compatriots. Norwegian national celebrations drew people from all over the Puget Sound to share in a common bond of nationalism and fellowship, and the Washington Posten was a willing aide. For example, special editions of the paper were issued for such celebrations as Syttende Mai (the 17th of May, or Norwegian National Constitution Day). On that day in 1814, at the little town
of Eidsvoll, southeast of Oslo, Norway finally, and jubilantly proclaimed its independence from 500 years of Danish rule. By 1905, Norway broke its Union with Sweden allowing it to then establish its own Constitutional Monarchy under King Håkon VII. Even as Norwegian and Swedish immigrants were settling in and building new relationships in their newly adopted country, their homelands were also finally coming to terms with a new relationship.  

The celebration of the 17th of May in this country served as both a rallying point for the new national pride of Norwegian immigrants and as a source of tension. This tension was a result of the immigrants' sense of loyalty both to their rural district or home center and to the country as a whole, which still in so many ways reflected a cultural borrowing from 500 years under Danish rule. Some Norwegians, however, expressed concern that a celebration of the 17th of May could alienate Norwegians from "Yankees" or from other Scandinavians on the Sound. Others were critical if the traditional Seventeenth of May speaker was not ekte norsk, that is, a "real" Norwegian, or if the traditional speech was in English. Visually, though, the celebration of the 17th of May brought Norwegians together from all over the Puget Sound area, weaving a larger community spirit while at the same time building stronger ties within their new homeland.
Equally as important as the building of a larger Norwegian ethnic community, was the role of the Norwegian-language paper in bridging the Atlantic and easing the sense of distance and loss of the well-worn and familiar landscapes of home. Odd Lovoll, member of the Board of Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, compared a move in Norway from a rural district to a larger urban center as not that different from the move from that same rural area to an urban community like Ballard or Seattle, although the distances are obviously greater. In this regard the Norwegian-language newspaper provided a sense of living in a Norwegian coastal city such as Tromsø, Ålesund, or Stavanger, in that "topics and concerns were similar. And in reality, the move from rural Norway, where many of the immigrants came from, to one of these Norwegian cities might not have differed much except in distance from the move to Seattle. Both represented a move from a rural to an urban environment" (Lovoll 1986:171).

In the early 1900s, it is estimated the combined circulation of the Scandinavian press in the Puget Sound area was 15,000 (Dahlie 1967:27). By writing in Norwegian, informing readers of various Norwegian events around the area, providing a forum for issues of concern among immigrants, and publishing stories of hometown activities, the foreign-language press enabled immigrants to place themselves in a community not really that
different from the one they had left. It provided a sense of community that linked the several ethnic enclaves nestled around the Puget Sound. However, Dahlie cautions against the assumption that just because Norwegians took pride in their background, that there was unquestioned agreement on all issues relating to culture. The observance of national celebrations, educational programs, ethnic solidarity versus assimilation were some of the many issues in contention. According to Dahlie, there was even much self-criticism of the Scandinavian nature itself, characterized by a "stubborn irascibility and the inability to cooperate" (Dahlie 1967:87). Nowhere does this tendency seem to show forth more clearly than in the immigrant church.

Among Lutherans, the dominant church among Midwest Norwegian immigrants, there were three competing denominations: The Norwegian Synod, The Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, and the Scandinavian Augustana Synod. Within and between these three there were many schisms and recombinations that contributed to deep factionalism among the immigrant churches in the Midwest. Congregational splits would sometimes lead to the building of rival churches and it was said that "if one saw a white-painted church on each side of a road, one could be sure of being in a Norwegian community" (Semmingsen 1978:137).
Already by the time of the Civil War, the relationship between the Church of Norway and the Norwegian Synod in America had already become strained. The Church of Norway perceived these immigrant churches as being too dogmatic and fractional while immigrant pastors saw the Church of Norway as too lax regarding moral and social codes, not understanding the different conditions facing the frontier churches, and not adhering as strictly to a literal interpretation of doctrine. Immigrant Lutheran churches in the Midwest characteristically were not as concerned with preserving a cultural identity within the Norwegian community as they were in preserving pure doctrine.

Along with ministering to the widespread immigrant settlements, the Midwest church, in this case, the Norwegian Synod under the leadership of Herman Amberg Preus, also wanted to have a complete educational system for the Synod to supplant what was seen as a somewhat spurious public educational program. Preus could not find enough financial support among the members. In 1865, however, the Norwegian Synod did organize its own seminary (Luther College) in Decorah, Iowa, from which to build its pastoral base (Preus 1867:78-89). It established Pacific Lutheran University, in Tacoma in 1894, under similar guidelines.

By 1900, Norwegian immigrants moving to the Seattle area found a number of churches already established: Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Baptist, United Evangelical,
as well as Lutheran. Four of these were Scandinavian; but by the
time of Ballard's annexation to Seattle seven years later, ten
more churches had been established, and half of those were
Norwegian 9 (Appendix 1). Perhaps as Midwest immigrants
brought along their need for church organization and form, they
were not looking to the church as a place for the reaffirmation of
"Norwegian-ness," because this had not been a function of the
Midwest church. Rather, the church was a central place for the
gathering of neighbors and fellow travellers, and a source for
familiar rites such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals.

Some of the churches in Ballard, however, did provide
language and naturalization classes for immigrants, but since
many Norwegians had spent some time in the Midwest, the
acculturation process had already reduced the language barrier
significantly. A number of these churches eventually alternated
with several Scandinavian languages, offering perhaps, one
Norwegian service a month. During World War I, prejudice against
foreigners increased and foreign language use in the churches was
all but dropped. By the 1920s, churches increasingly found that
young people (second and third generation) preferred services in
English. Membership demographics were not the only change; the
churches were changing too (Appendix 2). Several churches in
Ballard either altered their names or merged with other churches
for various reasons; sometimes several times over.
Finally, immigrant churches often seemed less able to adjust to the changing needs and new realities of the Norwegian ethnic community. The church represented established and traditional beliefs, while the community was often faced with new situations and choices. Secular groups were appearing to fulfill needs the churches could not or would not address. Defenders of these groups pointed out that support of the individual was essential, whether the person was of Lutheran, Baptist, or Methodist affiliation. Peder Svendsen, a Swedish organizer, remarked that "any division among the Scandinavians in Washington was almost certainly caused by divergent attitudes concerning the Old Country heritage," and he further claimed that "ethnic clubs and societies allowed immigrants the time and opportunity to sort out that part of their cultural heritage they wished to retain" (quoted in Dahlie 1967:90).

Church spokesmen, on the other hand, objected that social clubs often encouraged the reading of such 'non-Christian' authors as Ibsen or Bjørnsen; other clubs allowed drinking, card playing, and dancing. Church membership was not compatible with membership in such organizations as these. A number of these social clubs, however, such as the Norwegian Club and Swedish Club, in Seattle, tried to expand the support they offered to their members or others in need in more tangible ways than just socializing. For example, the editor of Nya Världen defended the
work of the Swedish Club when he reported that they had "already paid for two persons' burials and they were not members. Whatcom County does not pay a dollar towards a pauper's funeral, so it would not be much of a burial if warm-hearted people did not help" (quoted in Dahlie 1967:89–90). The debate over "proper" versus "practical" ethnic organization and support continued to appear in the immigrant press. However, 1903 was to become a year in which secular immigrant support was to take on a national dimension.

In 1895 a small group of Norwegians in Minneapolis organized the Sons of Norway Fraternal Benefit Society which spread to communities throughout the Midwest. The main purpose was to provide life insurance, sick benefits, unemployment benefits, and burial assistance to members who purchased a mandatory $100 life insurance policy. The Society also emphasized the importance of fellowship including "the promotion of better understanding between Norwegians and Americans, preparation for citizenship, and preservation of the Norwegian tradition— in that order" (Dahlie 1967:157). However, from its inception, the Sons of Norway organization emphasized its insurance benefits for members.

Den Norske Forening, a Norwegian social group, formed in Everett, Washington, in 1901, petitioned Sons of Norway, Minneapolis, to become the first chapter on the West Coast, but
the idea was rejected by the Minneapolis organization due to complications of distance and the difficulties of selling insurance across state boundaries. A group of Seattle Norwegians, however, decided to establish their own independent Sons of Norway Lodge, Pacific Coast, and in 1903 the Sons of Norway, Leif Erikson Lodge No. 1 (Seattle) was founded. They offered all the same benefits of the larger Midwest organization (without mandatory insurance), and even began adding chapters: Norden Lodge No. 2 (Tacoma) in 1904, and Daughters of Norway, Valkyrien Lodge No. 1 (Ballard), in 1905. Discussions for a merger of the Pacific Coast with the Midwest organization began in 1908, but the Pacific Coast group insisted that the Order's insurance program be made voluntary. After two years of negotiation, this was agreed to, and the two organizations merged in 1910 as a national fraternal organization, the Sons of Norway.

**Ballard's Annexation**

The period 1900–1920 was one of the most explosive periods of growth for Washington state. Its economy was booming, and migrants were streaming in (Appendix 3). By 1910, the proportion of domestic and foreign born in-migrants in Washington to the total resident population already was greater than for any other state – and the Scandinavians were the largest single group. The population of Ballard had more than doubled by
1900, creating a strain on the artesian wells dug to deliver fresh water to residents. Ballard had begun dumping its garbage in Salmon Bay. By 1901, the year of Ballard's first 17th of May parade, local well water had become contaminated. Ballard had been in negotiation with Seattle for some time regarding access to its Cedar River water supply, but with limited success.

The common source for public drinking water in Ballard was still a communal tin cup at the centralized drinking wells, which were connected to the horse troughs in town. By 1901, there were severe outbreaks of diphtheria, scarlet fever, and smallpox such that "a new ordinance made being caught in public with a contagious disease a misdemeanor" (Hennig and Tripp 1988:61). In 1902, the year excavation began on the Salmon Bay locks, massive fires in Ballard and the lack of water to fight them became a catalyst for Ballard's city council to begin finally to consider annexation to Seattle for better water supply and fire protection. Seattle was a growing community and in looking for room for future expansion, it had been considering Ballard and the surrounding community for some years.

Explosions at the shingle mills, cinders in the air, and wooden planks paving the streets and sidewalks, were a volatile combination, making life in Ballard rather unpleasant for many. In 1903, Mayor Mackie insisted the wooden planked streets be paved with brick, and cement sidewalks constructed in order to
ANSWERING A CALL
Ballard and Twentieth [notice street car tracks, also the crown on the Junction Building, Ballard Avenue now has brick.] This picture was taken during the Elks Fourth of July Celebration, 1904.

Figure 2.3
Paved streets in Ballard: 1904
taken from Wandrey, Four Bridges to Seattle
reduce the threat of fire, and to improve the air quality (fig. 2.3). It was hoped this would also make doing business in Ballard more attractive, reducing the temptation to take the readily available street cars, and the customer’s hard-earned cash, to Seattle.  

Between 1905 and 1908, Ballard experienced another population and building boom. According to the Baist Real Estate Map Company, Ballard’s developed area during this period doubled and the number of buildings increased by 120 percent. Unfortunately, there also was a drought that year, and by 1906, with the increase in population, the water supply was not adequate. Ballard Mayor Wiley installed a new pump and well, but the issue of water remained a very serious and an elusive problem.

On July 19, 1906, the city of Seattle was granted exclusive water rights for the control of Cedar River water. The communities of Alki Point, West Seattle, Youngstown, and Spring Hill; Rainier Beach, Southeast Seattle, Columbia City, and Hellman were all absorbed by Seattle almost immediately through annexation as a consequence of their need for a reliable fresh water source. On November 6, that same year, Ballard finally put the issue of annexation to the vote: 996 voted yes, and 874 voted no. According to Ballard historians, Hennig and Tripp, “On May 29, 1907, Ballard’s proud City Hall was draped with black crepe, and the flag on the city flag pole hung at half mast. The faces of those
crowding the streets were a mix of smiles and sad eyes blinking back the tears" (Hennig and Tripp 1988:64). It had been a bitter fight, but Ballard had finally become a community of Seattle.

Norwegians in Ballard: 1907-1920

By the time of Ballard’s annexation, along with the additional churches, the Ballard Public Library had been built, and the town had added Elks Lodge No. 827. The Ballard Drop Forge Co., Wolfe’s Transfer & Storage, the Ballard Boat Works, Ballard Transfer Co., and the Ballard Bar also made their appearance. In 1909, the Department of Scandinavian Languages and Literature was founded at the University of Washington. In this same year the Norwegian communities in Ballard and Seattle were beginning to coalesce and emerge as a civic body as well as an immigrant one.

For example, H.P. Rude, who was a charter member of the Leif Erikson lodge, was also a city councilman. When the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition was held in Seattle in 1909, Rude became very active with preparations for the exposition and “in making arrangements for 'Norway Day' which proved to have the highest single day's attendance of any nationals during the exposition.” There were floats representing both Leif Erikson and Valkyrien lodges, banners, and "hundreds of participants in national costumes representing every Norwegian group in Seattle."12
The cornerstone for "Norway Hall" on Boren Avenue in Seattle, was laid January 24, 1915. The lodges had been renting various halls and rooms as the need arose, but the time had come to have a permanent building of their own. According to lodge records, "preceding the laying of the corner stone, there was a parade through the city streets in which the Eidsvold Lodge No. 12 of Ballard also took part. A large gathering was present to watch the ceremonies of laying of the corner stone for a building which later received the reputation of being the building of best Norwegian architecture of any in America." On May 17, 1915, people came from all over to share in the opening festivities – from Bellingham, Tacoma, Grays Harbor, and Poulsbo, participating in "one of the most colorful Seventeenth of May celebrations ever held in Seattle." Norway Hall was hailed as the "new Temple of Norsedom."13 There was now a place to house the lodge library that had been started in 1908, a place for Norwegian language classes, dances, and a central meeting place for many Norwegian events in the area. With its distinctive Viking dragon-head architecture, it was both a visual and institutional focus for the rest of the community, a tradition which has continued with the relocation of the Leif Erikson lodge and its newer Viking hall to Ballard.

Far from isolating the Norwegians from the rest of the community, the Leif Erikson Lodge became active in civic as well
as cultural activities. For example, funds were collected at the lodge to aid Norwegian seamen in America, and in World War I, the Sons of Norway parent organization mounted a national campaign to support the United States War effort. The Leif Erikson lodge raised enough money to "purchase and present to the United States Government three fully equipped ambulances which were delivered to various military forts," including one at Camp Lewis in the Seattle area.14

The Norwegian community of Ballard and Seattle had moved through a series of transitions by 1910. With the publication of Washington Posten, immigrants could not only maintain contact with the "Old Country" through pictures and articles, but could maintain a closer connection with scattered settlements throughout the local area, building a more extensive Norwegian community than perhaps the numbers in their individual settlements might indicate. The churches brought a structure from the Midwest with which many immigrants had been familiar and provided a grounding in religious tradition. Norwegian social clubs, along with the immigrant press, added the dimension of assimilation to the group, and the Sons of Norway lodges connected Norwegians on Puget Sound with Norwegians across the country. In all of these activities, there was a growing sense of Americanization, as Norwegians began to balance the old culture with the new. Most businesses owned or operated by Norwegians
at this time were focused on the larger heterogeneous community and offered services in shingle, fishing, boating, and dry goods. They had become a civic presence in the community.

Now Norwegians could begin to single out those countrymen who hailed from their home districts or bygde, and form associations (lag). They could reminisce without the fear such activity would isolate them from the larger community within which they had become integrated or would alienate them from the common Norwegian immigrant body within which they had been nurtured. It was a way to offset the tension between regional and national loyalties that were still being debated in the immigrant press. In spite of the rising nationalism in Norway and the adjustments to a new culture in America, immigrant regional loyalties were still very strong.

Because only four percent of the land in Norway is suitable for agriculture, the inhabited areas in Norway often consist of villages in isolated valleys along interior river systems cut off from neighboring valleys by high mountains or plateaus, or settlements carved out at the mouth of vast, deep fjords along the western coast. The people of these settlements (bygde) had been traditionally dependent on each other and so built very close-knit communities. As these rural folk began to migrate to larger towns or cities, they would often organize into regional societies (Appendix 4) whose members shared common cultural
traits, customs, and traditions; who understood the regional
dialect, myths, and histories; and who could share in the same
regional dances, music, games, painting, wood carving, food, and
costumes of their common bygd.

The struggle against Denmark and Sweden that had helped
solidify a strong Norwegian national identity also nurtured a wave
of nationalism that elevated rural culture by creating a language
formed from rural dialects (landsmål), and "it made rural Norway
the carrier of an unbroken national tradition" (Lovoll 1975:2). As
young people began migrating from rural to urban areas in the
late 1860s, they sought to maintain their regional identity
wherever they went. It was not unusual, therefore, for immigrants
settling in America to do the same.

Members were primarily first- and second-generation
Norwegians who still knew the language and had memories of
Norway to share and preserve. The idea of the lag was not to
form a mutual aid society for members, like that of Sons of
Norway, but to socialize, allowing members to indulge in nostalgia
and relive experiences of home. Often a lag would attempt to
preserve the history of its members before it was lost, but
usually such schemes foundered. The major activity for the year
was a two-to-three day reunion, called a stevne, and often
included feasting, and dancing, as well as reminiscing. Some lag
were very large, representing an entire church diocese from back
home, while others consisted of specific small rural areas, communities, or special interests such as youth or sport groups.

Nine years after the first bygdelaag was organized in the Midwest, and five years after the establishment of the Leif Erikson lodge in Seattle, a number of bygdelaag began to spring up in the Puget Sound region. By 1930, nineteen bygdelaag had organized (Appendix 5), and although the bygdelaag did not publish their own newsletters, they were often given a page or column in the local Norwegian-language press. These bygdelaag not only maintained their connection with their counterparts in the Midwest, some also belonged to the national umbrella organization Bygdelagenes Fællesråd, Inc., which organized national stevne. This gave immigrants yet another avenue for building associations across America. And, as the Norwegian-language press tried to maintain contact with the old country, the local bygdelaag also maintained contact with its regional counterpart in Norway, exchanging gifts and spokesmen (Lovoll 1975:5).

By 1920, the Ballard neighborhood added Bowie Electric, Nils Hanson’s Corner Grocery, the Ballard Savings & Loan Association, and the Draper Engine Works. Further south, an infant Boeing Corporation was making its appearance. Due to the rapid depletion of timber for the early logging industry, Ballard Sheet Metal Works began focusing on the fishing industry instead of the sawmills; supplying fuel and water tanks to ships along Salmon
Bay. The Chittendon Locks were finally built, linking Lake Washington and Lake Union through the Washington Ship Canal to Puget Sound, a part of the second largest canal system in the Americas. No longer the raw and feisty little logging town of the early days, Ballard was now specialized in the fishing industry, in shipping, and in manufacturing, integrated as a district of the growing metropolis city of Seattle.

Norwegian Community of Ballard: 1900-1920

The Norwegian cultural infrastructure that developed in Ballard, 1900 to 1920, took shape within several interactive matrices, and enabled the development of a supportive base at several levels. At the first level, were those activities and institutions that wove a connectedness of immigrants to each other within their own immediate region through churches, social groups, regional (bygde), and national associations. In Ballard, there is evidence of several immigrant churches that formed, at least, as an initial focal point for the debate over tradition versus assimilation.

The churches were clearly able to articulate the traditional point of view, and at least for the interim, the social clubs explored some of the means and implications of a more secular and practical assimilation process. The regional (bygde) and national associations presented the ethnic community in Ballard
with the ability to move between identification with one's hometown and the heady, new Norwegian nationalism that had been growing since 1864 and had culminated with Norway's freedom from Sweden in 1905. And all of these institutions helped the ethnic community reevaluate cultural identity within a new environment. But there was no need for individuals to choose only one of these dimensions; they were as flexible and interactive and as selectively applicable as the immigrant experience itself.

The patterns of social and institutional development immigrants often developed were ones they brought with them and adapted within the growing new community. Conditions and developments in Norway were important in understanding why patterns developed in the immigrant communities as they did. Forces of regional isolation, questions of loyalties divided between region and state, the influence of a budding rural to urban migration, and the expectation of community dialog through a free press are a few patterns that followed immigrants to their new home and became part of the cultural infrastructure they developed in Ballard.

Ballard was developing too, but not around its Norwegian community. The infrastructure Norwegians developed, such as the immigrant press, churches, social clubs, fraternal orders, and regional associations were impressive but did not inhibit or
interact with the growth of Ballard such that the town visually became a "Little Norway." Norwegians actively participated in town government, civic projects and celebrations as well as in their own, and they contributed to Ballard in a more practical way by continuing in the occupations they were most familiar with: logging, fishing, and shipping. In this way, the growth of Ballard and the development of a Norwegian cultural infrastructure were mutually supportive; Norwegians were able to live and work and play and celebrate in the ways they were most accustomed to, while contributing to the growth of Ballard. With this in mind, then, Ballard's reputation as a Norwegian community can be supported historically; the strength of the Norwegian cultural infrastructure, on which Ballard's reputation is ultimately built, continues to be dependent on its flexibility, dimensionality, and adaptiveness.
By 1910, the proportion of U.S.-born and Norwegian-born residents to the total population in Washington was greater than in any other state, engulfing the previously established culture. Between 1900 and 1910, for example, the rate of foreign-born residents increased 120.4 percent, six times the national rate; and the Scandinavians were the largest single group (Dahlie 1967:3-9). Norwegians seemed to have been attracted especially to the Puget Sound area "because of the similarity to the fjord and mountain topography of the Old Country, while Swedes and Danes often sought out promising agricultural lands in Pierce, Snohomish, and Whatcom counties, among others" (Dahlie 1967:42).

Kay Reinartz, local historian, comments that the image of Ballard that evolved was a place dominated by "snoose-chewing, lutefisk-relishing Nordics. In popular parlance a trip to Ballard was likened to a trip to the 'Old Country', down to needing a passport to cross the Ballard Bridge." However, Reinartz relies too heavily on numbers alone as she concludes that "the basis for this concept of the community now lies in the realm of mythology since the 1980 U.S. census reported only twelve percent of the
Ballard population as being of Scandinavian descent" (Reinartz 1988d: 51). She does concede, however, that the combined Scandinavian presence in the community, as well as throughout the state, historically provided a strong cultural influence.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the development of a strong Norwegian cultural infrastructure along the Puget Sound in the early 1900s was clearly not a myth. It developed within the matrix of a larger Scandinavian cultural presence throughout the region, and was well-integrated within the historical development of Ballard itself. However, Ballard's continued characterization as a Norwegian community confirms a cultural persistence not supported by statistics alone and it has enabled the Norwegian culture to continue developing and regenerating itself despite seemingly unsupportive population statistics.

Washington State Population Statistics

According to the 1980 United States census, the total population of Norwegians of single ancestry (both parents born in Norway) in the state of Washington is 107,819, or 8.5 percent of the total United States Norwegian population. In King County, Washington, where Ballard is located, the total of all ethnic groups, single ancestry, is 1,269,749, with Norwegians accounting for only 2.9 percent of this number. A combination of all Scandinavians in King County number 69,744, or 5.5 percent of the
total ethnic population. Within this Scandinavian population, however, Norwegians comprise the largest group.¹

The Norwegian population of King County is 36,841, or 4 percent of the total United States Norwegian population; however, 34 percent of all Norwegians in the state of Washington live in King County. Ballard comprises approximately 13 percent of King County's Norwegian population. According to these statistics, the Norwegian community is not an especially large group. English, German, Black, Irish, and Mexican/Spanish ethnic groups have larger populations in King County than the Norwegians. For the overall United States Norwegian population, however, the Puget Sound area and Seattle are becoming increasingly important. In fact, according to Allen and Turner (1988), King County supports the second largest concentration of Norwegians in the country.²

Survey Methods

Who are the Norwegians of Ballard today? The question is not as simple as it appears. As discussed earlier, Ballard is a "neighborhood community" of Seattle. It does not have clearly defined or even agreed upon boundaries. Many of the statistical data available are incorporated within the larger city of Seattle, and therefore, impossible to segregate. Census tracts would also only provide limited information. Choosing the zip code boundary to mark the region of Ballard's cultural landscape, provided
common locational reference points, but to understand Ballard as a cultural entity meant approaching those who identify with and are drawn to Ballard for Norwegian activities.

I selected the seven Norwegian organizations, listed in the Norwegian-language *Western Viking* newspaper, that meet in Ballard. After contacting and receiving permission from each organization, I sent out a total of 1600 questionnaires (Appendix 8) to members who live within the "98" zip code area (all of Puget Sound). I did not control for "single ancestry" because I was not looking for evidence of heritage based on blood line alone. I was interested in those individuals who wished to participate, retain, and/or pass along Norwegian traditions to succeeding generations. According to Waters (1990), "for later-generation white ethnics, ethnicity is not something that influences their lives unless they want it to. In the world of work and school and neighborhoods, individuals do not have to admit to being ethnic unless they choose to" (Waters 1990:7). The assumption in this survey approach, is that those who are members of ethnic organizations or who identify strongly with a chosen ethnic element in their family, regardless of single or multiple ancestry, have some desire to participate and appreciate their heritage. They have, in Waters' terms, chosen to be Norwegian. These would be the individuals, then, most knowledgeable about the development and activity of the contemporary Norwegian cultural infrastructure in and around Ballard.
Of the 1600 questionnaires sent out, I received 358 in return, or a 22.4 percent response rate. If the survey had controlled for single ancestry, the 1600 questionnaires would equate to 4.3 percent of the total King County Norwegian population, and the 358 responses would equate to approximately 1 percent of the same population.

**General Survey Population Characteristics**

Of the questionnaires returned, 232, or 65 percent of the respondents who are drawn to Ballard for Norwegian cultural activities, were born in the United States; 126, or 35 percent, were born in Norway. The earliest year families of current U.S.-born respondents migrated to the Pacific Northwest was 1870, the latest was 1988. The earliest year current Norwegian-born families migrated to the Pacific Northwest was 1900, the latest was also 1988. The median age of the U.S.-born respondents is between 62-79; for Norwegian-born respondents, the median age is slightly younger, between 53-70. This age grouping may only indicate those respondents who had the most time to answer the survey, or it could represent more specific generational interest. The median age of the respondents' immediate families in both groups was the same, between 26-43 years. Ballard comprises the 98107 and 98117 zip code areas, and of those surveyed, 82 percent provided zip code information by which their geographic distribution could be recorded (fig. 3.1). Thirty percent live
Figure 3.1

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
Percentage of Sample Population - by Zip Code

- 16-20 (N=253)
- 11-15
- 7-10
- 4-6
- 1-3

Snohomish County
King County

Nashleanas ©1991
within the zip code boundary of Ballard, and another 17 percent live just north of Ballard; this means that 47 percent of all respondents surveyed live within approximately 7 miles of downtown Ballard. According to in-migrant status, the U.S.-born respondents appear to center more within the two zip code areas of Ballard while the Norwegian-born respondents center in the northern Ballard zip code area and the area just north of Ballard. There does not seem to be any other significant differences in distribution by in-migrant status, age, or decade to the community. Of all of the zip code areas, 98117 (northern Ballard) attracts a greater variety of age ranges than the others, while 98136, south of Alki Point attracts the majority of the 71-79 age range and the 26-34 age range.5

U.S.-Born Respondents

Respondents born in the United States were asked to identify themselves generationally. First generation means at least one parent was born in Norway; second generation means at least one grandparent was born in Norway, and so on. Not surprisingly, first generation respondents were the most numerous. The decade with the highest percentage of U.S.-born Norwegians in this region was 1940, therefore, one might assume there would be more second and third generation descendents than is represented in this survey (fig. 3.2). Indeed, the median age of respondents' families, 26 to 43 years, might also suggest
this. However, only 40 residents within the 26 to 43 age range responded to the survey, and younger age ranges responded even less. There are several possible reasons the numbers are so small for these generations. Some could have made their careers and homes elsewhere, some might lack interest in ethnic heritage, some might be preoccupied with career and family, choosing to expend extra energies in these directions. Some, perhaps, belong to a multiple ancestry and identify with a different culture, or simply choose to not identify with the Norwegian culture. People were asked to respond to 36 questions and to supply their own stamp for the self-addressed return envelope. Some may not have wished to bother or simply put it off. In fact, I am still receiving completed questionnaires in the
mail periodically. There were 1242 questionnaires not returned, and the reasons could be legion.

The largest single decade of second-stage migration for current U.S.-born Norwegians to the Ballard area, according to the survey (fig. 3.3), was the 1940s, followed closely by 1910 and 1920. This migration trend by decade is also reflected in the age of the sample, those ranging from 62 to 79+ represent 54 percent of the entire population surveyed. Those ranging from 18 to 61 constitute the other 46 percent.

In 1940, the most common reason for migration cited was the opportunity for work (30 percent). Other reasons included: the area was similar to Norway or individuals were attracted by
the distinctively Norwegian culture (21 percent), or relatives were already settled here (16 percent). For the 1910 and 1920 migrations, the most common reason was relatives (39 percent and 31 percent, respectively). In 1910, the similarity to the Norwegian landscape and access to the Norwegian culture constituted 25 percent of the reasons for migration, and the opportunity for work constituted 19 percent. In 1920, opportunity for work (19 percent) was the second strongest reason for migration, and the third most common reason was the fishing industry (14 percent). Overall reasons cited across decades include opportunity for work, 31 percent; location of relatives and friends in the region, 27 percent; similar Norwegian landscapes and access to Norwegian culture, 17 percent; and opportunities in the fishing industry, 10 percent (or 33 percent of the total work opportunities sought).

For the most recent decades of migration, the 1970s and 1980s, however, the reasons for migration fall out somewhat differently (fig. 3.4). The similarity of the region to Norway and the draw of culture is stronger, especially in 1970, and Boeing became a more influential draw in 1980.

Comparing maps of where U.S.-born families were living prior to their Pacific Northwest migration, and where their families live today shows an interesting migration shift. Historically, secondary-stage Norwegian in-migrants came primarily from Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota.
For Ballard respondents, the pattern is slightly different: the major source states are Minnesota, North Dakota, Alaska, and Wisconsin. The addition of Alaska reflects the attraction of Klondike gold fever and the more recent lure of Alaskan crab fishing as an initial draw to the Pacific Northwest. These Norwegians were attracted either to the adventure itself or to the economic support services based in the Puget Sound area and San Francisco (Allen and Turner 1988:72).

However, the pattern on the map (fig. 3.5) is also similar to the historic opening of the west and growing land availability discussed in Chapter one. It also corresponds to the path of the Great Northern Railroad, which opened the northwest and provided the opportunities for disillusioned or homesick Norwegian immigrants to reach the sea. Respondents could
Figure 3.5

Percentage of US-Born Respondents Reporting State of Origin for Themselves or Ancestors

Data collected by author. Nashleenas © 1991

N = 232

Σ States = 125 (54%)
Σ Washington = 115 (50%)
Σ Born Outside US = 5 (2%)
mention more than one state of origin, if the mother, father, or either grandparent arrived separately.

It is interesting to note that nearly half of the respondents reported the Pacific Northwest as the family's source of origin, which might indicate consistent generational decisions to remain in the same area if it were not for the fact that the majority of respondents are first generation. Answers to the question of where the family lived before moving to Ballard, the responses are given in Figure 3.6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of U.S. Born Respondents or Respondents' Families Before Moving to the Ballard Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Always lived in Ballard:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puget Sound:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Northwest:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Pacific Northwest area:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Major States:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Other States:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.6

There were two countries (other than Norway) represented as places of origin before Ballard for U.S.-Born respondents: four had lived in Canada and one had lived in Japan.
Percentage of US-Born Norwegian Respondents Listing Family Members in Various States

Percentage represents respondent households with family members in various states. Respondents could list multiple states.

- Dark brown: 77
- Medium brown: 25-33
- Light brown: 10-16
- Lighter brown: 1-8
- Pale brown: <1

N=232 Respondents

Data collected by author Nashleinas © 1991

Figure 3.7
Following migration patterns from Midwest homesteads to current residence in the Puget Sound area, respondents were asked where other family members live today; and a slightly different pattern emerges (fig. 3.7). As well as reporting a very high percentage of family members in the Puget Sound area (77 percent), the traditional homestead states are being equalled by California, Oregon, and Montana. The eastern states and the South are also increasing in popularity.

Of those family members reported, 396 were between 26 and 43, the median age. Only 40 respondents to the survey identified themselves as within that age range. With 77 percent of family members of all ages remaining in the Puget Sound area, there seems to be a strong likelihood that second and third generation Norwegian-Americans of Puget Sound families are moving to other states.

Finally, U.S.-born respondents were asked to provide their family's point of origin in Norway, including the name of their family's district and village. Impressively, most could do so. In order to compile these data, it was necessary to group the many small Norwegian villages and towns together within commonly accepted regions (fig. 3.8). Overall, the greatest number of relatives came from the Trondheim region (31 percent). Included in the Trondheim region are: Møre og Romsdal (18 percent), and Trønderlag (13 percent). The Oslo region is second at 15
percent, and the Bergen/Ålesund region is a close third at 13 percent.

By decade, the earliest migration to the United States, from the respondent population, came in 1870 from the eastern

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Norwegian Districts of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oslo region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Østfold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Akershus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vestfold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Hedmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Agder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Rogaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergen/Ålesund region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Hordaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Sogn og Fjordane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Finnmark</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.8

interior of Oppland (fig. 3.9). In 1880, immigrants from Trønderlag and Trøms joined in, and in 1900, 32 immigrants from 11 districts were moving to the United States, to eventually end up in the Puget Sound region. Between 1910 and 1940, the greatest number of respondents' families arrived in the United States, with the largest percentage of these from Møre og Romsdal area. Agder,
U.S.-BORN RESPONDENTS
POINT of ORIGIN
by Percentage

Figure 3.9
Hordaland, Trønderlag, Nordland, and Trøms were also more active than the other regions during this time.

From 1940 on, the more important source regions of immigrants have been Akershus and Rogaland. Seventy percent of all immigrants from Akershus and 68 percent of all immigrants from Rogaland arrived between 1940 and 1970. For the past two decades, 1970 and 1980, Akershus and Trønderlag have been the most active with 20 percent and 10 percent respectively, of their total migration (Appendix 9).

Summarizing some of the more general characteristics of the U.S.-born Norwegian respondents, most are first generation, with the median age ranging from 62 to 79. This is also reflected by the fact that 43 percent of those surveyed are retired. Almost 50 percent reported always having lived in the Puget Sound area, although for those who lived elsewhere first, the greatest migration decade was 1940. The major states of origin for this secondary-stage migration follow the traditional, historical in-migrant settlements in Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin. Perhaps somewhat unique to the Pacific Northwest orientation, Alaska is also a major state of origin for Puget Sound U.S.-born respondents.

The extended families of respondents are more dispersed throughout the United States than are their historic family roots (fig. 3.7). California, Montana, Oregon are now competing with the traditional states of origin, Minnesota, North Dakota, and
Wisconsin, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, as well as several states in the east are also becoming increasingly attractive as destinations for family members.

Of those U.S.-born respondents who are retired, most have lived and worked in the Puget Sound area for at least 15 to 20 years before retirement. Few have come to the area expressly to retire. There is no specific grouping of occupation: accounting and finance, medical, business, and education are the primary occupations of the U.S.-born respondents. Finally, this group resides primarily within the 98107 and 98117 zip code areas of Ballard.

**Norwegian-Born Respondents**

Norwegian-born respondents were asked to identify the town and district they considered home in Norway. The earliest migrations of Norwegian-born respondents to the United States came in 1900 from Hordaland, and from Møre og Romsdal (fig. 3.10). The decade, 1910, added Agder and Rogaland, as well as Nordland. By 1920, migration was picking up in 10 of the 16 districts, with the greatest number coming from the Trondheim region including Møre og Romsdal and Trønderlag. In fact, between 1920 and 1950, 90 percent and 83 percent, respectively, of all immigrants from these regions came during this period. For Nordland, 78 percent of all immigrants came between 1940 and 1970; and for Akershus, 100 percent of immigrants came during
NORWEGIAN-BORN RESPONDENTS

POINT of ORIGIN
by Percentage

Figure 3.10
that same period (Appendix 10). Overall, 33 percent of all Norwegian-born respondents came from the Trondheim region, 15 percent from the Oslo region, 14 percent from the Southern region, 13 percent from the Northern region, 12 percent from the Bergen/Ålesund region, 10 percent from the Interior/eastern region, and 1 percent from Finnmark.

Overall one of the strongest reasons for migration to the United States was to accompany or join family already located here (30 percent of all reasons). This was strongest between

| Norwegian-Born Respondents: Reasons for Immigration to the United States by Decade |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 30                               |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| 15                               |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| 9                                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| 9                                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| 8                                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| 5                                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| 5                                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| 4                                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| 2                                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |

Figure 3.11

1920 and 1950 (fig. 3.11). Right after World War II, many additional reasons were evident: a sense of adventure, a better
life, education, opportunities to work; some married Americans, some simply came to visit and stayed, and others cited unspecified results of World War II. By the 1960s, work opportunities were still attracting immigrants, visitors who were deciding to become permanent residents picked up in the 1970s, and immigration for education picked up in the 1980s.

There is a strong correlation between the decade immigrants moved to the United States and the decade they moved to the Puget Sound region. Respondents who reported residence in the Puget Sound area within the year or decade they or their families immigrated to the United States constitutes 61 percent of the sample. Those who moved to the Puget Sound area within one decade of arrival in the United States comprise 16 percent. Another 6 percent moved to the Puget Sound area within two decades, and 3 percent came within three decades. Only 2 percent waited four decades, and those for whom this information was not given constitute 13 percent of the sample population.

Twenty-eight percent of the Norwegian-born respondents moved to the Puget Sound area after arrival in the United States because of relatives and friends. Another 28 percent reported they were attracted to an area that looked like Norway, and that they were drawn to the Norwegian culture. Of the remainder, 27 percent came to work, 15 percent were looking for a better
lifestyle, and 2 percent did not like where they had been living (climate and prices).

Summarizing the Norwegian-born respondents, the median age of this group is 53 to 70, somewhat younger than their U.S.-born contemporaries, and the majority is retired. The median age of their immediate family, as with the U.S.-born respondents, is between 26 and 43. The greatest decade of migration for Norwegian-born residents was after World War II, in the 1950s, and the greatest variety of motives for moving to the United States also occurred during this time.

Migration to the Puget Sound area is much more deliberate and immediate for these contemporary Norwegian immigrants than was true of their forebears in the early 1900s; 61 percent either settled in the community direct from Norway or moved from an initial location within the year or decade of their arrival in the United States. Comparing motives for moving to the United States, and to the Puget Sound area, the reasons for migration appear to be equally split between joining family (contacts) and moving to an area that reminds immigrants of home (fig. 3.12). A move to the United States seems more occasioned by hopes for a better life overall, and a move to the Puget Sound area for specific job opportunities. Push factors appear to be stronger in the decision to emigrate to the United States than to move to the Puget Sound area. Norwegian-born respondents are more attracted to the work opportunities of the Puget Sound area than
those offered by the United States in general. Norwegians hail primarily from the districts of Møre og Romsdal and Trøndelag,

near Trondheim, in Norway; and they have settled primarily in the northern section of Ballard and the area just north of Ballard.

Language Use

In his 1965 work on the Norwegian language in America, Einar Haugen suggested that spoken Norwegian in the United States would disappear in the near future. His evidence stems from an observed decline of Norwegian used in church services since 1925, pastors no longer being required to speak the
language for serving the church, and a disappearance of the Norwegian language spoken at Sons of Norway business meetings.

Haugen also considers the decrease in Norwegian-language church publications and general-circulation newspapers as signposts of the language's serious decline. At the time of his study, there were only three weeklies in the Midwest, the Iowa Decorah-Posten, the Minneapolis Tidende, and Skandinaven. Minneapolis Tidende and Skandinaven were bought by the Decorah-Posten in 1935 and 1941, respectively, and the Decorah-Posten was purchased by the Washington Posten of Seattle (renamed the Western Viking) in 1973. These papers had all experimented with a blending of English and Norwegian in order to keep readership active, which continues today in the Western Viking. However, Haugen cautions, "as long as there are people to read the original Norwegian, immigrant newspapers have something to give. But in English they appear to constitute an undesired limitation of scope" (Haugen 1965:279).

Although Haugen concludes that a practical use for Norwegian in the United States is dissipating rapidly, he does credit individuals within the group as desiring to retain their language simply out of "fondness", but unfortunately this fondness cannot be isolated and recorded. Mary Waters suggests that for third and later generations, ethnic language retention or learning serves a purpose somewhat different from simply communicating practical information. Selective words and
phrases are a continued link to the past, "the language itself is not easily separated in their minds from family traditions, childhood memories, and particular occasions or events.... Rather than being a link to fellow ethnics for (the) third generation, the language (is) thus a link with the remembered past" (Waters 1990:116-117).

Dahlie records and evaluates the debates regarding language retention, as a requirement to maintain culture, in the Norwegian-language press of the 1890s. The consensus, at that time, was that language retention and assimilation did not mix, but that language retention also was not required to maintain Norwegian identity. What is the status of the Norwegian language in Ballard, today? After more than 25 years since Haugen's
warning, 38 percent of all survey respondents reported Norwegian spoken in the home (fig. 3.13). Of that number, 51 percent are Norwegian-born, and 49 percent are U.S.-born; 37 percent of all children in those households also have learned Norwegian.

For U.S.-born Norwegians, first generation language use by the parents is greater than by their children (fig. 3.14). Surprisingly, for the second generation, children use the language slightly more than their parents, a pattern duplicated for the third generation as well.

![U.S. Born: Norwegian Spoken in the Home and by the Children - Percentage Across Generations](image)

Figure 3.14
For Norwegian-born immigrants, language use in the home and by the children has remained at fairly equal levels with some mild exceptions: in 1920, and 1960 children who spoke Norwegian surpassed reported usage in the home, while in 1930, 1950 and 1970, home and child usage seemed about equal. In 1900 and 1940 the child's usage dropped below that in the home; in 1980 this drop was noticeably greater (fig. 3.15). There is only mild correlation to attitudes recorded regarding average anticipated length of stay.7

Figure 3.15

For the decades 1920 through 1970, anticipated length of stay was either short-term or permanent, and children's language
usage fluctuated from surpassing that in the home to dropping slightly below parents' language use. In 1980, however, child usage dropped considerably and the anticipated length of stay in the United States was long-term. This is not enough data to evaluate whether there is a relationship between anticipated length of stay and children retaining their family's native language, but it would be an interesting direction to pursue.

When thinking about practical uses of Norwegian in the Ballard community, it is easy to think of snatches of conversation in some of the shops, or during the social hours at the Leif Erikson Lodge; of reading labels and asking for specialty food items such as lefse or geitost or rømmegrot in the local delicatessen; singing Norwegian Christmas carols, looking forward to the parade on syttende mai, ordering kjøttkaker or karbonade in the local Scandinavian restaurant -- these are important in the daily life of a community removed from the need of daily exchanges in order for home and family to survive in a new land.

One of the last bastions of language use in a society no longer dominated by the immigrant church and an awkwardness with English, is the immigrant press. Initially designed to ease assimilation, provide a forum for immigrant concerns and a link to news from the home country, the immigrant press of today sends a mixed message. In Ballard, the most widely-read Norwegian language newspaper is the Western Viking, serving the Norwegian community since 1889. Its current circulation figures stand at
3,000 with readers in Norway, Canada, Mexico, and Sweden besides the United States. In it are clippings from many daily papers from Norway, columns of news and events from cities around the United States with large Norwegian populations, and a section devoted to activities of the Norwegian population of Seattle. Sometimes a special series will run on an historic figure or event, and recently there has been some reporting of economic news of concern to both the United States and Norway.

![Pie chart showing subscription data](image)

**All Respondents: Norwegian-Language Subscriptions N=358**

- Western Viking: 42%
- Nytt fra Norge: 7%
- Other**: 9%
- Non-Subscriber: 42%

**For a breakdown of this category, see Appendix 11**

Nashleanas © 1991

Figure 3.16
Nytt fra Norge is a small, airweight newsletter, in some respects similar to the Western Viking, publishing articles and bits of information of interest from Norway. This publication can be formally subscribed to or can be purchased in some of the local shops. One might surmise that the rather modest level of Norwegian spoken in the Ballard community is occurring in most Norwegian communities across the United States. This surmise is strengthened by the absorption of the Midwest Norwegian press by the Western Viking in 1973, and the increasing use of English for many of its articles. Only 42 percent of the survey respondents reported they subscribe to the Western Viking, and another 42 percent do not subscribe to any Norwegian-language publication (fig 3.16). These numbers do not reflect those who might buy the paper on a periodic basis, and reflects only households, not necessarily individuals.

Personal Contact with Norway

Traditionally, the immigrant press has been a very important link which connected scattered Norwegian communities along the Puget Sound, and helped the community maintain ties to the home country; and to some extent, the Norwegian language press of today continues that tradition. However, with advances in transportation and communication technology, the home country is more directly accessible than ever before. For some
others travel more frequently. For example, one respondent wrote:

Both of my mom’s parents were from Norway. They met over here and settled in western Washington, first in Bryant, north of Seattle, and then in Forks on the Olympic Peninsula where Grandpa worked on the logging railroad. I was born and raised in Seattle, went to college in Port Angeles, and then worked in the logging industry in Port Angeles and Forks until age 30. Then I moved back to Seattle and have been in the furniture business...

In 1979, my mom and her two sisters went to Norway. It was the first time anyone from the States had gone back since my grandparents immigrated: but there had been a lot of letters written. There have been 3 first cousins to my mom here to visit, and two female cousins (each of whom stayed 6 months). In 1984, I became interested in my Norwegian heritage and decided to go to Norway with two cousins. We visited all the relatives that we could. It was then that I decided to go to Norway to live for awhile (6 months) so I could get to know my relatives and learn more of the Norwegian culture. While I was in Norway, I learned some Norwegian. It was easy to talk to the younger Norwegians but difficult to talk to the older ones because of my lack of the language. I started to take Norwegian in Ballard a couple years ago and am slowly learning the language. I have always known of the strong Norwegian background in Ballard but up until a couple years ago, had not been exposed to it.9

The Norwegian-born respondents appeared to have more frequent direct contacts than the U.S.-born respondents, either
by visiting Norway or being visited by relatives from Norway.

The most common yearly interval for both Norwegian-born and U.S.-born respondents to visit the home country, or receive visits, is 5 years (fig. 3.17). At best, only 22 percent of the Norwegian-born immigrants make these most frequent trips; although the U.S.-born survey population is larger, only 14

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<th>Yearly Interval Between Visits</th>
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The next most frequently used travel pattern for both the Norwegian-born and U.S.-born resident is 10-years; although the Norwegian-born receive visits from home at 5- and then 2-year intervals, while U.S.-born residents receive visits at 5- and 10-year intervals.
receive visits from home at 5- and then 2-year intervals, while U.S.-born residents receive visits at 5- and 10-year intervals. There are more frequent visits to the Puget Sound from Norway for almost all intervals except 10-year trips in which Puget Sound residents have a slight edge. The survey did not ask respondents to classify trips as either personal or business. The importance of these visits, as with the foreign-language press, is to allow those living in the United States to maintain contact with the ancestral home. Although the majority of U.S.-born respondents has always lived in the Puget Sound area, they travel to Norway every 5 to 10 years, and they also know the name and district of their family's Norwegian town or village.

Summary of U.S.- and Norwegian-Born Populations

The decades of greatest migration for the survey population are between the 1940s and 1950s for both in-migrant groups (fig. 3.18). The majority of individuals in both groups is at or near retirement age; 30 percent of the survey population, all generations, is between the ages of 18-52. Many respondents take regular trips to Norway, and even more have regular visitors from Norway. Almost 60 percent of the Norwegian-born population still speak the language in the home or teach it to their children, while for U.S.-born respondents that number is only 30 percent. There are as many non-subscribers, among
respondents, to one of the largest Norwegian-language newspapers in the country, published right in Ballard, as there are

![Combined Migration to the Ballard Area by Decade (Percent of Survey Population)](image)

subscribers. The question remains as to how the Norwegian culture maintains itself.

Culture, however, is not simply an accumulation of individual traits and statistics. There are the dynamics of place and the power of institution which can extend the influence of the individual beyond mere numbers. Beyond the individual, then, how is the Norwegian culture being maintained and transmitted in Ballard, and how is this expressed on the landscape?
Chapter 4
Visible Cultural Landscape, Vernacular Region

Previous chapters have covered the purpose of this study, a survey of the literature, and the physical environment of Ballard, Washington; the early Scandinavian migration to the Puget Sound region; the early history of Ballard and the development of a Norwegian cultural infrastructure (1900-1920); and a characterization of the current Norwegian population. The current chapter addresses the main question: "How Norwegian is Ballard today, and what is the evidence?" This is accomplished by direct observation of the cultural landscape, an evaluation of social institutions, and an analysis of those factors which enable the Norwegian community to maintain its traditions.

Initial Observation of Ballard

In September of 1989 I made my first of four trips to Ballard. I took a six-day walking tour to see if Ballard's Norwegian reputation was only conceptual or if there was some direct evidence on the landscape which indicated a strong Norwegian element in the community. Peirce Lewis has suggested that: "if one part of the country (or even one part of a city) looks substantially different from some other part of the country (or city), then the chances are very good that the cultures of the two
places are different also" (Lewis 1979:15). The Valhalla Bar, Bergen Place, Scandies Restaurant, Johnsen's Scandinavian Foods, and the Norwegian flags planted in the sidewalk along Market Street (the main street through town), make an obvious statement. Based on these initial visual clues, Ballard's Norwegian element could be viewed as a legitimate variable for creating a distinctive landscape, and extending my original question, what are some of the ways that ethnicity influences the personality of the region – historically, visually, and perceptually? What role does the cultural landscape play by virtue of its Norwegian elements in attracting and regenerating Norwegian culture thereby continuing to legitimize and perpetuate itself?

Analysis of the Visible Landscape

Lewis states that "nearly all items in human landscapes reflect culture in some way. There are almost no exceptions. Furthermore, most items in the human landscape are no more and no less important than other items in terms of their role as clues to culture" (Lewis 1979:18). What might seem to be the most subtle aspect of the cultural landscape (fig. 4.1) is its physical character. D.W. Meinig speaks of landscape as nature, that "basic frame, holding within the lay of the land, its contours and textures; the weather and the light, ever-changing with the hours
Figure 4.1
Shilshole Bay at dusk, looking west across the marina
and seasons... the power of growth, of moving water... " (Meinig 1979:34). Ballard is located on the northwestern shores of Salmon Bay, with hills sloping steeply away from the water toward Phinney Ridge, topographically reminiscent of the city of Bergen in Norway (fig. 1.3). Snow-capped Mt. Rainier towers in the distance to the southeast. The Cascades ring the area to the east with their own magnificent beauty, and the Olympic ranges answer from the west. Gentle rains, a generally mild climate, and the sounds and smells of the sea nearby add the flavor and romance of a long-time fishing and shipping industry. Active pleasure boating adds a sense of quiet well-being to Ballard's characteristics. The physical environment is not only reminiscent of the Old Country, it also supports economic activities similar to ones Norwegians were familiar with at home. In fact, 55 percent of the Norwegian-born survey respondents indicated they were drawn to Ballard either because of the physical area or because of region-specific jobs.

Norton (1987) suggests that the personality of a region is something that grows through time, and Ballard has both a long and colorful history. Part of its uniqueness is that it is also a small town (fig. 4.2) and its history, full of character, provides a sense of identity and pride for residents among whom are many third and fourth generation Ballardites. Ballard has no mass-produced malls, no massive civic center, no three-lane highways
Figure 4.2
Market Street: Valhalla Tavern (looking west)

Figure 4.3
Section of Ballard's Historic District with brick pavement
through the center of town, and no freeways visible. There are large malls close by, and downtown Seattle is within an easy drive. Ballard is a testament to a past age full of sawmills and shingle mills; of three masted schooners, and abundant saloons. Lewis speaks of such small towns as "obsolete relics of a different age. There are no more being built today, and unless things in America change radically, there never will be" (Lewis 1979:23). Ballard does cherish its colorful history, however, in the restoration and preservation of its historic quarter near the center of town (fig. 4.3), but its later history can also be read in its varied architecture in the business district such as the 1940s era glass and chrome building, and the old J.C. Penney's building transformed into a "mini mall" called Ballard Square.

Although the Norwegian population is not the largest ethnic group in Ballard and never was (Appendix 3), its presence in the community is clearly marked by a rather distinctive cultural landscape. Whether Ballard's Norwegian ethnicity is expressed on the landscape or in the landscape depends on whether the landscape is perceived simply as a visual one or a broader sensual one by using most of the physical senses: sight, smell, taste, touch, and hearing. Meinig suggests that landscape embraces "all that we live amidst, and thus it cultivates a sensitivity to detail, to texture, color, all the nuances of visual relationship, and more, for environment engages all of our senses,
Figure 4.4
Market Street:
Notice the Norwegian flag along the sidewalk. This was not a special Norwegian holiday, just a regular business day.

Figure 4.5
Troll outside of Norse Imports
the sounds and smells and ineffable feel of a place as well" (Meinig 1979:45).

The landscape of Ballard's Norwegian community is certainly a visual one. Walking down Market Street one is first struck by the visibility of Norwegian ethnicity as decoration with the Norwegian flags spaced along the sidewalk (fig. 4.4) or in the shops, and the large troll grimacing at passers-by outside of Norse Imports (fig. 4.5). Norwegian or Scandinavian names are also in evidence, although not in variations of street names. When Ballard was annexed to Seattle, it "inherited" the Seattle numbered street system; and since Norwegians were not the "first effective settlement" in Zelinsky's terms (1973:13), the original street names were not Norwegian either (many of the original street names can still be seen, however, following the old style of ceramic tiles set in the sidewalks). Many businesses, however, do reflect the early and continued influence of the Norwegian business community with names like Olsen Furniture, Bardahl Oil, and the Lunde Electric Company.

Included in the visible cultural landscape are more formal statements of Norwegian ethnicity such as Bergen Place, named for Ballard's Sister City (fig. 4.6). It is a small, triangular, grassy area within Ballard's main business district, with a small gazebo and flags flying of all five Scandinavian countries along with the American flag. It was dedicated by the King of Norway, Olav V,
Figure 4.6
Bergen Place:
named for Seattle's Sister City,
dedicated by the King of Norway.

Figure 4.7
Leif Erikson statue
overlooking Shilshole Bay Marina
Interesting contrast with the Troll
outside of Norse Imports
on his tour of the United States in the 1970s. A statue of Leif Erikson at Shilshole Bay, overlooks the pleasure boat craft and is saluted by passing ships on their way to or from the Washington Ship Canal and the Chittenden locks (fig. 4.7).

Complementing the visual landscape is the less obvious sensual one, especially as identified by taste and smell. Delicatessens and bakeries like Johnsen's Scandinavian Foods, the Norwegian Sausage Company, Scandinavian Specialty Products, Larsen Brothers Danish Bakery, and even the Ballard Market make foods available which are special to many Norwegians, and difficult, if not impossible to find in most other communities.

These delicatessens are also a walk-in sensory experience. Smells of the sausages, pickled herring, smoked fish, and others gather together to produce memories of a typical Norwegian general store in some of the smaller rural areas in the Old Country. Most of the products on the shelves are labeled in Norwegian, such as the kumla mix (potato dumpling), fish balls, Norwegian cheeses, caviar paste, reindeer meatballs, and cloudberry jam (moltebær). However, just as welcome are those foods imported from other places, such as England, familiar to most Norwegians and typically found on Norwegian shelves at home (fig. 4.8).

For recent immigrants there is a feeling of home, but for those who have spent years – or even generations in the U.S., the
Figure 4.8
Johnsen's Scandinavian Foods: notice the red cans of Joika reindeer meatballs and cans of fishballs.

Figure 4.9
Scandies Restaurant menu board: Meatballs and fried cod top the list.
feeling can be one of rediscovering "old friends" on the shelves thought left behind in childhood or on trips long-ago. As a comfortable place for Norwegians to gather, these delicatessens are also some of the places in Ballard where one is as likely to hear Norwegian spoken as English. Shopkeepers switch easily between languages depending on the needs of the customer being served.

Scandies restaurant with an atmosphere of both bistro and pub is also a popular ethnic gathering place for Ballard's Norwegian community, offering such Norwegian delicacies as open-faced sandwiches, salmon, and lefse (fig. 4.9) along with the ever-popular akvitt. However, it is not really necessary to make a special effort to serve most of the typical Norwegian foods, especially in a seaport town. Other Puget Sound restaurants, such as Ivar's (also a common Scandinavian name), serve local dishes - especially salmon, cod, and halibut which are typical Norwegian fare.

Besides, sight, smell, and taste, touch is also a very strong element of the sensual cultural landscape of Ballard. Shops such as Kitchen 'N Things provide access to goods which enable one to keep an ekte, or genuine Norwegian home: for example, specialized utensils for food preparation such as krumkake irons, kransekake rings, hjertevaffler, and even the popular molded plastic kitchenware from Denmark are common stock items.
Figure 4.10
Interior of Kitchen 'n Things: linens in baskets on the floor, neutral floor covering to complement the natural wood paneling gives feeling of traditional Norwegian home
Glassware, crystal, and china of Scandinavian design, with names such as Porsgrund, as well as linens for the table help complete the image of a Norwegian home. A *dundyne*, or eiderdown feather bed, full of memories for most Norwegians, is often prominently displayed in the front window, and various sundries are typically displayed in baskets on the floor in the shop as well as on the shelves (fig. 4.10). Such natural rush baskets are typical in Norwegian homes - usually holding yarn or other needlework. In this way, the shop itself evokes the sense of a Norwegian home in which so many of the patrons take such pride. Even the floor covering is of a neutral "wood" color evoking the sense of traditional hardwood floors. The shop even has a resident cat named "Lars" who sleeps on the *dundyne*, in the baskets, or anywhere else he chooses, and who appears to have his own following among the customers.

Then, of course, there are the gift shops. Ballard is not a tourist town, but these shops could be viewed as the beginning of one. They can certainly be perceived as part of a more superficial landscape of Ballard, but they also serve a purpose for the local Norwegian community. Norse Imports, for example, offers Norwegian pewter, Scandinavian crystal, porcelain, and linens. Typical jewelry items include enamelware, silver, pewter, and amber. *Sølje*, the traditional bridal jewelry and adornment for national costumes, is prominently displayed as well (fig. 4.11).
Figure 4.11
Interior of Norse Imports: I have seen many of these items in homes I have visited both in Norway and in Ballard

Figure 4.12
Norwegian shops are not located in a special part of town, but are part of the functional landscape of Ballard
Norse Imports also offers the traditional, ski sweaters, woodwork items, and cookbooks which are typical Norwegian tourist treasures. These items could be found in local shops in Norway (although not all under one roof!), and they complement the "daily need" items of local residents.

Ballard also maintains strong local identity separate from Seattle, and some shops sell items which are not specifically Norwegian but emphasize the "Ballard" name. These items, however, sometimes play on a Scandinavian theme, for example, one Ballard sweatshirt advertises, the "University of Ballard, Washington: Truth - Knowledge - and Lefse". It is interesting to note in passing that lefse is considered enough of a locally shared perception to be printed on a Ballard sweatshirt!

Ballard's sensual cultural landscape also corresponds to Norton's "functional region" analysis (1987:90) in that the ethnic landscape of Ballard is not serving merely as an historical marker, as remnant of a faded cultural group, or as superficial enticements for a developing tourist trade. It serves the legitimate purposes of the current Norwegian community's day-to-day needs (fig. 4.12). Such evidence on the landscape, however, is not enough to maintain a culture - if no one is interested enough to buy. Only 20 percent of the survey respondents indicated they came to Ballard for shopping and/or special food items. But Norwegians have maintained a
respective presence in this area since the 1880s. So, the question arises, "How has Ballard maintained its Norwegian cultural identity?"

**Cultural and Social Institutions**

Linked to the maintenance of this sensual cultural landscape of Ballard, are the social and cultural networks which support the evidence on the visible landscape and underscore the personality of place. To understand the importance and validity of this landscape, it was necessary to understand something of the cultural infrastructure which support the functionality of the Norwegian community and its visible landscape. Over 67 percent of all respondents surveyed considered maintenance of Norwegian traditions "very important" or "moderately important" in the home; while 69 percent registered these same levels of importance in the community.

Glazer suggests ethnicity is an ideology, or a "sense of peoplehood." Although ethnic groups today face stronger competition from outside groups and organizations in an urban environment, he suggests that "an ethnic ideology is important ... in promoting beliefs about shared social characteristics and the likelihood of predictable social relationships" (Glazer 1954:267). Membership in social and cultural organizations provides essential reinforcement of common reference points, avenues for
cultural expression, and cultural transmission to succeeding generations. One Ballard respondent observed:

Having done some growing up in Ballard, I think that it is as Norwegian (or Swedish, or Danish, Finnish, Icelandic) as specific families or individuals want it to be. I enjoy the festivals, parades, and museum because they are close to where I now live and because I try to maintain a small awareness of my Norwegian heritage for my children.5

Norton emphasizes the social importance of these institutions as familiar reference points in that they provide for "communication processes through which symbolic interactions take place.... There are emphases on the inevitable integration of social and geographical identities, on the social structure of space, on the spatial structure of society, and on social and spatial change" (Norton 1987:118).

Seattle-Bergen Sister City Association

Sometimes the first evidence that there is a strong community identification with an ethnic group, is when it establishes ties with a particular city overseas with which the community would like to form a bond, that is, uniting with a sister city. Wilbur Zelinsky calls such "twinning", long-distance social interaction. Built on reciprocity, "the unwritten rule is that the
two places should be roughly comparable in size and, more to the point, that they have the wherewithal for becoming compatible partners. Compatibility, in turn, implies some sharing of economic, cultural, ideological, historical, recreational, or other type of concern." (Zelinsky 1991:94). In 1967, the City of Seattle became linked to Bergen, Norway in such a reciprocal relationship, and Ballard has symbolized that linkage with the establishment of Bergen Place. Activities have included high school student exchanges, cooperation with the University of Washington and University of Bergen professor exchange, and sponsorship or co-sponsorship of concerts. Currently the Seattle-Bergen Sister City program is sponsoring lectures on the changing politics of Norway. The mayor of Bergen was invited to be the Grand Marshall for the 1991 17th of May parade.

Such a program encourages volunteers from the community to identify with and participate forming associations with residents of the sister city. Currently, there are about 70-80 dues-paying members of the Seattle-Bergen Sister City Association, but the newsletter is distributed to over 300 people in the Seattle area.

Chrisman (1981) suggests that the personal bonds among immigrants can be considered an invisible community. Without a visible signature on the landscape, Scandinavians are considered an invisible ethnic group. Their "physical features are those of
the common European stock which colonized the United States. Culturally, too, they derive from the same tradition discussed in American history books...." (Chrisman 1981:258) [emphasis in original]. Scandinavians, then, who participate in ethnic activities choose to maintain an identity which sets them apart from other members of the urban community. "Beliefs in ethnicity can be strong and emotional, somewhat similar to the meanings surrounding the bonds of kinship. Feelings of ethnicity clearly pervade social relationships and situations..." (Chrisman 1981:259). The persistence of the Danish–American community in San Francisco, for example, is a direct result of the success of cultural voluntary associations for interaction and reinforcement of cultural values (Chrisman 1981:259). A number of individuals I interviewed in Ballard made similar remarks regarding the importance of their Norwegian cultural institutions in the community.

The completeness of the ethnic institutions is important for an immigrant's personal relations to develop. Immigrants have a choice of types of groups to become associated with, and the ability of an ethnic community to attract the immigrant is largely dependent either on the characteristics of the individual, or on the ethnic community's "degree of institutional completeness" (Breton 1964:193). This completeness might include the church, voluntary associations, and social clubs organized around the
BALLARD
Points of Interest in the Norwegian Community

Figure 4.13
maintenance of homeland culture (fig. 4.13). Singing societies, literary groups, and folk dance clubs, as well as ethnic businesses such as coffee houses, delicatessens, and specialty stores "provide a consistent locus for ethnic participation" (Breton 1964:269). One survey respondent explained:

I find great comfort and belonging through my Norwegian heritage. I was raised in a family where parents frequently reminded my sister and me just how proud we should feel to have this wonderful identity. "NORWAY" was around us daily in various forms: music, stories, language, food, relatives, and friends. As the years grew, I became more fluent in the language as the summer vacations in Norway increased. Eventually I was schooled and worked in Norway, acquiring a large network of friends and strong family ties.

For me, my heritage helps ground and attach me to something concrete and safe in an otherwise ambiguous world, where most are constantly trying to find who they are and where they belong.6

Norwegian cultural activities in Ballard focus primarily around two organizations: Sons of Norway Lodge No. 1, Leif Erikson, and the Nordic Heritage Museum. Within both of these, several other interrelated functions and organizations interact.
Sons of Norway, Leif Erikson Lodge No. 1

The Leif Erikson lodge represents a tradition in both Seattle and Ballard which began in 1903. Its current hall, in Ballard, is an imposing "Viking" structure complete with dragon head at the pitch of the roof and Sons of Norway shield on the front of the building. It is beautifully designed inside with rosemåling on the walls, paintings of important periods in Norway's history, and carved insets and balustrades crafted by members. This particular building is fairly new, and was constructed entirely by membership volunteers. Located approximately one and one half blocks from the main business district of the town, it serves as a visual icon of the Norwegian culture in the community (fig. 4.14).

Originally, Sons of Norway lodges were established as mutual aid and insurance organizations for newly arrived immigrants, but today they have become much more. There are the traditional meetings and parties, potlucks, special dinners (such as lutefisk), and folkdancing. Unique to Ballard's Leif Erikson lodge, however, is the daily Kaffe Stue, or coffee hour, open to all Sons of Norway members and guests. Socializing with friends over open-faced sandwiches and coffee is a tradition often practiced in Norway. Housed in a room set aside for this purpose in the front lobby, the Kaffe Stue has become an informal social center for Ballard's Norwegian community where one can hear as much Norwegian as English being spoken. Operated on a
Figure 4.14
Leif Erikson Lodge: visual icon in the community
donation basis, the coffee, open-face sandwiches, and cookies are provided by the ladies' auxiliary, Norna. Many retired members frequently come to the Kaffe Stue for lunch each day where they can meet, chat, and enjoy friendships.

The lodge also is a source for instruction in Norwegian cultural lore. It offers classes in the Norwegian language for all ages with special language camps out of the area for children in the summer; it maintains an extensive Norwegian library in its basement with volumes covering such topics as literature, literary criticism, history, children's stories, mythology, and fables; and it also offers occasional "how to" or craft classes in traditional skills ranging from rosemåling and leikarringen, (folkdancing), to lefse-making. Some lodge members are actively tracing their family histories, and there are even occasional classes to help guide the process. The lodge actively participates in the year-long preparations for the 17th of May Parade (several members are on the 17th of May Committee, a community-wide organization), and other special celebrations such as the Julefest (Christmas celebrations), and annual lodge picnic held on Sankt Hans Aften (Midsummer's Day).

Beyond the localized Ballard community, the Leif Erikson Association also owns Norway Park, a recreation and retirement area open to members. Built in 1966, it is approximately 60 miles away on Lake McMurray in Skagit County. It comprises 93 acres
NORWAY PARK

LEIF ERIKSON RECREATION AREA

LAKE McMURRAY
SKAGIT COUNTY, WASHINGTON

Used by permission of Leif Erikson Lodge No.1, Sons of Norway (Ballard).

Figure 4.15
which include 200 lots; 180 of these lots are leased to members, many of whom have built beautifully landscaped cabins. Some retired members now live in Norway Park year round. Only Leif Erikson members can lease this property, a persuasive incentive for the promotion of membership (which now exceeds 2,000). Besides the cabin-homes, there are hookups for recreational vehicles, restrooms, tenting areas, play equipment for the children, a beach area, and an enclosed pavilion for "off site" lodge meetings and functions such as the annual lodge picnic and celebration of Sankt Hans Aften (fig. 4.15). Other groups may also use this area for special functions and informal camping by permission of the Leif Erikson Association and payment of a nominal fee.

Leif Erikson also participates with other Sons of Norway District 2 lodges in Alaska, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, in supporting a members-only resort in the Cascade Mountains named Trollhaugen, (after Edvard Grieg's home in Bergen). Initiated in 1970 by Cascade Lodge No. 87 (Bellevue), it is located on 12 acres of U.S. Forest Service land set aside with a special-use permit near Stampede Pass. It includes a lodge, bunkhouses, ski jump facilities, and a sports field.

Finally, Leif Erikson supports Norse Home, a modern, multi-story retirement home primarily for Norwegians. Located on the top of Phinney Ridge, Norse Home is an imposing white structure
Figure 4.16
Norse Home: high on top of Phinney Ridge, it can easily be seen from downtown Market Street. Notice both American and Norwegian flags flying.
on the landscape, flying both the American and Norwegian flags (fig. 4.16). Looking down on Ballard and Salmon Bay, it also has become a cultural icon in the community representing the care and concern Norwegians traditionally have for their elderly. A number of the people who live there grew up in the early 1900s and could tell marvelous stories about Ballard when it was the raw, feisty little logging town, and they are very willing to share. As one of the founding organizations, along with the Norwegian Hospital Association, Leif Erikson is especially proud of this contribution to the community of Ballard.

**Bygdelags**

The development of *bygdelags* was discussed in detail in Chapter 2. They began organizing in the Puget Sound region only after 1910, inviting people from specific districts or villages to come, socialize, and reminisce about the old home village or district. Today, many of those bygdelags are still active, and Leif Erikson provides a meeting place for several of them, including: Nordlandslaget, Fembøringen, Bergen Club, Nordmorslaget, and the Norwegian Seamen & War Veterans Association.

Other bygdelags in the area include Rogaland og Vest-Agder Laget på Vestkysten, Sunnmørslaget, Nordfjordlaget (Tacoma), Vosselaget, and Trønderlaget which meet elsewhere, including at the Nordic Heritage Museum. These *lag* are slowly
diminishing as members are not being replaced by younger generations, whose ties to the Old Country and loyalty to regional associations are not as strong.

**Nordic Heritage Museum**

The Nordic Heritage Museum has also become a very important center for the Norwegian community (fig. 4.17). A relative newcomer to Ballard, it was incorporated November 2, 1979, and opened April 1980. One of its main attractions is a permanent walk-through exhibit covering over 8,000 square feet, entitled "The Dream of America: The Immigrant Experience 1840-1920". It allows visitors to understand some of the conditions in the various Scandinavian countries which fostered one of the largest human migrations in history, and it provides maps of locations and numbers of immigrants. Visitors walk through exhibits of conditions on shipboard, and step out amid the often squalid conditions awaiting the new arrivals in the urban slums of nineteenth century America.

A sequel to this exhibit, recently completed, shows Scandinavian settlement in early Ballard. Other permanent exhibits focus on the logging and fishing industries in the Pacific Northwest to which Scandinavians have made substantial contributions. There are also permanent exhibit rooms for each of the five Scandinavian countries. The Museum also prepares
Using a converted elementary school building, the museum is becoming a respectable archive and material culture depository.

Visiting Norwegian Folkdancers from Stoughton, Wisconsin
Example of some of the entertainment provided by the Museum.
temporary exhibits by local or visiting artists (fig. 4.18), or on special themes relating to a particular Scandinavian country.

Adding to some of the services provided by the Leif Erikson lodge, the Museum offers cultural enrichment programs such as: rosemåling classes, Scandinavian film festivals, and theme dinners featuring delicacies from any one of the five Scandinavian countries.

Independent cultural activities are also housed under the auspices of the Museum including a children’s theater group, and independent Scandinavian Language Institute. Several other groups meet periodically at the Museum, including some bygdelags. The Museum’s major fundraising events, Tivoli (in July), and Auktion (in September), are major events anticipated by the entire community, Norwegian and non-Norwegian alike.

Tivoli, held on the Museum grounds, is a combination of carnival and oktoberfest, recreating a miniature version of the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen, with colorful booths, musicians, dancers, and a wine and beer garden. It begins with a flag raising of all five Scandinavian countries plus that of the United States, and includes a Swedish pancake breakfast. There are food and craft booths, a tented beer and wine garden serving open faced sandwiches, Nordic music playing, and performances of Nordic folk dancing. The evening culminates in a full course outdoor
salmon barbecue prepared by Scandinavian chefs. It is estimated that over 5,000 people participate each year.

The Auktion has become so popular it has outgrown the facilities at the Museum. Items are donated primarily by local Norwegian and other Scandinavian businesses. In 1990, it took in over $100,000.10

Exhibits and programs at the Nordic Heritage Museum are not limited to Scandinavian countries, however, but include non-Nordic countries as well. Special exhibits and programs on the various Baltic countries, for example, were recently well-received: art exhibits, performances, special dinners, and exhibitions of cultural artifacts were presented throughout a three-month period. Finally, the Museum has become a respectable archival source for Scandinavian heritage in the Puget Sound Area, collecting documents, pictures, and items of material culture.

Ballard continues to provide activities and maintain traditions which serve as a focal point for Norwegians throughout the Puget Sound area. Of the residents surveyed, 72 percent were drawn to Ballard as a cultural source with 60 percent of those surveyed living outside of Ballard. They are drawn to special celebrations, Sons of Norway activities and meetings, the Nordic Heritage Museum exhibits and programs, and shopping downtown at the Norwegian delicatessens and bakeries, browsing
Figure 4.19
Hurray for 17th of May! Poster hanging in a Market Street toy store

Figure 4.20
17th of May parade. A Ballard tradition for Norwegians and non-Norwegians alike. Here, Norway's famous fjord horses form part of the parade with the riders in national costumes
the Norwegian gift stores, and dining at the Scandinavian or more general seafood restaurants. The 17th of May parade in Ballard is undoubtedly the biggest single attraction of the year for the Norwegian community, attracting more than 42 percent of all residents surveyed (figs. 4.19 and 4.20). It is advertised as the largest parade held on that day outside of Norway, and people come from considerable distances to participate. Over the years it has expanded to become a Ballard community event including entries by the fire and police departments of Seattle, other fraternal lodges such as the Elks and Kiwanis, numerous floats, and bands. Street vendors and a combination of Norwegian and American flags lend a festive air to the event.11

Visible Landscape: Vernacular Region

The charm of Ballard certainly stems from the physical setting and the visible landscape: the breathtaking beauty reminiscent of the west coast of Norway combined with various Norwegian shops, flags, and restaurants along the main street through town, although the town itself is clearly not Norwegian— or Scandinavian for that matter. Many of the shops along Market Street would correspond to Norton’s “functional region” analysis in that the visible landscape is not serving as an historical marker or remnant of a faded cultural group, but serves the legitimate purposes of an active Norwegian community’s day-to-day needs.
BALLARD
as a
NORWEGIAN CULTURAL NUCLEUS

Figure 4.21
And it is the presence and viability of the social and cultural organizations which continue to provide for a functional rather than an historic landscape.

As importantly, however, Ballard can be viewed as a vernacular landscape or perceptual region serving as a focal point for Norwegian cultural activities throughout the Puget Sound area (fig. 4.21). The availability of foods, classes in language, dance, and crafts, as well as the celebration of special cultural events contribute to the "spatial perception of average people" (Zelinsky 1980:1) placing Ballard as a node in a larger Norwegian cultural network.

Linked to the maintenance of the visual (and more generally sensual) cultural landscape, then, the social and cultural networks aid the transmission of culture across areas without propinquity, forming an "extended" Norwegian community throughout the Puget Sound area, as well as through time to succeeding generations. Ballard does have a distinctive personality tied to the Norwegian cultural landscape which has evolved over time; and as Meinig suggests, this landscape is not only what lies before our eyes, but lies within our heads (Meinig 1979a:34).
Cultural Network of the Puget Sound Area

A focal point for Norwegian culture, Ballard is also part of a larger network of Norwegian activities spread along the Puget Sound. The widespread activities of Leif Erikson lodge reflect this geographical outreach with Norway Park, Trollhaugen, and language camp at Arlington (fig. 5.1) But there are several other communities such as Poulsbo, Tacoma, and Stanwood which are also known for their Norwegian character. Among respondents, for example, Poulsbo is noted for its popular Midsummer festival, Tacoma for its Scandinavian Days, and Stanwood for its historic distinction as the first Norwegian settlement along the Puget Sound. According to the Ethnic Heritage Council, there are over 67 Norwegian organizations including 30 Sons of Norway lodges within the Puget Sound area. There are at least four Norwegian-language churches, six youth camps, 23 newsletters, 14 classes in Norwegian cooking, four organizations assisting in genealogy research, 10 regularly scheduled language classes, and as many music and dance instruction classes along the Sound. There are also at least 26 Swedish organizations, 16 Danish, 21 Finnish, 5 Icelandic, and 16 unspecified Scandinavian organizations.¹

Remembering that Norwegians comprise only 2.9 percent of
LOCATION of NORWEGIAN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

N outside of BALLARD

Each dot = one respondent

Figure 5.1
all ethnic groups in King County, but that King County has the second largest concentration of Norwegians in the United States, the most generous population figures for Norwegian residents in each of these communities would not be large. Perhaps if they each existed in isolation, these communities would not be strong enough to maintain a Norwegian cultural presence. However, woven together by organizational and communication networks, they form a strong fabric with a clearly identifiable texture and visible pattern. What one community may not be able to offer by way of specific Norwegian activities or services, another one may.

The Sons of Norway parent organization, for example, publishes a monthly magazine, *Sons of Norway Viking*, which is distributed throughout the United States, Canada, and Norway (circulation 76,000). Along with general interest articles and notes on insurance, this publication lists activities and special lodge events held throughout its membership, and it is sent to every Sons of Norway member. Furthermore, each lodge is grouped within one of eight districts, and each district has its own activities including annual district conventions. Individual lodges also often have their own local newsletters where they will list the activities of their own as well as those of neighboring lodges (fig. 5.2). On an interpersonal level, communication between members of neighboring lodges is encouraged. The
SONS OF NORWAY LODGES, WASHINGTON STATE

Figure 5.2

Data compiled from Sons of Norway International Directory

Nashlan 1921
Western Viking also carries community news and columns by correspondents from across the country linking the Norwegians of the Pacific Northwest to those elsewhere, especially in the Midwest.

This "invisible" cultural network has extended and united the separate Norwegian communities along the Puget Sound area into a larger cultural neighborhood. Michael Conzen speaks of the formation of ethnic corridors, islands, and archipelagos within a larger multicultural body (1990:242-244), and Noel Chrisman, refers to "ties of urban intimacy" highlighting the importance of institutions in drawing a dispersed community together. When a group, or series of groups are not socially encapsulated in a restricted urban district, they can nevertheless be included in a network of social bonds. According to Chrisman (1981:256), the outcome of this process is a key to understanding an ethnic community's persistence. The Ballard community and its historical-cultural persistence, however, has provided something more.

Norwegian Business Community

The identification of Ballard as a vernacular region for Norwegian culture and the development of a Norwegian cultural network throughout the Puget Sound area have become an important element in the growing investment of Norwegian
capital in this area. There are over 287 small businesses owned or operated by Norwegians, and nearly one-third of these are located in Ballard. Further, there are over 30 Norwegian-owned investment companies, joint ventures, or partnerships that have also located in the Seattle area because of the surrounding strong ethnic identification and resultant ease of entering a foreign market with local cultural support.

This current business investment pattern began with crab fishing in Alaska in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Ballard is the home of the Alaskan fishing fleet during the winter, and Norwegian companies early saw opportunities to supply the fleet. There were restrictions on foreign fishing within the 200-mile limit and, later, stringent restrictions on direct foreign ownership of processing ships and trawlers, but Norwegian firms were able to enter the marketplace effectively as suppliers of support services and equipment such as refrigeration units, winches, and shipping containers. According to Svein Gilje, consultant for many Norwegian firms based in Seattle, a major percentage "of Norwegian activities came as a direct result of [Alaskan fishing development]. But it's now into the phase where it starts diversifying, and a whole lot of things are coming in."

For example, Helly-Hansen USA was established to manufacture outerwear for fishermen; it has since expanded its services by manufacturing and selling hiking gear and
recreational outdoor clothing. A.L. Laboratories began by specializing in medicine for animals; it acquired Biomed, an American company which specializes in medicine for fish (used especially in commercial fish farming), and it has now branched out to manufacture over-the-counter prescriptions for human consumption. A.L. Laboratories, growing by 20 to 25 percent per year, is worth roughly about three quarters of a billion dollars, and they anticipate becoming a billion dollar company within the next few years. These are not small ventures, and Gilje projects even greater diversification by Norwegian investment in the years ahead. As in the past, however, Norwegian companies do not design their products and services to cater to an expressly Norwegian market, and do not necessarily expect Norwegians to buy their products out of loyalty. However, such connections provide "one foot in the door of the market."

Advantages for Norwegian companies in this region are clear. Washington is approximately the same size in population as Norway; Puget Sound's climate, scenery, and built-in audience are very familiar. According to Daniel Nye, a lawyer in Seattle who works predominantly with Norwegian start-up companies, Seattle and its environs is "becoming a place where Norwegian companies can come and have a better-than-average chance of surviving their first year and successfully establish themselves in the United States. ... If this area can really prove to be the
place where it's more likely to survive, it will attract a lot of attention in Norway, indeed."

Erica Schoenberger, evaluating strategies for United States manufacturing investments in Western Europe, suggests that attractive elements in the development of international investment include market share, market access, and pricing flexibility such that a "balance between local production and exports may be altered to take advantage of currency shifts" (Schoenberger 1990:384). Similar strategies seem to have been applied by Norwegian firms in locating in the United States.

Of the many reasons for Norwegian companies to establish operations or subsidiaries in the United States, three fourths are reported to do so to expand the market for their product; one half, to better serve customers for pre-existing United States-based companies; and one fourth to geographically diversify the Norwegian parent company's investments. According to Nye,

Norwegian businesses are always limited at home both by the size of their domestic market and the fact that it's very difficult to increase your market share, other than at the expense of a competitor. ... The United States has a very big and free-wheeling economic system, and there are niches in this market so that it is always possible to come in and occupy even if you get a very tiny slice of the market. It can be very big numbers seen with Norwegian eyes.
Finally, there is the added incentive of the international marketplace and the potential of shifting operations from one continent to another to take advantage of a flexible world economy. According to Gilje, sometimes "it gets too expensive here, and other times it gets too expensive in Norway, so (companies) will switch some of the manufacturing back and forth," while still maintaining local sales and repair services in the Puget Sound area.

Currently, the New York Metropolitan region (New York City, northern New Jersey, and southern Connecticut) is still the favored site for Norwegian business corporate headquarters. Norwegian businesses in the United States generally fall into major categories of manufacturing, transportation, communication, utilities, and sanitation; wholesale trade; and services. Finance, insurance, and real estate; construction; agriculture (including forestry and fishing), as well as retail sales, complete the list (fig. 5.3).

According to a joint publication by Arthur Young International and The Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, only 21 percent of all Norwegian investments in the United States are located in the western states, and these are spread throughout California, Washington, Oregon, and Alaska. The types of operations here differ substantially from those on the east coast and emphasize the economy of the region, especially fish
and fish-related activities which alone exceed 50 percent of the total (fig. 5.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall U.S.-Based Norwegian Operations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35% Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19% Transportation, Communication,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities, Sanitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18% Wholesale trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10% Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9% Finance, insurance, real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5% Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3% Agriculture, forestry, fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1% Retail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From: Norwegian Enterprise in the U.S.A., 1988, pp. 6-10.

Figure 5.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Puget Sound-Based Norwegian Operations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37% Fishery and fish-related</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17% Shipping and container services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14% Aquaculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13% Finance, insurance, real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7% Communication and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transportation (SAS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6% Wholesale trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3% Retail trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3% Pharmaceuticals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From: Norwegian Enterprise in the U.S.A., 1988, pp. 6-10.

Figure 5.4
Only 6 percent of Norwegian investments are reported to be motivated by access to United States technology, and 76 percent have entered the United States market with a newly-formed company; 24 percent came through an acquisition of an existing United States company or through the formation of a joint venture. International investment by Norwegian firms in the Puget Sound is chiefly a new development of the past 10 to 15 years. In that period, investments have grown to approximately $700 million: $400 million in fishing and commercial manufacturing industries; $200 million in real estate and investment (apartment construction, small shopping centers, warehouse operations); and $100 million in miscellaneous categories. In fact, Nye sees the Pacific Northwest, and especially the Seattle area, as surpassing New York as the chief area of Norwegian-American activity in the United States within the next few years. He reasons, "the network of contacts is very well developed here. The industries that are engaged here are the same industries in Norway.... We're already seeing that in the membership of the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce. Seattle is now second only to New York." 

Norwegian Business Network

Daniel Nye, himself, is part of a growing infrastructure, designed to encourage and support Norwegian start ups, joint
ventures, and partnerships in the Puget Sound area. He provides legal services and can direct companies to a developing substructure of accountants and other professionals who have worked successfully with Norwegian companies.

The NorAm Corporation, of which Svein Gilje is head, offers consulting services, marketing research strategies, and financial planning. There are also several governmental agencies as well as commercial organizations, such as: the Norwegian Vice Consul for Commercial Affairs in Seattle, the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, as well as the Trade Commission of Norway, which are actively encouraging and promoting Norwegian investment in the Puget Sound area. According to Nye, the state of Washington is in full support of this effort in that the Washington State Department of Economic Development and Trade "is right now actively recruiting Norwegian companies to come to this market and to engage in joint ventures with Washington companies; with the goal of increasing Washington's employment and export activities."  

Recruitment efforts, however are not limited to existing companies. Another, rather interesting, avenue for developing Norwegian business interests is being explored by Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma. Representatives regularly visit schools in Norway each year, talking to students and administrators, providing information about their programs,
especially in business. Entrance criteria are stringent, and Pacific Lutheran University representatives interview many students, both graduate and undergraduate, in order to recruit the best. One of the more attractive possibilities of a program at this institution is that students can develop their own business plan and professional contacts, gathering expert advice while still in school. For example, Svein Gilje explained how one business, Patisserie Aliena, opened in Bellevue last year: "That's a brother-sister operation. The brother came over here to study business at PLU, and got his MBA there. His sister was already established in the bakery field as a master chef (konditormester). So he used part of one of his projects as a student to do a business plan for a bakery that would specialize in various European things . . . ." 15

Currently, there are several Norwegian students enrolled at Pacific Lutheran University, while others are active at the University of Washington, its campus only a few miles from Ballard. Students at both schools have petitioned the Seattle Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce for student chapters of that organization, the first regional branch to have two such chapters. As a side note, for those students who return to Norway and establish themselves there, there is a very good possibility that what they have learned through their university training may eventually change the way Norway does business at
home as well as abroad. This would be an intriguing topic for further exploration.

Business and Culture: Reciprocal Relationships

The investment of over $700 million of Norwegian capital in the Puget Sound area within the past 10 years represents a significant boost for the economies of both countries, but what does this new investment mean for the current Norwegian population living in this area? Most obviously, because of the importance of the Norwegian community to the Puget Sound business community, many concerns give charitably to Norwegian cultural organizations. Some provide outright funding, while others donate goods or services during fundraisers.

However, a greater impact lies in the differences between the Norwegians who have come over within the past 20 years, and those who arrived in the 1960s and earlier. The occupations of Norwegian-born respondents, who had moved to the Puget Sound area during the last 2 decades, reflect some of the changes this new Norwegian business investment has brought to the community (fig. 5.5). A full 50 percent of these respondents are involved in shipping, banking, and international trade. Many came originally to attend the university (one received a scholarship from Pacific Lutheran University), or have heard about job opportunities through the Seattle-Bergen Sister City program.
Others have come for the more traditional reasons. According to my survey, 38 percent came because they liked the area, while 19 percent are involved in the fishing industry or came because there were family members already established there.

This contrasts markedly with motives and occupations from the 1960s and earlier, when 54 percent came because of family, because they liked the area, or because of engineering jobs (Boeing). Another 15 percent were involved in the fishing industry, and 11 percent were health care professionals (fig. 5.6). Respondents were asked about their anticipated length of stay when they moved to the United States. In part, this question was
initially asked to provide insight into the individual's motives and determination to make a life in a new country or if the anticipated move was determined by more temporary opportunities or circumstances. In the 1930s and 1940s, during War II, the majority reported anticipation of permanent relocation; however, in the 1950s and 1960s, the majority anticipated only short-term stays. In 1970, during the greatest recruitment of engineers from the survey population, the majority anticipated a permanent stay; however, in the 1980s, 50 percent of the respondents anticipated a long-term stay, while the rest was equally divided between
short-term and permanent residence.\textsuperscript{16} Earlier it was suggested there was a correlation between anticipated length of stay and the cultural transmission of language to children. For business, the importance of anticipated length of stay has to do with a company's risk of employee turn-over, relocation expenses, and training costs. Nye comments, "one of the things that gives the area its strength, is that people might really be willing to stay here for a long time... If so, then that could be a positive thing for business. They can count on employees to stay with them for a long time."\textsuperscript{17} Attitudes for the 1970s and 1980s seem to confirm this.

There are other differences between those Norwegian-born respondents who came between 1970 and 1980, and those who came between 1930 and 1960. With the overall age of the survey population being either at or near retirement, and the population between the ages of 18 and 52 only 30 percent of the total sample, the possibility of the newer Norwegian immigrants supplying some fresh insights and enthusiasm into the community seemed rife. Nye's observation was insightful, but not optimistic:

What we, in the United States, call 'Norwegian culture' has really become 'Norwegian-American' culture. It's the Norway of the 1940s or before, and the new immigrants that come over encounter that culture and they find it rather anachronistic... I don't think there is really any conflict in
that, it's just different. I don't predict that they're going to do a great deal to keep these long-standing traditions alive. I think they're going to be likely to fade away as the generations come on and new ones may start based on the recent immigrants. They may be the same, or they may be really quite different.18

So, how important is it to the Norwegian-born respondents to maintain Norwegian traditions in the home? Most indicated it was either "very important" or "moderately important"—with the 1970 to 1980 group rating it a little higher in both categories (fig. 5.7).
Maintaining traditions in the home would include such things as language retention, retelling of family histories, observances of family traditions and holidays, and serving traditional foods.

When asked about the importance of maintaining Norwegian traditions in the community, however, the responses among the two groups were somewhat different. The 1930 to 1960 group thought traditions in the community 30 percent more important

![Percentage of Norwegian-Born Respondents: Importance of Maintaining Norwegian Traditions in the Community](image-url)

Figure 5.6
than the 1970 to 1980 group; however, the latter group thought traditions observed in the community were moderately important approximately 20 percent more than the 1930 to 1960 group (fig. 5.8). Traditions in the community would most certainly mean celebration of 17th of May, Christmas decorations in the town with a Norwegian flare, availability of Norwegian foods and houseware items, and access to Norwegian organizations.

In noting the differences between the two groups in responding to both home and community traditions, both groups recognized the importance of maintaining traditions in the home. However, the 1930 to 1960 group considered it slightly more important that traditions be observed in the community than the 1970 to 1980 group, although the latter group was more united in its stress on the community. It is also important to recognize that overall, the two groups did not vary by much: importance of home traditions peaked at only 40 percent of the survey population while importance of community traditions fared slightly worse at approximately 35 percent of the survey population for all decades. Only time will tell what this means to the Norwegian community in general.

What might this mean to the current culture? Of all of the traditions the Norwegian-born respondents mentioned as being of importance, overall, 63 percent named Christmas as the most important tradition they celebrate, and another 44 percent listed
the 17th of May. Food captured 31 percent of the two groups, and
it is food which will be of greatest importance to some of the
retail shops in downtown Ballard.

Many of the foods enjoyed by the current Norwegian-born
population seem to be those which can be most easily prepared at
home: lapskaus (Norwegian stew), and far i kål (a lamb and
cabbage casserole), for example. Some of the prepared items
include dried lamb, fishcakes, meatballs, lefse, and lutfisk and
would be found in the delicatessens along with the rammegrat
(sour cream porridge) and kumla or kumla mix (potato
dumplings). Most of the other more popular items such as fish,
cheeses, and pickled herring could be purchased at the local
market (which do cater somewhat to the Norwegian community).
Fresh geitost (brown goat cheese) and gammelost (a pungent sour
milk cheese), however, would be easier to pick up at the
delicatessens.

Changes in ethnic retail shops, or the creation of new ones
will reflect changes in the needs of the population. Peirce Lewis'observation holds true: changes in the landscape will indicate
changes in culture. These changes will, in part, be determined by
whether the new Norwegian immigrants really do stay for only a
short- or long-term visit, or whether they too, like many in
earlier decades, put down roots and become part of the
community. As these new immigrants become more acculturated,
they may also want to hang on to vestiges of their culture and traditions in ways not perceived now. The Leif Erikson lodge has already begun expanding its role for the community by providing home sites for possible retirement and/or recreation at Norway Park, as well as access to a local skiing facility, but other Sons of Norway lodges as well as Daughters of Norway and Nordmanns Forbundet may need to become more creative in attracting and retaining members.

Another area where the influx of new Norwegian immigrants might change the current culture is in the orientation of the Western Viking. Today, the newspaper is primarily a mixture of clippings and excerpts from dailies in Norway, along with columns featuring news from communities of Norwegians all over the country. Printed in a combination of English and Norwegian, circulation is still declining in part due to fewer and fewer U.S.-born subscribers speaking Norwegian, and fewer and fewer Norwegian-born subscribers finding news they can relate to in its columns.

The Western Viking can no longer really be called an immigrant press in the traditional sense because the readership it serves is not faced with the same isolation from home and the challenges of assimilation that were experienced by the early 20th century pioneers. Often today's Norwegian-born reader is fluent in English, and has settled in the Puget Sound for
educational or business purposes. The current US-born reader is close to or at retirement age and may or may not be able to read the language. He or she may have more interest in activities within the local community than overseas. Svein Gilje comments that the Norwegian language press, "has to turn its attention to the younger generation and, in a general sense, to treat the news journalistically so it makes sense for the use of the current younger generation that happen to be of Norwegian background but have not been to Norway and do not speak Norwegian....

There are certain things that binds them together in interest, and that's more than just a clipping of some news story in Norway just because it's available. It's also got to be articles here that pertain somehow to their community with a Norwegian slant."  

With a new owner and editor taking over the Western Viking within the last year, it will be interesting to see how the paper evolves.

In contrast with the current outlook of the Western Viking, the monthly NorAm Report, published by the NorAm Company, is a new publication strictly for investors and market-watchers interested in the international arena of which Norway and its interests in the United States have become a part. It has a large subscription base, so there seems to be an active interest in this level of information. It is completely in English, "addressing
itself to strictly the business community and business financial investors.\textsuperscript{20}

What is the overall impact of the new business development on the Norwegian cultural network along the Puget Sound? Nye sees the fading generations and the new business community as two separate things. However, a reciprocal relationship exists between them. Many of the new businesses are financially supportive of cultural institutions. They usually bring in Norwegian executives, or other top people, who then often attract Norwegian-Americans to their companies, and inject the community with a new, fresh, Norwegian glimpse of the home country. It is in the best interest of these companies to support the cultural organizations and networks which help business ventures ease into a foreign marketplace.

**Ballard as Psychological Center**

Ballard has become an example of a local community that has a sufficient identity to make it a significant contributor to broader regional economic activity recently established by Norwegian firms. Nye observes, "... the Norwegian business network in this community, in this whole county - even area or state - seems to be on the threshold of something very exciting. And it's a bigger version of what used to happen in Ballard."\textsuperscript{21} One could speculate that, perhaps, the community of Ballard is not
fading, but transposing. Ballard is seen by many as the psychological center of an entire cultural network around which the Norwegian business community is developing. The cultural and business networks have become interlinked, supporting all of the communities along the Puget Sound, binding them together and providing a kind of strength that any one community or business would not have by itself. The international business network with ties back home, does not provide a focus on any one community, but again, it strengthens that entire network so that vital contacts can be sustained.

What happened in Ballard historically, with the distinct but interdependent development of culture and business, is replaying on a larger scale within the whole Puget Sound area. If it were not for the strong identification of the Puget Sound region, having an identifiable and accessible Norwegian network as well as a familiar physical and economic environment, this growth in the Norwegian business community of Seattle and its reciprocal relationship with the local Norwegian communities, might not have taken hold so strongly or so quickly.
Ballard continues to attract both individuals and businesses from Norway who are attracted by the region either because of its similarity to the west coast of Norway and its strong Norwegian culture, or because the economic activities of the region are similar to those of Norway which makes investment easier. Some Norwegian families can claim their ancestors came to Ballard as early as the 1890s, while some have arrived as late as 1988. Students from Norway are attracted to programs at the University of Washington and Pacific Lutheran University, as well as to the beauty of the Pacific Northwest area. Some of them stay, after their studies have been completed, to open their own businesses in the area.

Ballard also has an active Sister City program established with Bergen, and there is a strong business association in the community as well, evidenced by the growing membership of the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, and circulation of NorAm Report. Publication of the Seattle/Puget Sound Norwegian-American Business Directory, which began in 1988, includes over 287 entries of businesses which are owned or operated by Norwegians in the area, or are connected with Norwegian parent companies.
Ballard continues to provide activities and maintain traditions which serve as a focal point for Norwegians throughout the Puget Sound area. Of the 358 surveys that were returned, over 72 percent were drawn to Ballard as a cultural source with 60 percent of those surveyed living outside of Ballard. They are drawn to special celebrations, Sons of Norway activities and meetings, the Nordic Heritage Museum exhibits and programs, shopping downtown at the Norwegian delicatessens and bakeries, browsing the Norwegian gift stores, and dining at the Scandinavian or more general seafood restaurants. The 17th of May parade held in Ballard is undoubtedly the biggest single attraction of the year for the Norwegian community, attracting at least 42 percent of all Norwegians surveyed. It is considered to be the largest parade held on that day outside of Norway and people come from miles to participate.

As well as being a focal point for Norwegian culture, the Norwegians surveyed indicate Ballard is also part of a network of Norwegian activities spread along Puget Sound such as: Norway Park, Trollhaugen, and language camps sponsored by Sons of Norway; Poulsbo Midsummer festival, Tacoma Scandinavian Days; and Stanwood celebrations. Ballard also has the distinction of being the home to one of the largest Norwegian-language newspapers published in the United States, the Washington
Posten, when the paper was renamed the Western Viking, in 1959, and moved from Seattle in 1960.

The majority of the survey population is first generation Norwegian-Americans and are retired, or are near retirement age. The greatest number of the survey population arrived in the Puget Sound area between 1940 and 1950, and there is a significant lack of younger people and other generations to maintain the traditions with only 30 percent of the survey population between the ages of 18 and 52.

However, there is a gradual infusion of new immigrants coming in with the increased international investment from Norway within the past 10 years. This could inject fresh enthusiasm and drive to keep Norwegian traditions alive and current. According to the survey results, between 35 and 40 percent of these new Norwegian immigrants feel maintenance of Norwegian traditions in both the home and the community is at least moderately important. The question could be raised, however, what kind of Norwegian culture is to be maintained?

Are these the traditions of pre-World War II Norway as the majority of respondents remember? Has the Western Viking and respondents' personal contacts with Norway been enough to keep perceptions of the culture current as it changes within the contemporary Norwegian society? Although the great influx of Norwegian immigration staunched after 1950, still 13 percent of
the Norwegian-born survey respondents have settled here from Norway within the last 20 years. Is there a difference between the Norwegian-born residents who settled right after World War II, and those who have arrived especially in the last two decades? Is the interest and identification with the culture strong enough in the younger respondents of all generational groups for them to choose to maintain an active cultural network in Ballard?

Because my survey approached members of the traditional Norwegian organizations, I did not reach those Norwegian business people who have chosen not to become members, and thereby remain outside the traditional cultural environment. Have they established another? It would be interesting to approach these Norwegians that have become established within the past 15 years and investigate their perceptions of area, Puget Sound's Norwegian culture, and their choice of participation or non-participation. An evaluation of this group might also show a difference in residential distribution from my sample.

So, finally, what will Ballard become? Looking at the evidence on the landscape, Ballard has not only maintained its ethnic personality for over 100 years, and provided a legitimate, functional Norwegian community, but has become a psychological focus which has contributed to an overall regional impression that has facilitated the development of serious international investment.
Figure 6.1
Official Seal of the Ballard Chamber of Commerce
Symbol of a Vernacular Landscape
Undoubtedly, as the older generations fade and the increased influx of new businesses and new Norwegian immigrants continues, the Norwegian culture of Ballard and the Puget Sound region will be changing, as will its expression on the landscape. Almost in spite of how the Norwegian community of Ballard may change, however, the perception of Ballard as a vernacular region, interwoven with other communities nested along the Puget Sound area, has been strongly established and will continue to underscore the personality of place as being distinctly Norwegian (fig. 6.1).

Landscapes are a reciprocal medium of culture, as culture sculpts and is then shaped by the landscapes it sculpts. As businesses are continually attracted to this cultural-economic region, and networks develop which are designed to ease Norwegian interests into a foreign market, they may supplant the more traditional cultural network which has been slowly evolving since the 1890s. The various dynamics of ethnic choice will be unpredictable. In any case, the reinforcement or restructuring of the Norwegian culture in Ballard will be most clearly communicated through both the symbolic and the functional signatures on the Norwegian cultural landscape.
APPENDIX 1

List of Ballard Churches

Before 1900

1889 Northminster Presbyterian Church
(1889 BALLARD INCORPORATED, name changed from Gilman Park)
1890 [Gilman Park (Ballard) Methodist Episcopal Church]
1891 St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Church
1891 St. Stephen's Episcopal Mission Church (Ballard founders)
1892* Merging of Swedish and Norwegian Evangelical free churches to form United Evangelical Free Church
1893* First Swedish Baptist
1894* [Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church (Norwegian)]
1894* Pacific Lutheran University
1897 First Christian Church of Ballard
1899* Norwegian–Danish Emanuel Methodist Episcopal Church

1900–1920

1901* [Bethania Norwegian Evangelic Lutheran Free Church (later, Bethany)]
1901* Jones Street Mission (non-denominational Norwegian)
1902 Calvary Lutheran (Icelandic)
1902 First Church of Christ, Scientist (Christian Science), Ballard
1903* [Ballard Norwegian Evangelic Lutheran Free Church (later, Christ Lutheran)]
(1903) SONS OF NORWAY, Pacific Coast. Leif Erikson Lodge No. 1, Seattle

1904 St. Paul's United Church of Christ (German)
1904 [Bay View Methodist Episcopal Church]

(1905) NORWAY FREE FROM SWEDEN)
1905 Ballard Free Methodist
1905* [Bethlehem Lutheran]
1906* [NW 62nd Street Church]

(1907) BALLARD ANNEXED TO SEATTLE)

1908* Bethel Lutheran (Augustana Synod)
1908* Norwegian-American Lutheran Conference held at Zion Episcopal Lutheran
1908 Beach Camp to wait for end of the world
1909* [Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church]
1910* Ballard Seventh Day Adventist (Scandinavian)
(1910) DAUGHTERS OF NORWAY, BREIDABLIKK LODGE)

(1911) BEGINNING OF LADS)
1913* [Crown Hill Methodist]

1914-18 WORLD WAR I
1917 Seventh Elect Church in Spiritual Israel
1917* [First Lutheran Church of Ballard]
1918 Bethany Baptist Church

[Brackets] indicate a change or merger identified in Appendix 2
* indicates Scandinavian immigrant base or affiliation

Taken from: Passport to Ballard: The Centennial Story, pp. 117-132.
APPENDIX 2

**Ballard Church Mergers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Church Activity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Gilman Park Methodist Episcopal Church (Ballard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Bay View Methodist Episcopal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Merged to form Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1906 N.W. 62nd Street Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1924 merged to form Trinity Methodist Church</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1907-09 Suspended services


1894 Zion Evangelical Lutheran

1905 Bethlehem Lutheran Church

- 1917 merged, becoming First Lutheran Church of Ballard Predominantly Norwegian, services conducted in Norwegian.

1925 Ballard First Lutheran and four other churches formed the Lutheran Welfare League, constructed Lutheran Church Foss Sunset Home for the elderly.

1929 Ballard First Lutheran originated the Fishermen's Festival: worship service and ceremony blessing the fishing fleet. Has become known world-wide. 1988 first year festival held in Seattle instead of Ballard.
1899  Methodist Church of Seattle began services in Ballard, organized Emanuel Norwegian-Danish Methodist Episcopal Church of Ballard
1913  Became Crown Hill Methodist Episcopal Church

-1901  Bethania Norwegian Evangelic Lutheran Free Church; later renamed Bethany Lutheran
-1903  Ballard Norwegian Evangelic Lutheran Free Church; later renamed Christ Lutheran
-1957  Merged to form Crown Lutheran (due to dwindling memberships)

1901  Jones Street Mission, Norwegian non-denominational fellowship group. Persecution and vandalism.
1920  Church burned
1922  Became Volunteer Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission of Ballard (church rebuilt at same location)
1930  Became Scandinavian Pentacostal Tabernacle
1938  Became Ballard Pentacostal Tabernacle
1952  New building, new name: Philadelphia Church

Taken from: Passport to Ballard: The Centennial Story, pp. 117-132.
### APPENDIX 3

**Percentage of Foreign-Born White Population by Country of Birth: 1920**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Washington</th>
<th>King County</th>
<th>Seattle</th>
<th>Tacoma</th>
<th>Spokane</th>
<th>Everett</th>
<th>Bellingham</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total Pop.</strong></td>
<td>250,055</td>
<td>91,207</td>
<td>73,875</td>
<td>20,563</td>
<td>16,826</td>
<td>5,741</td>
<td>5,328</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Canada</strong></td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sweden</strong></td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Norway</strong></td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>England</strong></td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Germany</strong></td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ireland</strong></td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scotland</strong></td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Denmark</strong></td>
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<td>3.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Finland</strong></td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1</td>
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Figures represent percentages of the total populations indicated at the top of each column.

APPENDIX 4

Locations of Bygdelag Regions in Norway

Taken from: Odd Lovoll, The Bygdelag in America, 1975, p. 7
APPENDIX 5

List of Bygdelags in Puget Sound

1900-1910:

Gudbrandsdalslaget “Heimhug” (Seattle) Nov. 22, 1908

1911-1920:

Vosselaget (Seattle) 1911
Nordlandslaget “Nordlyset” (Tacoma-local) March 12, 1912
Pacific Coast Sognalag (Tacoma) May 26, 1912
West Coast Division Numedalslaget (Everett) Dec. 30, 1912
Nordlandslaget “Fembøringen” (Seattle-local) Sept. 7, 1913
Hallinglaget on the West Coast (Parkland, WA) Nov. 18, 1913
West Coast Sunnfjordlag (Tacoma) Feb. 19, 1914
West Coast Nordfjordlag (Tacoma) 1915
Stavanger Løg of West Coast (Bellingham) 1917
Rogaland og Vest Agderlaget På Vestkysten (Bellingham) Feb. 15, 1917
West Coast Oppdalslag (Seattle) Aug. 1, 1920
West Coast Østerdalslag (Puget Sound) before WWII

1921-1930:

Selbulaget for the Puget Sound Area (Everett) Aug. 14, 1921
Romsdalslaget on the West Coast (Stanwood) July 1924
Trønderlaget Tordenskjold (Seattle) before 1925
Sunnmørlaget of Seattle, Nov. 11, 1925
Trønderlaget Nidaros (Tacoma) March 10, 1927

Those with a specific “west coast” designation in their name indicate they are a member of a national lag (in Lovoll 1975:241-273)
Dear Members:

My name is Katherine Nashleanas (Nash-lane-us), and I am a graduate student in the Department of Geography at California State University, Hayward. Although I am not Norwegian, I taught in the Norwegian Folkehøgskule for nearly two years, and have been associated with Norwegian groups for over 12 years. Norway has become my adopted home, and the Norwegian culture my second family. For my Master's Thesis, I am conducting research on the perpetuation of Norwegian culture, and its contribution in this country, and specifically the Norwegian contribution to the identity of Ballard. I heard of Ballard when I was teaching in Norway, and I have been intrigued ever since. I have been able to visit Ballard twice now; the first time in September, and the second to celebrate May 17th and enjoy all the lovely activities of the day. It was a marvelous experience. Now, I would like to invite you also to participate in this research effort.

I would like to ask you to complete a 20 minute questionnaire which has been designed to determine Norwegian migration patterns to the Ballard area, and indicate those cultural characteristics which have enabled Norwegians to remain a strong presence in Ballard over the years. It is hoped that this study will provide geographers with a better understanding of such characteristics which preserve and perpetuate an ethnic culture such as yours, within a larger ethnically mixed population. Also, we might learn of factors which can work against the cohesion of a culture if there are changes in the area, or other circumstances which might not be obvious right away. I think it is important to know this. Hopefully, you do too.

Participation in this research is strictly voluntary and is completely anonymous. At no time will you be required to identify yourself, either to me or in the questionnaire. You may, at any time, decide not to participate or to withdraw from the study. You may even have your data withdrawn after you have completed the study, if you so decide. Your participation in this study will also remain confidential in that when you have completed your questionnaire, it will be sealed in a business envelope provided and returned directly to me, or placed in a box in your office for me to pick up when I arrive in Ballard July 9-19.

If you choose to participate, you will have the satisfaction of participating in a project designed to showcase your contribution to the Seattle area, and when the study is completed, each organization participating will be presented with a copy of the study.

If you have further questions about this research, please contact me at home (415) 889-7987, or call to let me know if you would like to talk with me when I am in Ballard in July, and we can make arrangements. Between July 9-19, my phone number in Ballard will be: 782-6580.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

Respectfully,

Katherine Nashleanas
APPENDIX 7

Letter of Instruction for Filling Out Questionnaire

June 13, 1990

Dear Member:

Thank you for considering to participate in this survey! It should take you approximately 20 minutes to complete the form, although if you wish to add additional comments, observations, and/or experiences you are welcome to do so.

Instructions: You will notice the first part of the questionnaire is divided into two parts: one part for those of you who were born in Norway. You will answer questions 1-5 under the NORWEGIAN-BORN category. The other part is for those of you who were born in the US. You will answer questions 6-8 under the US-BORN category. Then all of you, both Norwegian-born and US-born, will answer questions 9-33 under the category labeled ALL RESPONDENTS. Question 34 is optional. If you have received other copies of this questionnaire, please fill it out only once.

Please be assured that your participation in this research is strictly voluntary and is completely anonymous. At no time will you be required to identify yourself, either to me or in the questionnaire. Since a number of organizations are participating in this study, the information you present will be included in this larger group and will not be specifically identified with your organization once your questionnaire has been received. You may, at any time, decide not to participate or to withdraw from the study. You may even have your data withdrawn after you have completed the study, if you so decide. Your questionnaire is coded in the upper right-hand corner for this purpose only. Please record this number and keep it. Should you wish to withdraw your questionnaire at a later date, you can simply refer to that number when you call. I will have no way of identifying you.

Your participation in this study will also remain confidential. A self-addressed business envelope has been provided, and when you finish your questionnaire, you may seal it in the envelope and either mail it directly back to me, or place it in a box in your organization's business office, and I will pick it up when I arrive in Ballard July 9-19.

Thank you for considering participation in this survey, and if you have further questions about this research, please contact me at home (415) 889-7987, or call to let me know if you would like to talk with me when I am in Ballard in July, and we can make arrangements. My number in Ballard, July 9-19 will be: 782-6580. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Katherine Nashleanas
(415) 889-7987

enclosures:
1 questionnaire
1 self-addressed business envelope
APPENDIX 8
RESIDENTIAL CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRE

NORWEGIAN-BORN
1. What town in what district in Norway do you consider to be your home town? 

2. Do you still have family there? _____ yes _____ no

3. What decade (1930's, 1940's, etc.) did you move to the United States? 

4. Why did you move? * 

5. At the time of your move, did you consider it to be:
   _____ Short-term, temporary
   _____ Long-term, temporary
   _____ Permanent

US-BORN
6. What city and state had you or your family been living in prior to moving to the Ballard/Pacific Northwest region? 

7. What city and district in Norway do your Norwegian ancestors come from? 

8. Generationally, how would you classify your family:
   _____ 1st generation (parents born in Norway)
   _____ 2nd generation (grandparents born in Norway, parents born outside of Norway)
   _____ 3rd generation (great-grandparents born in Norway, grandparents and parents born outside of Norway)
   _____ Other:

ALL RESPONDENTS
9. What decade (1930's, 1940's, etc.) did you or your family move to the Ballard/Pacific Northwest area?

10. How did you or your family hear about the Ballard/Pacific Northwest area? * 

11. Why did you or your family move to the Ballard/Pacific Northwest area? * 

12. How often do you visit Norway?
   _____ every 10 years
   _____ every 5 years
   _____ every 3 years
   _____ every 2 years
   _____ once a year
   _____ Other:

13. How often do family and/or friends from Norway visit you in the US?
   _____ every 10 years
   _____ every 5 years
   _____ every 3 years
   _____ every 2 years
   _____ once a year
   _____ Other:

14. How many other relatives, US or Norwegian, do you have who live in or near the Ballard area? 

15. How many other relatives, US or Norwegian, live in other parts of the US? 

16. In which US cities and states do your relatives live? * 

17. Is Norwegian spoken in your home? _____ yes _____ no

18. If you have children, are they being taught to speak Norwegian? _____ yes _____ no
19. How important is it to you that Norwegian traditions be maintained in your home?
   ____ Very important
   ____ Moderately important
   ____ Occasionally nice
   ____ Not important

20. Which specific Norwegian traditions and activities do you and your family enjoy?

21. Which specific Norwegian foods do you and your family enjoy?

22. How important is it to you that Norwegian traditions be maintained in your community?
   ____ Very important
   ____ Moderately important
   ____ Occasionally nice
   ____ Not important

23. What specific Norwegian activities do you participate in that bring you into Ballard?

24. What Norwegian activities do you participate in that require you to leave the Ballard area?

25. Where are these located?

26. Do you subscribe to any Norwegian-language publications such as (mark all that apply):
   ____ Western Viking
   ____ Nytt fra Norge

27. Do you belong to any Norwegian organizations (mark all that apply):
   ____ Sons of Norway
   ____ Daughters of Norway
   ____ Nordmann's Forbundet
   ____ Sunnmorelaget av Seattle
   ____ Nordic Heritage Museum
   ____ Norwegian Male Chorus
   ____ Norwegian Ladies Chorus
   ____ Den Norske Hospitalsforeningen
   ____ Femboringen
   ____ Other:

28. Are you:
   ____ Norwegian by birth
   ____ Norwegian by relation
   ____ Norwegian by affiliation
   ____ Other:

29. Address: Please list street name or number, hundred block and zip code only. You do not need to give specific house number address:

30. Occupation/Business:

31. Does your occupation/business have direct or indirect commercial ties to Norway?
   ____ yes  ____ no

32. Is your occupation/business listed in the Puget Sound Norwegian/American Business Directory?
   ____ yes  ____ no

33. In filling out this questionnaire, are you answering for:
   ____ you individually
   ____ you and your family living with you
   ____ how many in your family?

34. Please indicate your age range:
   ____ 18-25
   ____ 26-34
   ____ 35-43
   ____ 44-52
   ____ 53-61
   ____ 62-70
   ____ 71-79
   ____ Other:

35. Please indicate how many members in your immediate family, living in the Ballard/Pacific Northwest area, fall within the following age ranges:
   ____ 0-8
   ____ 9-17
   ____ 18-25
   ____ 18-25
   ____ 26-34
   ____ 35-43
   ____ 35-43
   ____ 44-52
   ____ 44-52
   ____ 53-61
   ____ 53-61
   ____ 62-70
   ____ 62-70
   ____ 71-79
   ____ 71-79
   ____ Other:
   ____ Other:
   ____ Other:

* Please feel free to use additional pages if you need more room
36. If you have any additional comments you would like to make, please feel free to use this sheet. If you would like to share some of your insights and personal experiences about living in the Ballard/Pacific Northwest area, changes you have seen regarding Norwegian culture in the Ballard/Pacific Northwest region over the years, or about you or your family’s immigration from Norway, please feel free to write me or include your phone number so I can get in touch with you. You are always welcome to contact me at home as well at: (415) 889-7987.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

* Please feel free to use additional pages if you need more room
### APPENDIX 9

**U.S. Born: Districts of Origin in Norway by Decade**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region Refers to Fig. 3.8</th>
<th>U.S.-Born Respondents: District of Origin in Norway by Decade</th>
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<td>%</td>
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**Legend:**
- 0: Actual Number of Immigrants
- 1-3: 1-3
- 4-6: 4-6
- 7-9: 7-9
- 10-11: 10-11
- 12-13: 12-13
- 14-15: 14-15
APPENDIX 10

Norwegian Born: Districts of Origin in Norway by Decade

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Actual Number of Immigrants
### Partial List of "Other" Norwegian-Language Papers to which Respondents Subscribe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Norwegian-Language Publication Subscriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aftenposten (Oslo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergens Tidende</td>
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<tr>
<td>Det Nye</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domre av Norge*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiskhren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helgeland Blad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krigsseileren (Oslo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luthersk Kirketidende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some of these are local district (bygd) papers*

*Published in the United States*
Chapter 1

1 Seattle Parks and Recreation COMPLAN, Neighborhood District Preliminary Report, Ballard District Parks & Recreation Profile (March 1991), 8. Based on 1990 census tracts. Districts and communities are identified for the purposes of representation within the Seattle City government.


4 Ballard News, 5 January 1901.

5 A new fish ladder was constructed in 1976, with better attraction waters and more steps in smaller increments. Over 500,000 adult salmon and trout use the ladder each year.

6 Ballard News, 22 February 1902.

extensive treatment of this phase of Norwegian migration to the Pacific Northwest. Kay Reinartz, "Yankee and Immigrant – Ballardites All," in Passport to Ballard, ed. Kay Reinartz (Seattle: Ballard News-Tribune, 1988), 45-56) also offers commentary on this period as background for Ballard's Norwegian immigrants.

According to Jorgen Dahlie, "A Social History of Scandinavian Immigration, Washington State" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1967, p. 27), there is evidence to show that the Norwegian-language press not only reached the larger Puget Sound area, but may have extended to the Midwest and even to Norway: "While there is not plentiful evidence to show where the newspapers were mailed or even exact circulation figures, there are occasional references which indicate that the papers did reach people far beyond Washington. See Nya Världen (Bellingham), November 23, 1906, Tacoma Tidende, March 22, 1902, Washington Posten (Seattle) March 15, 1900, and Vestra Posten (Seattle) May 1, 1903 for information on circulation figures and claims that the combined newspapers may have reached 15,000 people in the Puget Sound area. For claims concerning the influence on prospective immigrants including letters from the reader in the Dakotas and Massachusetts, see Tacoma Tidende, March 30, 1901, and Vestra Posten, September 20, 1901."

The term "Norwegian ethnic" is used to classify all Norwegian-born and U.S.-born respondents with Norwegian heritage. The term "in-migrant" distinguishes those individuals from Norway engaged in secondary migration within the United States or, later, those U.S. born descendents of Norwegian immigrants. The term "immigrant" is used to refer to those people from Norway arriving at their first point of contact in the
United States or for an institution or service developed in support of the early Norwegian ethnic community such as in "immigrant church" and "immigrant press".

Chapter 2

1 See also Ballard News, 19 January; 20, 27, April; 13 July 1901; 22 February, and 8 March 1902.

2 Bell Town was a nickname for a section of land owned by a Mr. Bell along the waterfront of Elliot Bay, south of Ballard. The area would be just southeast of Seattle Center today. See Margaret I. Wandrey, *Four Bridges to Seattle: Old Ballard 1853-1907* (Seattle: Ballard Printing and Publishing, 1975), 111.


4 See Jorgen Dahlie, 1967, for an outstanding evaluation of the issues and debates regarding culture and assimilation in the Scandinavian press at that time.

the decade from 1911 to 1920, most of them after a relatively short period in America, an average of seven to eight years." Semmingsen notes that some immigrants had saved enough during their stay in the United States, that they could now buy a farm or good fishing boat; indicating economic opportunity had improved enough to draw immigrants back home.

6 The special 17th of May editions of the Norwegian-language press often featured Norwegian and American flags, biographies of prominent Norwegian-American citizens and alluded to the commonalities between the two cultures. The importance of celebrating the 17th of May, however, was not just the expression of a new-found American identity or Norwegian identity within an adopted homeland. The wave of nationalism, credited with starting around 1864, within which the Norwegian declaration of independence occurred, is often referred to as the Norwegian Renaissance. It played an important part in the development of a national identity in Norway forging together a number of regional dialects into a new national language called Landsmål [country language], designed to replace the "Norwegianized" Danish of the educated and elite, called Riksmål [royal language]. This period also nurtured a new Norwegian identity in the arts with the works of Henrik Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, and Edvard Grieg.

For example, Herman Amberg Preus, leader of the Norwegian Synod, travelled to Norway in 1867 to explain the religious, geographical, and social conditions in America that restricted a pastor to ministering to widespread and isolated communities only once or twice per year, and asked for help. He lamented, "With no one to preach to them and thus to teach, advise, and admonish them, a good many of our people have already grown indifferent to the Word of God and the church" (Herman Amberg Preus, *Seven Lectures*, Lecture 1, 44). Within the same plea, however, Preus emphasized the great differences between the Church of Norway and the Norwegian Synod as well as between this Synod and all other Lutheran denominations in America. His was a vision of a new, Lutheran Zion, conservative in doctrine, intolerant of backsliding, and yet innovative in an administrative form freed from traditional Norwegian state control. Needless to say, the help never came.

After his return to America, Preus sought doctrinal and clerical support across ethnic lines forming a strong alliance with the German-American Missouri Synod, whose theological vision was closer to his own.

The Ballard Norwegian Evangelic Lutheran Free Church, Bay View Methodist Episcopal, St. Paul's United Church of Christ (German), Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Ballard Free Methodist Church, NW 62nd Street Church, the Norwegian-Danish Emanuel Methodist Episcopal Church of Seattle, Bethel Lutheran Church – Augustana Synod, Calvary Methodist Episcopal, and Ballard Seventh Day Adventist. Also see Appendix 2 for the origins and interrelations of some of these.

An editorial in the Ballard News for 1901 speaks of the "scores of men and women working in Seattle" who live in Ballard
and who do not have easy access to streetcar lines from residential areas. By 1902 the paper was reporting that the Ballard street cars were filled to standing room only to and from Seattle. Ballardites were paying higher taxes than residents of Seattle, and the town was paying more for fire insurance. Higher prices along with the smoky, cinder-filled air and threat of fire made Seattle an attractive place to shop.

11 Kay Reinartz, "Ballard Pride of Puget Sound, 1900-1920," in Passport to Ballard, 71. She also indicates that this growth began slowing soon after, and by 1912, there was only a "twenty percent increase of buildings and negligible increase in the built-up area."

12 "General History", Sons of Norway, Leif Erikson Lodge No. 1 (Ballard) Archives, Scrapbook No. 1.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Bygdelagenes Føellesråd, Inc. was established January 25, 1916 in Minneapolis, and incorporated March 3, 1926.

Chapter 3

1 Norwegians: 52.8 percent; Swedes: 31.5 percent; Danes: 9.1 percent; and Finns: 6.5 percent. No figures were available for Icelanders. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980.

2 Hennepin County, Minnesota, where Minneapolis is located, is first, and Los Angeles, California is third. In James Paul Allen

3 I contacted an officer of each organization to ask permission to send questionnaires to their members. In some cases, I simply sent the appropriate number to the contact person with a cover letter to be read at their next membership meeting, and members were free to participate or not. In the case of the largest organization, after initial contact by phone, I sent a copy of my questionnaire to their board for approval. When I arrived in Ballard, I was asked to meet with the board to answer any questions they might have, and then to present my project proposal to the general membership. The board felt that any use of their membership list had to be approved by the members themselves. After receiving membership approval, I, in consultation with the board, selected only the "98" zip code areas to include all of Puget Sound. I prepared all the questionnaires for mailing and delivered them to the organization's mailing house.

In no instance have I seen any membership list for any organization. Furthermore, each questionnaire was coded by organization and numbered sequentially so that if at any time participants might have second thoughts, they could request their survey form returned by its coded number. I had no control over which member received which questionnaire, and without access to any membership lists, I have no way of knowing which specific individuals participated in my survey, unless they chose to identify themselves. I attempted to control for duplicate forms filled out by individuals who were members of more than one Norwegian organization meeting in Ballard by inserting a
cover letter asking that if they received more than one questionnaire, to please fill out only one.

All members of the population selected had the probability of receiving a questionnaire. Respondents were self-selected, in that they were interested enough to fill out the questionnaire and send it back through the mail. Due to budgetary restrictions, they were also asked to invest 25¢ for a stamp. The questionnaire consisted of 35 questions on two pages, with an optional open-ended question at the end. This process of "selecting" respondents may have skewed my results in that those interested enough to endure the form and invest the money are most likely those sincerely interested in their heritage. There were a total of 1242 questionnaires not returned.

I was not able to break down results by gender in that some respondents used one form to reply for themselves and their spouse. Care was taken to count each individual's response to the questions separately, but it was not possible to determine the specific information by gender.

4 A number of respondents (5 percent) volunteered information regarding their multiple-ethnic ancestry, however, and the most common were Swedish, followed by Danish, Scottish, and English. These could not be evaluated in terms of influence. One respondent reported that the Swedish influence in the family occurred before 1706! I also did not record those who reported current mixed marriages.

5 Of the respondents providing zip code information, distribution by age within each area appears as follows:
I have made a distinction between the decade Norwegian-born respondents immigrated to the United States and the decade they moved to the Puget Sound area. In all statistics used, the distinction is made. The U.S. decade is applied when determining language use, observance of traditions, and so on in terms of years of distance from the home country. When concentrating on region-specific attitudes and activities, the decade to the Puget Sound is used.

Percentages of anticipated length of stay by decade for Norwegian-born immigrants:

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<td>1980</td>
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<td>1960</td>
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<td>1920</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<td>77%</td>
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Lefse is a type of Norwegian tortilla or pancake made with potato flour. It is often served with butter and sugar for a light dessert. Geitost is a sweet goat cheese. Rømmegnat is a delicious warm, sour cream porridge often served on holidays and special occasions. Syttende mai is the 17th of May. Kjøttkaker are meatballs, and karbonade is a type of hamburger steak.

James S. Foysten, respondent. Used by permission.

Chapter 4

The town never even had a Scandinavian name. It was originally named Gilman Park, in 1888, after a successful land speculator was able to extend the developing railroad to property on the south side of Salmon Bay. William Ballard was a steamship captain on the Puget Sound who was aware of the increasing numbers of immigrants moving to the area and began to invest in land and business activities in Gilman Park. When the Seattle, Lake Shore, and Eastern Railroads, now the Burlington Northern, stopped on the south side of Salmon Bay, the conductor called the stop "Ballard Junction". When the town was incorporated in 1890, the city council changed the name to Ballard. Interestingly, when Ballard was annexed to Seattle in 1907, several names were suggested, including: Northwest Seattle, FDR #23, and Canal Station. There was never a hint of a Scandinavian name (in Passport to Ballard, pp. 23-64).

Akevitt is a Norwegian liquor usually distilled from potatoes.
3 Krumkake is a dessert similar to large waffle cones which, when rolled, are usually filled with sweet cream and berries. Kransekake is a traditional cake made from crushed almonds (instead of flour) and shaped into several individual concentric rings about the thickness of one's thumb. After baking, they are stacked and served often 5 to 15 or 20 rings high. Because of the incredible amount of work, and the expense, kranskekaker are saved for very special occasions indeed! Hjertevaffler are heart-shaped dessert waffles often served at teas or coffee breaks and accompanied with jams and preserves.

4 I also had the opportunity to visit Poulsbo on one of my trips to Ballard. I had heard Poulsbo referred to as "Little Norway", and I wanted to compare it with Ballard. What I found was a true tourist town. What had been the picturesque main street, located near the harbor area and serving the Poulsbo residents, had been turned into a street full of shop windows and intriguing little stores. Unfortunately, there was only one Scandinavian shop along the entire street, and it was one of the newer establishments.

      Travelling further inland, I found the major grocery stores and shopping centers catering to the needs of the Poulsbo residents. There was one Scandinavian shop there as well. I asked the owner why he had located so far from the obvious tourist trade and he responded that his customers were primarily first and second generation who were rediscovering their roots. The way the town had been redesigned, it fragmented the functionality of the Norwegian community, and the idea of commercialism has run rampant.

5 Ann M. Maher, respondent. Used with permission.
Gene Thorkildsen, respondent. Used with permission.

Rosemåling is an ancient form of painting using fanciful flowers and swirls in rich colors. Originally used to decorate walls, it has become known as a folk craft such that various districts in Norway have their own distinctive style. There is quite an interest in this art form in this region in the form of a very active Western Rosemålers Association with members in several states. Since many of the Leif Erikson lodge members are knowledgeable in construction and building, the Leif Erikson Lodge was truly a labor of love on the part of the entire membership from the ground up!

Lutefisk is truly a Norwegian delicacy – some might call it an acquired taste. It is codfish soaked in lye for several days after which nearly all the nutrients in the fish are discouraged. The consistency of the fish becomes less than solid at this point, and after rigorous washing to remove all traces of the lye, it is ready for consumption usually accompanied by drawn butter and much fanfare. This is also the traditional Norwegian Christmas dinner. Most Sons of Norway lodges have at least one lutefisk dinner annually.

Of the 2,000 Leif Erikson lodge members, 1,465 were located in the Puget Sound region, identified by the "98" zip code. Twenty-three percent of the Puget Sound members responded to the survey: 24 percent of them were located in the 98107 and 98117 zip code areas which define Ballard, and 62 percent lived outside of the Ballard area.

Western Viking, 19 October 1990.
Although loyalty to a Norwegian ethnic identity is high in Ballard, these residents do not slight their loyalty as citizens of the United States. During the 17th of May dinner, both the Norwegian and American flags were prominent and both anthems were sung. During the initial days of the Gulf War, there was also a memorial service for the King of Norway at Ballard First Lutheran Church. One resident reported that "on that day there was not one single Norwegian flag on Market Street, even at the Norwegian specialty and Scandinavian grocery store, but I counted 36 American flags" (author's interview with Olaf Kvamme in Ballard, March 21, 1991).

Chapter 5


3 Svein Gilje, interview, 1991. Mr. Gilje is currently the editor and publisher of NorAm Report and president of NorAm Company, Inc., vice president of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, Seattle, and consultant to U.S. and Norwegian businesses and news media on U.S. national and commercial affairs. Mr. Gilje has been an economics and international affairs columnist for the Seattle Times (1964 to 1989), director of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, Seattle in 1986, and director of the Norwegian American Historical Association 1978 to 1989. He is an ongoing
contributor to European, American, and Asian publications and broadcasts.

Mr. Gilje was awarded Knight First Class, Royal Order of St. Olav (by King Olav V of Norway) in 1976, and in 1975 he was host to the King during his tour of the Pacific Northwest. In 1975 he was also presented with the Man of the Year Award from the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, Seattle.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Daniel Nye, lawyer, Ater Wynne Hewitt Dodson & Skerritt, interview by author, Tape recording, Seattle, 25 March 1991. Mr. Nye has lived in Norway for 4 1/2 years and graduated from the University of Washington majoring in Scandinavian languages. He and his wife are both lawyers. About 60 percent of their clients are Norwegian businesses, especially start-ups. Mr. Nye's family moved to the Puget Sound area in 1910.


10 Norwegian Enterprise in the U.S.A.


13 Originally, encouragement of Norwegian investment in the Puget Sound area was coordinated by Leif Eie, the Norwegian Vice Consul for Commercial Affairs (recently retired), Svein Gilje, and Alf Bergeson (initially representative for Oslo Banken) in conjunction with the Washington State Office of Development and the Trade Commission of Norway.


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<td>1920</td>
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18 Ibid.


20 Ibid.

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