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A Readership of Convenience: Macro-National Cooperation within the Scandinavian-Australian Newspaper *Norden*, 1896–1940

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ABSTRACT

Between 1825 and 1930, almost three million Scandinavians left their homelands as part of a mass exodus from Northern Europe. While the majority established thriving communities in the United States, a small number settled across Australia and New Zealand. The Scandinavian-Australian newspaper *Norden* (1896–1940) was integral in connecting these most isolated immigrant communities to their homelands and each other. This article considers how *Norden* resurrected pan-Scandinavianism, a remnant collective ideology of the Romantic period, to foster a sense of collective goodwill and cultural similarity between Australia's fragmented Danish, Swedish and Norwegian immigrant communities. The article argues that without the unifying power of macro-national cooperation, this unique newspaper and its vibrant readership of convenience would not have survived into the 20th century.

Introduction

On 14 July 1900, on the eve of Australian Federation, the Scandinavian-Australian newspaper *Norden* proclaimed in Danish that "Queenslanders, New South Welshmen, Victorians, etc, now are one nation—We are all Australian [*Vi er alle Australiere*]".[1] After diasporic levels of immigration from their Nordic homelands during a century characterised by aggressive nationalisms and the destruction of parochial bonds in favour of wider "imagined communities" of fraternal citizens,[2] it came as little surprise that Australia's fragmented populations of Danes, Swedes and Norwegians were finding it increasingly difficult to define themselves within a newly forged and overwhelmingly British-Australian nation. In response, they turned to their newspapers for guidance, and they were met with *Norden*'s resounding call of "Enighed Gör Staerk" ("Unity Creates Strength").[3] While spreading the message of Australian unity and connection to a largely

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[1]"Have You heard?," *Norden*, 14 July 1900, 8.
[2]Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983), 5–7.
[3]"Wall Calendar for 1905," *Norden*, 24 December 1904.

immigrant-born readership, the foreign-language press fostered national solidarity towards their new homeland but, more importantly, a stronger connection between the migrants themselves. *Norden* was acting to unite a network of nationalised migrant communities and attempt to link fraternal Danish, Swedish and Norwegian migrant minorities into one inclusive "Scandinavian-Australian" readership.

The effects of this unifying message were immediately felt in immigrant enclaves of Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney. By 11 December 1900, encouraged by talk of Federation and macro-national cooperation in *Norden*'s pages, Sydney's fragmented Nordic communities came together to form the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration Fund. Through practical fundraising endeavours for more children's hospital beds, this small migrant community hoped to create "a big and lasting monument erected by Scandinavians in honour of the inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth".[4] The fund managed to raise £1,000 from donations across Australia thanks to *Norden*'s involvement, including a Scandinavian bazaar in Sydney from 25 to 28 September 1901.[5] Such symbolic representations articulated a renewed sense of unity and connection among Scandinavian migrant groups, one promoted heavily in the migrant press despite an increase in nationalistic fervour between Swedish, Danish and Norwegian cliques.[6] As the mouthpiece for a scattered population of migrants intent on reconnecting with one another via both virtual and physical networks, the foreign-language press spread such messages of cultural unity across Australia. In doing so, *Norden* enacted a powerful responsibility—promoting the continuation and significance of a largely invented Scandinavian-Australian ethnic group. Importantly, it was also an economic necessity, in that pan-Scandinavian cooperation and the unity afforded to a "readership of convenience" like this was the only way to maintain sufficient financial support for what was an eternally struggling, niche publication.

This article provides a historical overview of Scandinavian immigration to Australia, discussing 19th-century European nationalist and macro-national developments in order to understand *Norden* as a case study for the transplantation of such ideas within a temporally and geographically displaced migrant group. My article is concerned with *Norden*'s ability to build pervasive networks and pathways—both real and imagined—that bound migrants together over vast distances and made them feel that they belonged to part of a greater "pan" phenomenon, one similar to Benedict Anderson's concept of nationalised "imagined communities",[7] albeit at a higher, regional level of identification: pan-Scandinavianism. *Norden*, as the most prominent and long-lived member of the Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language press, recognised that its economic survival relied on its continual focus on a transplanted sense of pan-Scandinavian unity that was able to act above fragmentary nationalist migrant concerns, at least on paper. In socially constructing a perceived sense of difference between themselves and wider Australian society, *Norden* exemplified the idea that not all migrants were content to abandon their cultural heritage and assimilate completely as soon as possible. If these desires had not been present, *Norden* would not have lasted past Federation.

[4]L. W. Marcker, "Letter to *Norden* from the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration fund," *Norden*, 11 December 1900. Loose pamphlet in *Norden*'s 11 December 1900 issue.
[5]"The Scandinavien [*sic*] Commonwealth Commemoration Fund," *Norden*, 10 January 1903, 6.
[6]Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1986), 52–54, 57, 75–76, 82, 83–85, 92, 133–34, 140–41; John Stanley Martin, "Ethnicity and the Swedish Church in Melbourne 1883–1991" (Master of Theology thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, 1992), 9–10.
[7]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5–7.

Historical Background

The need for *Norden* to unite above national boundaries becomes clear when we consider the numerous challenges facing Australia's minority populations at the turn of the 20th century. Between 1825 and 1930, almost three million Scandinavians left their homelands as part of a mass exodus from Northern Europe, yet more than 95 per cent of the diaspora settled in the United States of America. For those especially adventurous Swedes, Danes and Norwegians willing to settle in faraway Australia—a completely foreign, remote and inhospitable environment—maintaining a sense of connection and identity was particularly difficult. Australia's Scandinavian migrant numbers were extremely small compared to those who instead chose America, and the geographic distances between settlers within Australia's colonial towns and cities were immense.

Scandinavian immigration to Australia consisted of three clear waves of settlers, spanning the mid-19th century to the present day. While remaining numerically small, each wave has had some form of immigrant press spawn in its wake—the first occurring in Victoria in the 1850s during the goldrush period when some 5,000 Scandinavians settled permanently in the region.[8] As early as 1857, both pan-Scandinavian idealism and the first Nordic migrant newspapers had appeared on the Australian goldfields, before the second wave of settlers during the 1870s and 1880s enabled an explosion of migrant communities, organisations and small publications in the ensuing decades.[9] Migrants settling in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, as well as many smaller East Coast localities, often sought each other out for companionship and economic security, forming robust Scandinavian societies wherever possible, the majority built on a shared sense of pan-Scandinavian unity.[10] Despite this enthusiasm, by the second wave's peak in 1891, the entire Scandinavian-born population of Australia was only a mere 16,524 persons, dispersed across an area equivalent to 80 per cent of continental USA, and contributed only 0.5 per cent to the total Australian population.[11] Furthermore, this "Scandinavian" population consisted of several smaller nationalised and even parochial-identifying family clusters, of which the Danes were more numerous and able to exert considerable control.

These statistics describe a small, fragmented immigrant population at risk of easily disappearing into the Australian milieu. In the 1950s, W. D. Borrie noted that "the tendency towards dispersal and the smallness of numbers of Scandinavians in any one colony or section of it was not conducive to the retention of traditional customs and habits of the country of origin".[12] Decades later, Olavi Koivukangas made similar remarks, positing that Scandinavians were "well qualified for rapid assimilation in the predominantly British country of Australia" due to their economic, social, cultural,

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[8]Olavi Koivukangas, "Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II" (PhD thesis, The Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974), 87.

[9]Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *The Foreign-language Press in Australia 1848–1964* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1967), 14.

[10]Mark Emmerson, "Vi er alle Australiere: The Migrant Newspaper *Norden* and its Promotion of Pan-Scandinavian Unity within Australia, 1896–1940" (PhD thesis, University of Southern Queensland, 2014), 88–98.

[11]James Jupp and Barry York, eds., *Birthplaces of the Australian People: Colonial & Commonwealth Censuses, 1828–1991* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1995), 10, 25. Individually, the Danes were the most represented with 6,403 persons. The Swedish/Norwegian Union provided the remaining 10,121 migrants, which was approximately 60 per cent Swedish.

[12]W. D. Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1954), 44.

political and linguistic similarity to British-Australians.[13] Ultimately, it was posited that large-scale Scandinavian intermarriage with wider society further promoted quick assimilation, and that "culturally, too, the Scandinavians lost their identity"; therefore, the "survival of a few Scandinavian clubs and societies, and of a Scandinavian newspaper, 'Norden', were incidental to the major fact that the Scandinavians as a whole had become absorbed by the twenties into their new society".[14]

While there is little denying the eventual assimilation of this group into the homogenised, racially "white" and culturally "British" Australian society of the interwar period, the immigrant newspaper that Borrie dismissed, Jens Lyng's *Norden* (1896–1940), was not so incidental to the lives of many migrants across its remarkable 44-year lifespan. A cultural institution determined to resist assimilation pressures by promoting a sense of united migrant identity, *Norden* built a readership around the ideals of Nordic macro-national cooperation—a romantic sense of pan-Scandinavianism. This macro-national cooperation seemed necessary given the minimal migrant numbers, itinerant and fluid settlement patterns of many early communities, and need for individuals to seek friendship in the familiar faces and voices of a distant homeland. It also corresponds to the delayed transmission of several important political developments in Europe regarding nationalism and collective macro-national identities, many of which—over the next few decades—were slowly transplanted to the other side of the world among the baggage of these new Australians.

Transnational Flows: Nationalism, Migration and Macro-National Cooperation

The migration period of the wider Scandinavian diaspora (ca. 1830–1925) significantly correlates with the rise of what Benedict Anderson calls the "newer nationalisms" and the worldwide reorganisation of many peoples' allegiances and loyalties to that of emerging nation-states between 1820 and 1920.[15] Anderson notes that "the 19th century was, in Europe and its immediate peripheries, a golden age of vernacularising lexicographers, grammarians, philologists and litterateurs", the result being, according to Eric Hobsbawm, an invigoration of national languages, cultures and invented traditions designed to reinforce the legitimacy of nationhood.[16] Furthermore, the simultaneous development of racial typologies that broke humanity into a "scientific" hierarchy of cultures also caused many larger European groups—such as the British, French, Russian, Austrian and German peoples—to develop individual beliefs regarding their racial superiority.[17] Important in justifying class inequality, imperial expansion, colonisation and the dominance of certain "white" cultures over other "inferior" peoples, social Darwinism became crucial in solidifying these groups' imperial and national identities while reversing a

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[13]Koivukangas, "Scandinavian Immigration," 278.
[14]Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 45.
[15]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 67.
[16]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 71; Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 263.
[17]Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), 205; David Hollinsworth, *Race and Racism in Australia* (Katoomba, NSW: Social Science Press, 1998), 36–41; Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 81–82.

decline in Britain's international power.[18] Many of these ideas extended to Scandinavia, where rising national sentiments and racial ideologies coalesced with alternative ideas of Scandinavian cooperation and macro-national unity.[19] In this way, while the migrants of the Scandinavian diaspora were on the move, the very tenets of citizenship, belonging and national identity were open for continual reinterpretation: fluid, contentious and negotiable.

Furthermore, the mid-19th century was also a time for great experimentation with certain types of imagined group constructions that involved wider and more inclusive ideologies than nationalism alone—namely, macro-national pan identities.[20] According to Louis L. Snyder, macro-nationalist pan movements developed during the 19th century as a corollary of developing nationalisms that attempted to "paint nationalism on a much broader canvas to include all *(pan)* those who by reason of geography, race, religion, or language, or by a combination of any or all of them, are included in the same group category".[21] Movements built on ideas of all-inclusiveness and together-ness attempted to unite the fragmented German-speaking peoples, for instance, as well as the Central European Slavic peoples, into greater cultural groups built on a regional identity and their own historical, moral and spiritual commonalities.[22] Their initial ideological successes inspired the nations of Scandinavia to do likewise, the people of Norden (*The North/Scandinavia*) seeking greater strength through soli-darity in what Snyder evaluates as the most successful of all European pan movements —pan-Scandinavianism.[23] Marja Jalava notes that simultaneously to central European pan developments, such ideas of Nordic unity became prevalent between 1830 and 1864 as pan-Scandinavian idealism provided the Scandinavian people with a "transna-tionalist alternative to the nation-state [that] was based on the argument that Norden actually constituted one nation [*Folk*] united by the common linguistic-cultural heri-tage, values, and a shared destiny".[24]

According to Mary Hilson, "the roots of pan-Scandinavianism lay in the 'literary medievalism' that emerged in Scandinavia, as elsewhere, from the late 18th century".[25] Driven by the rediscovery of a linguistic bond between the Scandinavian peoples, calls for increased cooperation by intellectuals across the Nordic region from the 1820s onwards motivated political cooperation based on cosmopolitan and enlightenment ideals. A proposed unification of the Nordic peoples became desirable "to achieve the full potential of Northern civilisation, which the individual states were too small and uninfluential to realise on their own".[26] Political pan-Scandinavianism found its stron-gest support in Denmark, where the national liberals' desire for a Danish nation-state in reaction to growing German nationalism caused some to see unity as the answer,

[18]Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism*, 81–82.
[19]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 74–75.
[20]Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), 8.
[21]Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms*, 4, 8.
[22]Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms*, 18–65; Louis Levine, "Pan-Slavism and European Politics," *Political Science Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1914): 664–86.
[23]Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms*, 111.
[24]Marja Jalava, "The Nordic Countries as a Historical and Historiographical Region: Towards a Critical Writing of Translocal History," *História da Historiografia* 11 (2013): 250–51.
[25]Mary Hilson, "Denmark, Norway, and Sweden: Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism," in *What is a Nation? Europe 1789–1914*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 202.
[26]Hilson, "Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism," 203.

but it also proved popular among Swedish national liberals to justify Sweden-Norway as a new unified state and as a way to regain Finland from Russia.[27]

During the 1840s, the student movement of Scandinavianism also emerged, predominantly around those studying at Copenhagen, Lund and Uppsala Universities.[28] Byron Nordstrom has found evidence that "student associations hosted celebrations in 1839, 1842, and 1845 in which speeches, poems, and songs celebrated the common elements of Nordic history and culture".[29] Emphasising the unity of the Scandinavian *folk* (people), the Romantic literature of the 1830s and 1840s attempted to focus on the Scandinavian peoples as one "community in blood and spirit".[30] In 1850, Karl XV & IV, King of Sweden-Norway, went so far as to declare that Norwegians, Swedes and Danes belonged together as one Nordic people, due to their shared history and traditions.[31]

However, many pan movements eventually proved to be unsustainable and unable to compete with more successful nationalised imagined communities because most "macro-nationalisms retreat before the realities of persistent nationalism".[32] Notably, the growth of both ethnic and civic forms of nationalism within Scandinavia began to drive wedges between the Nordic states, just as pan-Scandinavian supporters argued for unity. The established degree of territorial integrity from 17th-century developments enabled the monarchies of Denmark and Sweden to make "concerted efforts to create and foster bonds between state and *folk*", strengthening the case for civic nationalist developments.[33] In particular, the fostering of separate national consciousnesses through compulsory schooling, organisations and publications created identities based on the differences rather than the similarities between the Scandinavian nations.[34] Politically, the loss of Finland in 1809 allowed a now more ethnically homogeneous Sweden to begin to see its people as a distinctive ethnic group.[35] The multi-ethnic Danish state started to nationalise in response to growing tension with Germany, as "a more assertive sense of Danishness [was] defined by culture and language, and most importantly, differentiated from the culture and language of Denmark's increasingly threatening southern neighbour".[36] Interestingly, Hilson notes that a lack of cultural or linguistic unity across Scandinavia was not a prime concern for the failure of pan-Scandinavianism in particular, but rather the fact that the Scandinavian movement lacked a strong economic impulse, as well as there being no leading "state with sufficient might and ambition to drive through the project of political unity".[37] But as part of a bigger picture, Anthony D. Smith argues that "the familiar failure of 'Pan' movements to achieve their political goals of unification stemmed from their deficiencies in the cultural field, and that in turn was the result of the less advanced state of communications technology".[38]

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[27]Hilson, "Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism," 203; Byron J. Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 208.

[28]Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, 208.

[29]Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, 208.

[30]Hilson, "Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism," 203.

[31]Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms*, 112.

[32]Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms*, 248.

[33]Hilson, "Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism," 198.

[34]Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, 212.

[35]Hilson, "Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism," 200.

[36]Hilson, "Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism," 202.

[37]Hilson, "Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism," 204.

[38]Anthony D. Smith, "A Europe of Nations. Or the Nation of Europe?," *Journal of Peace Research* 30, no. 2 (1993): 132.

Regardless of the reasons for pan-Scandinavianism's failings in Europe, individual nationalisms eventually triumphed as the driving forces of change in 19th-century Scandinavia, influenced by similar developments in Europe. Instead, Nordstrom believes that the ideals of cooperation vested in "Scandinavianism [reflect] the persistence of the unity theme in Nordic history—a theme with significant historical and cultural foundations and one often lost in the shadow of national-focussed histories".[39] Shattering the last vestiges of pan-Scandinavian idealism—and coinciding with a growing period of nationalism throughout Europe—the rise of Norwegian nationalism across the 19th century and the Norwegian quest for independence eventually caused the dissolution of the 91-year-old Sweden-Norway Union in 1905.[40] The fact that this peaceful separation was relatively amicable, according to Snyder, "indicated a desire for close relationship[s] between Nordic peoples", despite their own development of distinctive national characteristics.[41]

Simultaneous to the developments in print media and vernacular languages that were driving such national and macro-national competitions throughout Europe and the Nordic homelands, similar immigrant outposts of Scandinavian, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and/or Finnish culture were experimenting with their own ideas of imagined communion abroad in the hearts and minds of migrant communities. The robust migrant networks of the larger Scandinavian communities in North America, for example, demonstrated heightened pan-Scandinavian interaction during the middle of the 19th century. American scholars, such as Kenneth Bjork, have noted that Scandinavian cooperation within societies in 1850s California grew "naturally out of a tendency among the Scandinavian peoples to meet together socially, to speak their native languages, and to care for their needy countrymen".[42] According to Mark Safstrom, Bjork believed that "Scandinavians in North America had initially demonstrated this willingness to co-operate out of both necessity—the result of small numbers—as well as genuine friendship", and that geographically isolated migrants were often linked via newspapers, such as the *California Scandinav*, acting as "virtual communities" up until the 1870s.[43] Furthermore, the immigrant press was vital in spreading such ideas of shared identity and belonging. As Odd Lovoll wrote concerning the growth of ethnic press institutions in the United States of America: "Only through the written language could immigrant populations of the same nationality living in many parts of the United States be united. The newspapers published in the homeland's language created a sense of national ethnic communities; one may define a Norwegian America, if you will, but also a Swedish America, a German America, a Greek America, and a great number of other 'imagined communities' grounded in national roots and consciousness."[44]

Overseas, settler societies such as the United States of America and Australia experienced the delayed influence of romanticised pan movements as a way for separated

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[39]Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, 208.
[40]Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, 199.
[41]Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms*, 112.
[42]Kenneth O. Bjork, "Scandinavian Experiment in California," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (1954): 67.
[43]Mark Safstrom, "Writing History Together: Norwegian American and Swedish American Historians in Dialogue," in *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, ed. Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck (St Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Press, 2012), 114.
[44]Odd Lovoll, *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land* (St Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2010), 2–3.

cliques of migrants to reorganise and unite for social, political and economic benefit. In the United States, so great was the abundance of alternative pan ideologies towards the end of the 19th century that in 1906, American scholar Archibald R. Colquhoun wrote with angst that "Pan-mania … [was] the latest and most virulent political disease" to affect his nation, listing pan-American, pan-German, pan-Slav, pan-Islamic, pan-Buddhist and pan-Hellenic groups as new, flourishing (yet deviant) ethnic identities that had arisen following a century of heightened immigration.[45] Significantly, such pan identities were adopted by the socially conservative, populist Pan-German League in 1891, leading to a period of radical ethnic nationalism in the years prior to the First World War.[46] In attempting to recruit diasporic and imperial citizenry to the pan-Germanic ideal, these movements enabled migrants to reconsider their own sense of identity and belonging, even in Australia.

Further afield in Australia, Charles Price notes the strong adoption of pan-German sentiments among those settlers to South Australia during the mid-19th century whose cultural and social unity grew first from "the idea that Germans abroad should hold fast to their *Deutschtum*—language, customs, culture, outlook, racial consciousness, etc.—and second, that being part of *Deutschtum* impose[d] certain political obligations to the fatherland".[47] Similar to the German-Australian communities uniting pan ideals, pan-Scandinavianism provided Australia's Nordic population with a greater sense of belonging and numerical power, especially when linked together by its main proponent, the Melbourne newspaper *Norden,* which appeared in 1896. How these isolated groups of migrants—even in the faraway Antipodes—used the migrant press to recreate European macro-national developments as an experiment in cultivating a sense of belonging and fraternity is an exceptional example of the transnational flow of ideas regarding migrant belonging, identity and community.

Australia, the Immigrant Press and the Resurgence of Pan-Scandinavianism

In Australia, the nationalistic fervour associated with the turn of the 20th century marked a growing need for minority groups to connect with one another, define themselves and consolidate their presence within what was predominantly a British-Australian society. As Beverley Kingston notes, one of the major changes to occur in the composition of Australian society between 1860 and 1900 was the replacement of immigrants with those born in Australia, which supposedly "weakened automatic ties with the Old World and assisted the growth of ideas and institutions based on the Australian experience".[48] Actually, in response to such a shift, continually high numbers of non-British immigrants, such as the Scandinavians, began to use their newspapers to promote ethnic identifications and a sense of migrant community in the face of change, while justifying their place in a new Australian society. As Catherine Dewhirst states, Italian

[45]Archibald R. Colquhoun, "Pan-Mania," *The North American Review* 183, no. 602 (1906): 852.

[46]Roger Chickering, *We Men Who Feel Most German: A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886–1914* (Winchester, MA: Allen & Unwin, 1984), 92.

[47]Charles Price, "Pan-Germanism in South Australia, 1838–1944," unpublished manuscript in *Papers 1945–1985*, Australian National University Archives, Canberra, 5.

[48]Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 3: Glad, Confident Morning 1860–1900* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993), 123, 128–32.

newspapers such as *L'Italo-Australiano* (1905–1909) and the *Oceania* (1913–1915) were important in promoting a united form of Italian community, one that would benefit Italian immigrants while "counteracting antagonistic opinions that tended to be stereotypical and prejudicial, [and] also paving the way for economic viability".[49] Similarly, as Marianne Reimann notes, a strong German-language press arose in Australia in the mid-19th century, forming around "rural, close-knit settlements [that] favoured the persistence of German language and culture".[50] While providing social support and connection between German migrant communities, the German-language press was also important in promoting linguistic and cultural continuity in their new environment.[51]

In recent years, the migrant and minority press has garnered renewed interest through the work of Catherine Dewhirst and Richard Scully, whose two edited collections chronicle the experiences of Italian-, Russian-, Polish-, French- and Jewish-Australian newspapers, as well as many other minority press organisations.[52] Of these varied and comprehensive studies, Marianna Piantavigna corroborates Dewhirst's earlier ideas of a shared sense of *italianità* being fostered within the Italian press, which, much like many ethnic-language newspapers of the early 20th century, "acted as a connection between 'home' and 'here', bridging and mediating between two physical and cultural places of belonging".[53] Furthermore, Katarzyna Kwapisz Williams and Mary Besemeres note the exceptionally strong literary, intellectual and cultural character of the Polish-language press, which, despite being challenged by a decreasing second-generation readership and financial hardship, aided in the "formation of shared identities as well as negotiating immigrants'" personal spaces within a broader society.[54] Much like their Italian, German and Polish brethren, the Scandinavian-language press attempted to act as a bridge between old and new, creating shared identities that embraced both their immigrant culture and the societal expectations of their new home. Categorised racially as Northern Europeans, like their German counterparts, the numerically smaller Scandinavians also used their foreign-language press to effect a similar persistence of their language and culture, and to strengthen community bonds. Early incarnations of the Scandinavian immigrant press, as well as churches and clubs of the 1870s and 1880s, experimented with ideas of pan-Scandinavianism due to small migrant numbers and feelings of kinship spurred on by the close geopolitical and cultural relationships of their homelands.[55] According to Olavi Koivukangas, limited migrant numbers often caused Danes, Swedes and Norwegians in Australia to form Scandinavian societies and churches to cover all nationalities during the late 19th century, but a lack of national

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[49]Catherine Dewhirst, "Inventing 'Italians': Experiences and Responses in Australia's Colonial and Federation Societies" (paper presented to the Social Change in the 21st Century Conference, Centre for Social Change Research, Queensland University of Technology, 22 November 2002), 10.

[50]Marianne Reimann, "The German-language Press," in *The Ethnic Press in Australia*, ed. Abe W. Ata and Colin Ryan (Melbourne: Academic Press, 1989), 158.

[51]Gilson and Zubrzycki, *Foreign-language Press in Australia*, 8–10.

[52]See Catherine Dewhirst and Richard Scully, eds., *The Transnational Voices of Australia's Migrant and Minority Press* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020); Catherine Dewhirst and Richard Scully, eds., *Voices of Challenge in Australia's Migrant and Minority Press* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

[53]Marianna Piantavigna, "'Cement, Guide and Representative for the Exile and the Emigrant': Ideological Discourse and *italianità* in *L'Italo-Australiano*," in Dewhirst and Scully, *The Transnational Voices*, 38.

[54]Katarzyna Kwapisz Williams and Mary Besemeres, "Literary Ambitions: The Polish-Language Press in Australia," in Dewhirst and Scully, *The Transnational Voices*, 143.

[55]See Koivukangas and Martin, *Scandinavians in Australia*, 52–54, 57, 75–76, 82, 83–85, 92, 133–34, 140–41, which details the various Scandinavian societies across the states.

homogeneity quickly drove groups to fight among each other, leading to nationalist group fragmentation.[56] In this way, Pan-Scandinavian cooperation was a practical necessity for many early Scandinavian migrants in Australia as it was in other settler societies, but by the 1890s, nationalised Danish, Swedish and Norwegian organisational structures in Australia had replaced the majority of pan-Scandinavian societies of previous decades.

In the historiography of Australia's Scandinavians, this issue of a collective cohesion versus national identities remains a contentious point. John Stanley Martin claims that individual nationality was always an important factor for Scandinavian migrants and that pan-Scandinavianism was no more than a remnant of the Romantic age, "a passing ideology within limited circles, and [one that] failed to produce deep roots in the world of social and economic reality".[57] Martin argues that the idea of a survivable pan-Scandinavian identity in Australia was an unachievable goal and only actually desired by *Norden*'s founding editor, Jens Lyng, who Martin claimed manipulated the foreign-language press to this end.[58] Nationalised groupings have been portrayed as far too strong and demarcated for transnational ideas of pan-Scandinavianism to be realised, to the point where such ideas crippled church and social congregations and acted as "an irrelevant and meaningless luxury".[59]

While pan-Scandinavianism in Australia did indeed make way for national-based identities as early as the 1890s, its ideals must not be overlooked for their significance. Similarly, one should not ignore the idea that both layers of identification could and did exist simultaneously for many migrants. This argument is particularly valid when discussing the foreign-language press, which had a strong pan-Scandinavian tradition even before *Norden* in other short-lived migrant publications, such as Corfitz Cronqvist's goldrush journal *Norden* (1857), New Zealand's *Skandia* (1875–1876), or Sydney's bilingual *Skandinavien* (1887).[60] What is remarkable is that this legacy of pan-Scandinavian cooperation continued so late: while other social organisations and clubs were moving towards nationalised orientations, the press maintained a united, macro-national focus into the 20th century.

As such, the establishment of the most influential Scandinavian-Australian publication, Jens Lyng's *Norden*, in 1896, marked a significant turning point back towards ideas of unity and imagined fraternity for not only its readership but Australia's wider Danish, Swedish and Norwegian communities. Under an ambitious founding editor, Dane Jens Sørensen Lyng, *Norden* not only gained quick support of its local Melbourne Scandinavian community but also forged strong networks among the widespread migrant communities of Australasia and the Pacific. *Norden* sourced subscribers from metropolitan centres, such as Sydney and Brisbane, but also from a large number of smaller townships and farming communities near places such as Townsville, Bundaberg and Charters Towers, as well as those in rural Victoria, New South Wales and New Zealand.[61] By December 1898, paying subscribers had reached 228, with a likely

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[56]Koivukangas, "Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia," 280–81.
[57]Martin, "Ethnicity and the Swedish Church in Melbourne," 9.
[58]Martin, "Ethnicity and the Swedish Church in Melbourne," 10.
[59]Martin, "Ethnicity and the Swedish Church in Melbourne," 10.
[60]See Emmerson, "Vi er alle Australiere," 73–98 for a detailed discussion of earlier newspapers.
[61]"From our own Circle," *Norden*, 8 January 1898; "Norden's Representatives and Agents," *Norden*, 1 February 1898; *Norden*, September 1898, 1.

audience of approximately 400–500 readers.[62] The fact that many Scandinavian immigrants were economic in focus and did not settle in organised groups or communities, instead remaining physically separate from their fellow compatriots, meant that most of *Norden*'s readers were not only well dispersed and isolated but often desperate for news from home.[63] These networks would prove invaluable for the newspaper's continued success and longevity.

While the earliest editions of *Norden* (6 June 1896 to November 1897) have not been preserved and are no longer available for analysis, the February 1898 issue states that *Norden*'s aim was to "link the Scandinavians in Australia and New Zealand closer together and to act as a bridge between them and home, and in every way promote present Scandinavians' *interests*".[64] This general tenet guided *Norden*'s content for much of its 44-year history, as the newspaper sought to assist migrants in settling in Australia while not abandoning the culture of their youth. The size of each issue varied over the years, depending on the editor and content available; while averaging anywhere from 12–20 pages at its height between 1898 and 1913, *Norden* shrank to a stable 8-page format for most of its later life. Despite fluctuations in size, most issues followed a similar format and style of content, while each editorial team made subsequent changes to reflect a changing society and readership.

Linking immigrants to their now distant homelands, the obligatory news stories regarding news and developments in Sweden, Denmark and Norway often took precedence in each issue's opening pages. However, the majority of remaining content was devised purely to promote Scandinavian-Australian networking and community development—columns dedicated to various social club events and church activities, Australian news, job opportunities, consular news, advertisements for Scandinavian businesses, enquiries of concerned family members, and as a postal redirection service for the friends of transient workers.[65] By translating into Danish and Swedish languages, the editors were also instrumental in republishing many articles from other newspapers—both Australian and from abroad—in the migrant community's own vernacular.[66] *Norden* was remarkably disinterested in religion and remained apolitical in focus as it sought to encourage a widespread readership without causing friction.[67] Opinion pieces by editors were rare, and the content often attempted to remain informative and inclusive as *Norden*'s editors aimed to build an involved community of its readers, inviting all to contribute news and interesting information to the editor for publication and networking opportunities. Encouraging them to stay connected, *Norden* published literary works from aspiring migrant poets and storytellers, as well as historical essays and biographies of notable Scandinavian settlers—all while advertising the benefits of Scandinavian-Australian immigration to interested readers (see Figure 1).

[62]Emmerson, "Vi er alle Australiere," 113–14; *Norden*, December 1898, 6.

[63]Koivukangas, "Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia," 256.

[64]"Norden's Goals," *Norden,* February 1898.

[65]*Norden*, November 1897, 7; "*Norden*'s Directory," *Norden*, 8 December 1897; "Advertisements," *Norden*, 12 December 1897.

[66]"Scandinavian Books in Boston's Library," *Norden*, 6 April 1898; "Danes in America," *Norden*, 2 December 1898; "Our Compatriots in America and Australia," *Norden*, 1 January 1899, 5.

[67]Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1939), 62.

Figure 1. An example of *Norden*'s attempts to unite a migrant community at the height of its influence, through activities designed to express pride in their shared heritage. Source: "Masquerade Ball," *Norden*, 19 September 1903, 1.

The Scandinavian foreign-language press—in drawing together a migrant readership based on ties of Nordic regionalism and themes of Scandinavian cooperation, a common heritage, and shared public memory—attempted to promote inclusive identifications and avoid nationalist fragmentation for both idealist and financial ends. However, creating such a viable Scandinavian migrant community was no easy task.

The fates of many Northern European foreign-language publications were tied specifically to periods of heightened migrant influx, booming and busting along with migration and economic trends.[68] To negate this cycle of feast and famine, *Norden* consciously aimed to forge a strong network within a united migrant readership that would not only support a sense of Scandinavian-Australian identity but also create longevity and stability within the fluctuating migrant community. It was because of this survivalist need that with the advent of an organised foreign-language press publication in the 1890s, *Norden* revisited pan-Scandinavianism and promoted it as an alternative to the nationalist fragmentation that had been occurring concurrently.

The economic benefits of promoting pan-Scandinavianism within the immigrant press cannot be understated as an effective method for bolstering subscription income, advertising revenue and sociocultural impact of such publications on a wider audience. While it is difficult to gauge the actual number of subscribers and readers of *Norden* over the newspaper's lifespan, such a niche foreign-language publication could not afford to alienate potential paying customers with overtly nationalist or exclusionary material.[69] Furthermore, because subscription fees paid for approximately only a third of *Norden*'s running costs, it was also necessary to recoup funds from both paying advertisers and those willing to engage in fundraising activities for the newspaper's benefit.[70] While the nationality of *Norden*'s advertisers was a mix of Australian, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian businesses, these supporters were almost exclusively in the Melbourne area. With an estimated maximum of 400–500 paying subscribers spread geographically across vast distances—from Perth to Townsville, but also to Fiji, New Zealand and the United States—recruiting local readers for increased advertorial power and community fundraising was an even more pressing issue for *Norden*'s editors than subscriptions alone.[71] Local Scandinavian-owned businesses held a large proportion of advertisers over the years, meaning that an inclusive pan-Scandinavian approach almost certainly assisted the attraction of local fiscal support. Inclusive ideological tenets like these also helped *Norden* to survive the devastating fluctuations in its wider advertiser base during times of economic growth and decline, through the normalisation of pan-Scandinavian advertorial and community fundraising support.[72]

Rather strategically, it is here that the reasoning behind the resurgence of pan-Scandinavianism in Australia becomes apparent—money. It was because of its own survivalist needs that *Norden*'s editors used the newspaper to promote consensus-building and friendliness among its readership and to encourage continued cooperation between nationalising Swedish, Danish and Norwegian groups. Still, *Norden*'s power, wrote its founding editor, was not only its ability to bring in sufficient revenue, nor the fortnightly messages transmitted from the homelands to and from compatriots in other parts of Australia, but that "it often relieved a deep sense of loneliness and strengthened their resolve to stick to their guns and see matters through … Further, it has helped to create goodwill and a feeling of fellowship amongst the three branches of Scandinavians residing in this distant land".[73]

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[68]Gilson and Zubrzycki, *Foreign-language Press in Australia*, 13.
[69]See Emmerson, "Vi er alle Australiere," 99–135 for a more detailed analysis of *Norden*'s financial situation.
[70]*Norden*, December 1897, 7.
[71]Emmerson, "Vi er alle Australiere", 113–14; *Norden*, December 1898, 6.
[72]Emmerson, "Vi er alle Australiere," 99–135; Lyng, *Scandinavians in Australia*, 66.
[73]Lyng, *Scandinavians in Australia*, 68.

Encouraging cooperation and fellowship between the migrants of several Scandinavian states, later editors of *Norden* continued their focus on increasing migrant interaction and connection across a scattered population. The way that both emerging national migrant identifications and an overarching pan-Scandinavian ideal could coexist in this migrant population—one that was also increasingly affected by a growing sense of connection to a nationalising Australian environment—is very important in explaining the complexities of migrant relationships, connections and senses of belonging.

Because of this inclusive stance, which sought readers from all Scandinavian nationalities and interests, *Norden* was able to stave off many threats to its existence. The increased fears and restrictions of foreign-language publications during WWI, for example, signed the death certificates of many influential immigrant newspapers, yet *Norden* struggled on. The Great Depression also signalled a period of fiscal troubles, as did the ageing readership that was not replenished by further waves of immigration, nor the involvement of the second generation. Yet for 44 years, the small community of first-generation Danes, Swedes and Norwegians that surrounded the newspaper and saw the communal benefit in its pages continued to hold fundraising events, donate time and energy to its causes, and most of all, contribute to *Norden*'s macro-national imagined community.

The Inclusive Power of the Press

Through *Norden*'s pages, its editors, community leaders and the contributing public were able to reach out to a fragmented and isolated migrant readership that was continually searching for definition and stability. The promotion of cooperative migrant activities carried out at the time of Federation, such as the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration Fund, was only a small indication of the influence of the immigrant press on a readership open to a cooperative base of pan-Scandinavian unity, but also one able to simultaneously embrace both cultural pluralism and the wider societal integration of its members.[74] Transnationally, studies of other Scandinavian migrant groups, such as the larger and influential diasporic communities of North America, have noted that many migrant newspapers acted simultaneously as both Americanisers and preservers of ethnic cultures.[75] In Australia, these sentiments were shared to a lesser extent by Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, who noted that while foreign-language journalism predominately functions to "prepare the immigrant population for good citizenship … it can and should play an important role in enriching the Australian culture by introducing into it the immigrants' European heritage".[76] By encouraging the formation of a viable Scandinavian-Australian identity, *Norden* performed this dual function of delaying its readers' assimilation into wider Australian society for as long as possible, while still involving them in the development of the Australian nation.

Returning to Anderson, the case study of macro-national, inclusive immigrant publications such as *Norden* can, in some ways, affirm Anderson's and Hobsbawm's ideas that

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[74]See Emmerson, "Vi er alle Australiere," 99–250.
[75]Lovoll, *Norwegian Newspapers in America*, 5; Marion Marzolf, "The Danish-Language Press in America," *Norwegian American Studies* 28 (1979): 212–13.
[76]Gilson and Zubrzycki, *Foreign-language Press in Australia*, 157–69.

nationalism—and macro-nationalisms—should not be treated as ideological constructs, but rather as something belonging to the same family as "kinship" or "religion".[77] In this interpretation of nationalism, it can be argued that *all* communities—local, provincial, national and macro-national, for example—are created solely from the imagination of like-minded subjects and consequently are all entitled to the nominal descriptor of "nation". The only difference is that larger pan-nationalisms tend not to deny the existence of component groups within the dominant community, as do the stricter nationalisms of Andersonian thought. As pan-Scandinavianism consequently remained accepting and dependent on Danish, Swedish and Norwegian identities existing as a sub-tier within a macro-national hierarchy rather than actively disenfranchising such fragmentary national ideals, a true "Scandinavian" identity was historically unable to assert itself. Anderson's ideas are further influential in enabling a framework for understanding the desires of belonging felt by nationalised groupings of Danes, Swedes and Norwegians that existed as part of the wider *Norden* readership. In particular, his idea of the fundamental "deep, horizontal comradeship" that develops between those involved in the nation-building process has been adapted to explain the ways in which displaced migrants—struggling to consolidate their sense of identity in the wake of diasporic movements—can reforge bonds based on parochial, national or pan/regional lines, and it is significant for *both* national and macro-national communities, not simply the national.[78]

Through its connection to vernacular print languages and the migrant press—capable, according to Anderson, of creating an "extraordinary mass ceremony" in the minds of readers that entailed the simultaneous sharing and consumption of migrant experiences and desires, problems and celebrations[79]—such united migrant communities had an important tool to delay the pressures of assimilation regardless of physical isolation or cultural detachment. *Norden*, as the vehicle of connection among many individual nationalised and pan-Scandinavian imagined communities, can be seen in itself as an overarching, utilitarian institution—ultimately, its own singular imagined community of members with more fluid boundaries than the conventional, nationalised communities discussed by Anderson. Culturally, linguistically and politically intertwined, migrants from the late-19th-century Scandinavian states developed a series of complex and layered identifications that existed simultaneously and allowed pan-Scandinavianism and nationalism, as competing identifications, both to be options for those settling in Australia. As such, the ways in which those caught up in migratory movements were required to reshape their identities are very important considerations, especially when such layers of pan-Scandinavian and nationalist identifications could sometimes be complementary, sometimes incompatible.

Conclusion

The fact that 19th-century experiments in macro-national cooperation were being attempted by the Scandinavian foreign-language press in Australia, due to the limited migrant numbers and vast distances between them and their homelands, is quite

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[77]Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 114.
[78]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6–7.
[79]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35.

remarkable. While *Norden* was discordant with the earlier experiments of the Australian pan-Scandinavian clubs and churches of the 1870s and 1880s, which had mostly declined by the time of *Norden*'s establishment, and while many migrants did remember the earlier thrust of pan-Scandinavianism within their visible communities, individual nationalisms were indeed becoming a more prevalent thread as the 20th century drew closer.[80] In these circumstances, the Australian foreign-language press still visited pan-Scandinavianism during a later period characterised in both Australia and the United States of America as one of fragmented Swedish, Danish and Norwegian national groupings. Adopting ideals of a bygone Romantic Age, macro-national cooperation continued to be expressed in the press well into the 20th century and embraced by many readers who acknowledged the necessity—and benefits—of pan-Scandinavianism.

In this way, *Norden* acted as a powerful symbol of pan-Scandinavian unity at a time when homeland nationalist sentiments threatened to fragment migrants into separate Swedish, Danish and Norwegian groups and to destroy a united readership. While the individual nationalisation of migrant churches, clubs and societies limited the efficacy of pan-Scandinavian cooperation in Australia, migrant newspapers such as *Norden* required an inclusive pan-Scandinavian readership for economic and social survival. It is here that *Norden*'s real significance is evident. In re-establishing networks of belonging and encouraging socially constructed migrant groups to exist within a framework of dominant British-Australian society, *Norden* was indirectly combating assimilation pressures felt by its first-generation readership through the continuation of shared heritage, languages and pan-Scandinavian cultural pursuits, for its own benefit. In rallying a readership to its united cause, *Norden* ensured its own economic survival for as long as the migrant community's sense of ethnic identity lasted.

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[80]See Koivukangas and Martin, *Scandinavians in Australia,* 52–54, 57, 75–76, 82, 83–85, 92, 133–34, 140–41.