

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN QUEENSLAND

“Vi er alle Australiere”:

**The migrant newspaper *Norden* and its promotion of
pan-Scandinavian unity within Australia,**

1896-1940



A thesis submitted by

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ABSTRACT

Between 1825 and 1930 over two million Scandinavians left their homelands as part of a mass exodus from Northern Europe, settling across the face of the globe and re-establishing networks of imagined communion. The Scandinavian-Australian newspaper, *Norden* (1896-1940), was integral in creating such networks and connecting migrant communities across vast transnational spaces, as well as historicising the extent of the Scandinavian diaspora's activities in the Antipodes. As a comprehensive, chronologically detailed record of the migrant communities' activities and aspirations over almost half a century, *Norden's* records have been a veritable gold mine of information concerning one of Australasia's overlooked minority groups. However, despite its immense value as a source and significance as a long-lived migrant institution, a thorough history of the Scandinavian-Australian migrant press remains unwritten. Furthermore, its overlooked importance as a cultural and social connector – and pan-Scandinavian community unifier – warrants direct scholarly attention.

This thesis charts the history of the Scandinavian foreign-language press in Australasia, from the first attempts to establish a migrant newspaper in the 1850s to the decline of *Norden* and its readership during World War II. *Norden's* establishment in the 1890s enabled scattered Scandinavian readers to identify as a small yet unified cultural group, and their ensuing involvement in wider society marks it as a significant site for migrant community-building despite Australia's vast distances. More importantly, this thesis uses *Norden's* influence to examine two major historiographical issues regarding Scandinavian-Australian migrants, namely pan-Scandinavian versus nationalist sentiments and the reactions of Scandinavians to Australian assimilation pressures. I argue that the Scandinavian foreign-language press transcended initial goals of reconnecting migrants to their countries of origin, and instead was critically influential in attempting to ethnicise a united Scandinavian-Australian identity. As an informational vehicle of first-generation migrants, *Norden* enabled isolated Scandinavians to reconnect on grounds of shared heritage and receive relevant news based on their individual circumstances, tailored to them in their own vernacular languages. It also gave a fragmented segment of Australia's immigrant population a much-needed sense of direction and purpose. While fostering this united sense of community was, in itself, insufficient to guarantee migrant identity, *Norden's* continual enunciation of its readership's uncertain status within Australian society – especially through the airing of grievances and stories of societal friction – worked together with other political, economic and social exclusionary factors to drive expressions of a 'Scandinavian-Australian' migrant group identity forward.

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 destroy a united readership. While the individual nationalisation of migrant churches, clubs and societies limited the efficacy of pan-Scandinavian co-operation in Australia, this thesis argues that migrant newspapers 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. In rallying a readership to its united cause, *Norden* ensured its own survival for as long as the migrant community's sense of ethnic identity lasted.

CERTIFICATION OF THESIS

I certify that the ideas, work, results, analyses, interpretations and conclusions reported in this thesis are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award, except where otherwise acknowledged.

Signature of Candidate

Date

ENDORSEMENT

Signature of Supervisor

Date

Signature of Supervisor

Date

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The production of this thesis has been a formidable task, and challenging in every aspect. Fortunately, I have not been alone, nor is the history profession as solitary as I had believed it to be when starting out. I have many people to thank for their continual support, advice, and friendship.

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I trust that readers will find this work informative and enjoyable, and that it is of sufficient quality and depth without losing meaning. Please understand that any faults in the research, analysis, writing or outcomes are entirely my own.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In the months leading up to the Federation of Australia on 1 January 1901, it is interesting to note how European migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, such as the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians, approached the important event. On 14 July 1900 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 Such a statement expresses an understated complexity in migrant identifications, which forms the basis for this research project. While spreading the message of Australian unity and connection in one of several Scandinavian languages to a largely Scandinavian-born readership, the foreign-language press was not only fostering national solidarity and new ties within the new country, but, more importantly, a stronger connection between the migrants themselves. *Norden* was acting, to borrow Benedict Anderson’s term, to unite a network of nationalised “imagined communities” and attempt to link fraternal Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian migrant minorities into one inclusive ‘Scandinavian-Australian’ readership.²

Similarly, on 11 December 1900, encouraged by talk of Federation in *Norden*’s pages, Sydney’s fragmented Nordic community came together to form the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration Fund, with the goal of donating funds for more children’s hospital beds and creating “a big and lasting monument erected by Scandinavians in honour of the inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth”.³ In the same way that the national significance of World War I memorials would affirm an emerging Australian identity, such symbolic representations articulated a renewed sense of unity and connection amongst Scandinavian migrant groups, one promoted heavily in the migrant press.⁴ Furthermore, raising funds and constructing memorials demonstrated a national loyalty – or at least migrant patriotism for their adoptive homeland without abandoning any cultural allegiances – that developed amongst minority migrant groups in reaction to the nascent Australian national identity that would culminate in Federation. To reconcile their past with their future, these migrants, who numbered some 16,146 in the 1901 census, were intent on

¹ ‘Have you heard?’ *Norden*, 14 July 1900, p. 8. [Note: All translations are my own.]

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York, Verso, 1983, pp. 5-7.

³ L. W. Marcker, ‘Letter to *Norden* from the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration fund’, 11 December 1900. This loose letter was included as a pamphlet in *Norden*’s 11 December 1900 issue, to ask readers to support the fund through donations. The fund managed to raise £1000 from donations across Australia thanks to *Norden*’s involvement, and a Scandinavian bazaar in Sydney from 25-28 September 1901. ‘The Scandinavian [*sic*] Commonwealth Commemoration Fund’, *Norden*, 10 January 1903, p. 6.

⁴ Ken Inglis, ‘Men, Women, and War Memorials: Anzac Australia’ in Richard White and Penny Russell (eds), *Memories and Dreams: Reflections on Twentieth Century Australia*, St Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp. 41-42.

socially constructing a pliable assortment of identifications for use in varying circumstances.⁵ Connected via networks of imagined readership, the foreign-language press spread these messages of unity across Australia, and in doing so enacted a powerful cultural and social responsibility – promoting the continuation and significance of a largely invented ‘Scandinavian-Australian’ ethnic group.

While “*Vi er alle Australiere*” may have appeared as a simple perfunctory remark – a migrant newspaper reporting on an important yet obvious political change that would affect the lives of its readers – the printing of these four small words represented an enormous change in the mindset of a migrant group and an increase in both their Australian *and* Scandinavian identifications. 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, and encourage them to seek “strength through unity”.⁶ *Norden* and its contributors, such as early committee member Gustav Hornemann, acted as vocal supporters of pan-Scandinavian unity as a path to future migrant prosperity within their new Australian homeland. As early as May 1898, at *Norden*’s annual fundraising ball, he had addressed a crowded venue of Melbourne’s Nordic migrants to note that “[The Scandinavian community] ha[s], so to speak, federated, and although such Federation seems quite indifferent to Australia’s political developments, it too began with small mergers which then paved the way for the great Federation of the Australian colonies”.⁷ In explaining how previously separated colonies were to join as one – a united Australia under Federation – *Norden* was offering a powerful metaphor of its own; the need to unite its nationally-fragmented migrant readership of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians together under a banner of pan-Scandinavianism for numerical strength and continued ethnic expression as part of this new Australian nation.⁸ Such a federated ‘Scandinavian’ migrant identity was championed by *Norden* over the next four decades, not only acting as a major unifying force for the community but also as a strategic plan to provide the newspaper with a stable, co-operative and financially supportive immigrant readership.

The promotion of co-operative migrant activities carried out at the time of Federation, such as the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration Fund, was just one such way that the migrant press influenced readership behaviour in this manner and challenged Scandinavian migrants to unite under changing circumstances and promote both cultural pluralism and wider societal integration (See Plate 1).⁹ But such activity also raises questions as to the role of the immigrant

⁵ This number represents the total overseas-born Scandinavians present in the 1901 census, their place of birth being from either Denmark, or Norway/Sweden, and was approximately 0.042% of the total Australian population of 1901 (3,773,248). Numbers had peaked in 1891 with 16,524 (0.05% of total population) and then declined slowly during the first three decades of the twentieth century. James Jupp and Barry York (eds), *Birthplaces of the Australian People: Colonial & Commonwealth Censuses, 1828-1991*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1995, pp. 10, 25.

⁶ MS, State Library of Victoria: Microfilm 8437, Reel No. 2 (May 1902- December 1906), 24 December 1904. Loose Wall Calendar for 1905, included as an unpaginated flyer within *Norden*’s 24 December 1904 issue.

⁷ ‘Norden’s Aarsfest’, *Norden*, May 1898, p. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Other co-operative cultural events that stressed similarity over difference and relied on group participation, such as balls, carnivals, and outdoor sports, were promoted by *Norden* in an attempt to

press in both assisting and combating assimilation pressures within migrant communities in white settler societies. 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.¹⁰ In Australia, these sentiments have been 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”.¹¹ This longitudinal and thematic case-study of the Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language press aligns with such attitudes to examine how, in 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.

Over the following chapters I argue that the Scandinavian foreign-language press, particularly *Norden*, was a significant migrant institution as it challenged migrants to remain together socially and to seek out new ways of cohabitating, co-operating and surviving the stresses of migrant life in Australia at the turn of the twentieth century. This thesis is concerned with the ways in which diasporic Scandinavian migrants – who are defined as those stemming from the culturally and linguistically similar nations of Denmark, Sweden and Norway – re-connected with each other and with the old countries of their birth, as well as how, through the migrant press, they built on their cultural stores of tradition and knowledge while adapting them to suit Australian conditions. This thesis challenges previous scholarly notions that Northern European migrants assimilated quickly, easily and without the desire to stay separate from the British-Australian majority, and that their only homeland allegiances before assimilating built on national – that is, Swedish, Danish, or Norwegian – lines.¹² While not discounting the high levels of homeland national identifications and Australian assimilation pressures felt by many Scandinavian migrants at the turn of the twentieth century, a full analysis of *Norden*’s history and influence draws a much more complex picture of migrant desires, their links to both old and new homelands, and to each other. The relative success of *Norden* as a regionally-inclusive, foreign-language publication demonstrates how its subscribers wanted to unite under a pan-Scandinavian readership to maintain sustainable migrant connections. Furthermore, 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 such desires had not been present, *Norden* would not have lasted past Federation.

strengthen pan-Scandinavian goodwill and unity in a physical setting. These ideas are discussed in the ensuing chapters.

¹⁰ Odd Lovoll, *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2010, p. 5; Marion Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America*, New York, Arno Press, 1979, pp. 212-213.

¹¹ Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *The Foreign-language Press in Australia 1848-1964*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1967, pp. 157-169.

¹² See the section below regarding Scandinavian-Australian assimilation.

NORDEN

194
31 OKTOBER. 1903.
3d.

Norden

Registered at the General Post Office, Melbourne for transmission by Post as a Newspaper.
Printed and Published by LYNX for The Australian Scandinavian Newspaper Co. Ltd. Editor J. S. LYNX.
Subscription Rates: 1 year 6/-; 6 months 3/- outside Australia 1 year 7/-.
Address all communications: "NORDEN" 227 King St., Melbourne.

Den skandinaviske Commonwealth Commemoration Børneseng.

Der vil være frisk i Erinorringen hos vore Læsere, hvorledes Sydney Skandinaverne besluttede — istedet for at deltage i Byens Udsmykning i Anledning af de australske Koloniers Federation — at indsamle £1000 til en Frieseng i Børnehospitalet. I forløbsende kort Tid kom den efter Skandinavernes Antal og Formuesomstændigheder betydelige Sum ind — særlig naar det betænkes, at den Støtte Sagen fik fra Landsmænd udenfor Sydney var forholdsvis ringe —, og den lille Seng er i disse Dage bleven taget i Brug.

Skjönt den menneskekjærlige Bestræbelse afstedkom en Del Misforstaaelser blandt Skandinaverne derved og det vilde være velegnende om den samme Aand, som ved første Møde besjælede Alle, kunde vækkes til live igjen og feje alt det maanedgamle Støv bort, som endnu ligger Mand og Mand imellem, saa vil alligevel Enhver, der har lagt Skulder til Hjulet, med inderlig Tilfredshed betragte vort lille Billede. Thi selv om ingen vis Mand foragter de harmløse Glæder, som i al Almindelighed findes paa hans Vej gennem Livet, saa er det vel nok alligevel sandt, at den største, varigste og mest forødelende Glæde, ligger i at øve Godt.

Forstanderen for Børnehospitalet lod den første Patient fotografere, som han sidder der i Norboernes Seng og antagelig drømmer om Lys og Solskin, som kun Born kan drømme.

Fotografiet blev, sammen med efterfølgende Rapport tilstillet de uegennyttige Givere:

The occupant of this is James Rae, residing at 7 Hopetoun St. Paddington Sydney. He is 7 years of age. James has been in the Hospital about 5 weeks

Max Schlyter, sandsynligvis vil blive Virkelighed. Antagelig har en eller anden Statsmand, indset Nødvendigheden af at de skandinaviske Lande slutter sig sammen til Selvforsvar mod den russiske Blæksprutte, som har slugt Finland og Polen, og har sine Fangearme ude i Manchuriet og Persien, og

med Italien og Konstantinopel — hvor vil dette Landrøveri slutte? Danmark, der i 64 mistede noget af sit bedste Land og flere udmærkede Havne, skulde hilse en skandinavisk Union som en

Norge og Sverige! Vaagn op, Holger Danske. Det vil sige hele Skandinavien. — Samlede vil vi

være en Magt, hvis Stemme bliver talt med i det store Verdensorkester".

— Men efterhaanden er de Fleeste begyndt at tvivle om Telegrammets Ægthed. Nogle anser det simpelt hen for en Avisand. Andre mener vel at et saadant Forslag kan være fremkommet, f. Ex. fra Björnson, men ser de mange baade indre og ydre Vanskeligheder ved dets Gennemførlighed. Imidlertid har alle vi, der ser Russerfaren for Nord- og Vesteuropa, og for hvem det staar klart, at Damoklessværdet hænger truende over alle de smaa Nationers Hoved jo Lov, til at haabe paa en Gang at se et forenet og forsvarsdygtigt Norden.

Nogle smaa danske Silkeflag paa Miniaturflagstænger — passende for Bordpyrdelser — er for Salg a 1.6 Stykket hos Danish Export Trading Co. 513 Flindes St., Melbourne.

Ny Aktionær i „Norden": E. Andersen, Sydney (ved Keszler), 2 Aktier.



DEN FÖRSTE PATIENT.

Description: The positive results of pan-Scandinavian co-operation during Federation complemented *Norden's* encouragement of homeland macro-national sentiments. The first patient of the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration cot, seven year-old James Rae, illustrated to *Norden's* united readership the influence their small ethnic community could have in Australia. At the same time, *Norden* shared to its readership homeland developments concerning a possible "Scandinavian Empire" that would unite the Nordic countries: "together we will be a force, whose voice is spoken in a greater world order-orchestra".

4

Focus of the Study

This research project examines the history of Scandinavian migrant press in Australia between 1850 and 1945 with particular attention on how the main newspaper, *Norden*, influenced the continuation of cultural and social ties between these migrants in a diasporic setting. The project seeks to discover how the migrant press acted to strengthen migrant unity – through pan-Scandinavianism and by providing national groups with a vehicle for increased membership – and in turn lessen the pressures of assimilation that was deleterious to both ideas of a united ethnic readership and the newspaper's own continuity. As one of the privileged Northern European migrant groups acceptable to Australian colonial and later Federal governments during a period of heightened nationalism, protectionism and anti-foreigner sentiment, the role of the migrant press in fostering unity amongst white migrants and highlighting their differences from the British-Australian majority are important themes.

Following several decades of heightened Scandinavian migration to Australia between 1850 and 1890, the rise of Australia's most successful and long-lived Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language newspaper, Melbourne's *Norden*, is a most interesting case study for the examination of such themes. In providing links between local communities, clubs and societies, *Norden* was a powerful instrument in bringing migrants together, giving them a forum in which to maintain links to the old and familiar while preparing them for life and interactions in a new social and cultural environment.¹³ It also performed an important function as an educational agent and vehicle for social control, encouraging ethnic expression and pride in Scandinavian migrant contributions to Australian development.¹⁴ Essentially, *Norden* was a significant component in the invention, reproduction and dissemination of the social and cultural material that would influence migrant identifications and loyalties, but one that has been overlooked in past studies.¹⁵

This thesis builds on several main points about the significance of the newspaper to rectify this issue. *Norden* was firstly influential in promoting a connected intangible and largely 'imagined' sense of community amongst migrant readers. In spreading editors' ideas of a united Scandinavian migrant culture to an interested yet isolated and informationally-starved audience, the publication attempted to link readers together, to their homelands, and to other transnational migrant communities across the globe. Second, this community of readership was initially built on an inclusive framework of pan-Scandinavian co-operation, one that attempted to reunite migrant groups that had begun to reorganise along national lines before its establishment. *Norden* thirdly used its networks and empowered 'voice' to act as a cultural guardian of Scandinavian migrant heritage, shaping the migrant worldview and associated identifications extensively while attempting to lessen the impacts of assimilation and group nationalisation. And, as an interface between a migrant community and wider Australian and global societies, *Norden* fourthly worked as an intermediary to introduce and acculturate migrants to Australia and vice versa, promoting cross-cultural identifications and interactions as an alternative to cultural and social extinction.

¹³ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-161.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 161-164.

¹⁵ See Chapter 2 for more information.

This study focuses on the period from 1850 to 1945 not only because these years encompass *Norden*'s existence, but also because of its significance as a period of both large scale Scandinavian migration, relative to the total Australian European intake, and one in which national identity increasingly affected non-British migrants like the Scandinavians and the perception of their cultural differences within white settler nations, such as Australia. As early as 1850, both pan-Scandinavian idealism and the first Nordic migrant newspapers appeared in the Australian environment, and their activities as precursors to *Norden* warrant their inclusion in this study. From the 1870s to 1914, in particular, Scandinavian immigration to Australia was numerically large enough to enable the fostering of specific Nordic connections and culture, at least over the first generation.¹⁶ Furthermore, it is during this period that Scandinavian migrants experimented with both the creation of a viable foreign-language press and with varying forms of national and pan-Scandinavian identifications.¹⁷ However, as political events in Australia and the originating homeland states continued to shape the migrant worldview, allegiances, and emotions, a more fragmentary nationalised system of Danish, Swedish and Norwegian identifications arose at the turn of the twentieth century. These national allegiances would eventually disenfranchise the overarching ethnicising structure of pan-Scandinavianism, despite *Norden*'s continual focus on a united readership.

In terms of nationality, I also restrict the definition of 'Scandinavians' to the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish migrants, who, due to the cultural political and linguistic interrelatedness mentioned above, were best positioned to join together in pan-Scandinavian, macro-national communities. Finnish migrants, although designated as part of the broader landmass of '*Norden*' and contemporarily included as part of Scandinavia, are not a prime focus of the study. This is mainly due to their political status as outside of Scandinavia during the nineteenth century, their Finno-Ugrian linguistic background, and the fact that they were often ignored by their Nordic neighbours upon emigrating, instead forming their own tight communities in Australia.¹⁸

The fact that such migrant groups were often able to come together regionally and identify as 'Scandinavians', creates an interesting case study for the role of nationalism and migrant identity on several fronts. First, as 'Scandinavians', migrants from several interconnected kingdoms during the late nineteenth century can be seen to have acted as part of an overarching macro-national structure in a period when nationalism was growing as the dominant political system. While feelings of individual nationhood and political friction would later destroy such ideas of Scandinavian unity as a possible regional unit in Europe, the fact that minority migrant groups in colonial Australia continued to seek alternative identifications based on such ideas is important in itself. Anthony D. Smith's concept of the '*ethnie*'

¹⁶ Jupp and York, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 25; Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1986, p. 63.

¹⁷ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15; Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-4, 57, 75-6, 82, 83-5, 92, 133-4, 140-1.

¹⁸ However, the large number of Swedish-speaking Finns are incorporated where relevant and the previous work on Finnish migration by Olavi Koivukangas is taken into account. Olavi Koivukangas, 'Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II' PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974. The Finns were largely ignored by *Norden* until well into the twentieth century, where they received a small column in the newspaper only.

is particularly useful in this respect and uses the dimensions of a collective name, common myth of descent, shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory and finally a sense of solidarity as the foundation stones of ethnic identity.¹⁹ While often acknowledging her/his own nationality, a feeling of cultural similarity and shared history with those of the other nations of Scandinavia appears to have become just as important for the survival and re-creation of a regional Nordic community outside of the homeland. A macro-national, 'Scandinavian *ethnie*', as it were, could have developed further following support from an inclusive publication such as *Norden*, to encapsulate Danish, Swedish and Norwegian migrants who shared such similarities as espoused by Smith.

Second, as white migrants in a mostly white settler state, Scandinavian groups and communities represent a minority group that has historically remained hidden within the majority. Racially categorised by both Australian dominant society and themselves as 'Nordics', they were still somewhat removed culturally and were able to maintain their distance despite strong intermarriage and association with wider society.²⁰ Their attempts to remain separate from the dominant British-Australian society through the recreation of ethnic traditions and networking provide strong examples of the importance placed on migratory heritage, culturally pluralist ideals and the establishment of ethnic diversity within such groups.

Lastly, and most importantly, the way in which minority migrant groups used imagined and physical networks, such as the migrant press, to maintain their self-ethnicised identities is important for better understanding the human social condition. Despite the ravages of time, distance and minimal participation, the power of belonging and the desire to reconnect with one's heritage through shared community were strong enough to traverse all of these barriers. It is important to understand the ways in which migrants straddled more than one world and that most efforts to re-create the past also involved some element of invention from several social or cultural locations important to them. The fact that Brisbane's Scandinavian Association *Heimdal* [Home Valley] would hold a *Fugleskydning* [traditional birdshoot] on "Prince of Wales *Gebordsdag*" [birthday of the new sovereign] demonstrates the links between old and new.²¹

Contextualising migrant networks as sites of imagined communion

My interest lies within the networks and pathways – both real and imagined – that bound these migrants together over vast distances and made them feel that they belonged to part of a greater 'pan' phenomenon, one that I liken to Benedict Anderson's concept of nationalised "imagined communities".²² The migration period of the Scandinavian diaspora (c.1830-1925) significantly correlates to the rise of what Anderson calls the "newer nationalisms" and the worldwide reorganisation of many peoples' allegiances and loyalties to that of emerging nation-states between 1820 and 1920.²³ Anderson notes that "the nineteenth century was, in Europe and its

¹⁹ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1987, pp. 22-31.

²⁰ Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1927, pp. 20-24, 89-92.

²¹ P. B. Hansen, *The Danish Association Heimdal's History 1872-1972*, Brisbane, Danish Association *Heimdal*, 1972, p. 4.

²² Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 67.

immediate peripheries, a golden age of vernacularizing 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.²⁴ 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 own racial superiority.²⁵ 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 decline in Britain’s international power.²⁶ Many of these ideas extended to Scandinavia, where rising national sentiments and racial ideologies coalesced with alternative ideas of pan-Scandinavian co-operation and macro-national unity.²⁷

The mid-nineteenth century was a time for great experimentation with other types of imagined group constructions that involved wider and more inclusive ideologies than nationalism alone – namely, macro-national ‘pan’ identities.²⁸ According to Louis L. Snyder, macro-nationalist ‘pan’ movements developed during the nineteenth 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”.²⁹ Movements built on ideas of all-inclusiveness and togetherness 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.³⁰ Their initial ideological successes inspired the nations of

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.71; Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Mass-producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914’, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 263.

²⁵ Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, London, Little, Brown and Company, 1994, p. 205; David Hollinsworth, *Race and Racism in Australia*, Katoomba, NSW, Social Science Press, 1998, pp. 36-41; Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.81-82.

²⁶ *Ibid*.

²⁷ Anderson also notes specifically that the growing preoccupations of Finland and Norway in advancing nationalist goals through an awakening interest in these countries’ pasts. “The study of folklore and the rediscovery and piecing together of popular epic poetry went together with the publication of grammars and dictionaries, and led to the appearance of periodicals which served to standardise Finnish [i.e. print-] language,” wrote Anderson, who also discusses the rising demands of Norwegian print-text as a demonstration of emerging nationalisms within the Nordic region. Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp.74-75. See the below historical background section for a greater discussion concerning the growth of pan-Scandinavianism and nationalism within the Nordic region.

²⁸ Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1984, p. 8.

²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 4, 8.

³⁰ Snyder notes pan-Slavism to be the elder of the macro-nationalisms and the first to embody supra-nationalist trends as the Slavic peoples, minorities within the Austrian, Russian, Prussian, and Turkish Empires attempted to unite. The expansionistic Pan-Germanist movement, originally intended to strengthen the German national consciousness through the cultural unification of all German-speakers and elevate German-ness to the pinnacle of world society, took on a more extremist element later in the nineteenth century and would eventuate in not one, but two World Wars. *Ibid*, pp.18-65; Louis Levine, ‘Pan-Slavism and European Politics’, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 4, December, 1914, pp. 664-686.

Scandinavia to do likewise, the people of Norden [*The North/Scandinavia*] seeking greater strength through solidarity in what Snyder notes at the most successful of all European ‘pan’ movements – pan-Scandinavianism.³¹ 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 “transnationalist alternative to the nation-state [that] was based on the argument that Norden actually constituted one nation [*Volk*] united by the common linguistic-cultural heritage, values, and a shared destiny”.³²

Unfortunately for proponents of regional unity, historically many ‘pan’ movements proved to be unsustainable and unable to compete with more successful nationalised ‘imagined communities’ due to the fact that most “macro-nationalisms retreat before the realities of persistent nationalism”.³³ As Anthony D. Smith argues, “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”.³⁴ It is here that my interest in macro-national unity, nationalism and migration intersects with the role of print media in assisting or inhibiting the efficacy of competing modes of group identification. The fact that Anderson, Hobsbawm and Smith all emphasise the role of print media and the growth of vernacular languages as cornerstones of such dramatic political and social experimentation during the nineteenth century is significant for this study as it indicates peoples’ continued reliance on communications technologies and the latter’s crucial influence upon the development of the former’s political, cultural and social identifications – and ultimately whether they choose to adopt ‘pan’, nationalist, or alternative outlooks towards their fellows.

At the same time that developments in print media and vernacular languages were driving national and macro-national sentiments throughout Europe and the Nordic homelands, similar 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. 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

³¹ Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³² Jalava further discusses the failure of political pan-Scandinavianism in 1864 and the rise of greater national sentiments, the result being that “the idea of a common Nordic identity and past remained, but it was now constructed on the basis of the separate nation-states.” Marja Jalava, ‘The Nordic Countries as a Historical and Historiographical Region: Towards a Critical Writing of Translocal History’, *História da Historiografia*, April 2013, Issue 11, pp. 250-251. Further details of pan-Scandinavianism can be found below under historical background.

³³ Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

³⁴ Anthony D. Smith, ‘A Europe of Nations. Or the Nation of Europe?’, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 30, No. 2, May 1993, p. 132. Smith also notes the problematic issues of ‘pan’ identities lacking the physical boundaries and passion that have made national ‘imagined communities’ so effective: “why people should be so committed, and feel so passionately, about their ethnic communities and nations that they are prepared to die for them, if they are merely constructs of the imagination and will”. *Ibid*, p. 130.

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.³⁵

Overseas, settler societies such as the United States of America and Australia experienced the influence of 'pan' movements as a way for separated 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 nineteenth 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.³⁶ Further afield in Australia, Charles Price noted the strong adoption of pan-German sentiments amongst those settlers to South Australia during the mid-nineteenth 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".³⁷ Similar to Price, my interest lies with discovering the extent of pan-Scandinavianism in Australia through its main proponent, the Melbourne newspaper *Norden*. How such isolated groups of migrants – even in the faraway Antipodes – used the migrant press to recreate European macro-national developments as their own experiment in cultivating a sense of belonging and fraternity is my central focus.

These macro-national developments go some way to assist Anderson's and Hobsbawm's ideas that nationalism should not be treated as an ideological construct, but rather as something belonging to the same family as 'kinship' or 'religion'.³⁸ 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 as a dominant nationalism in its own right.

³⁵ Lovoll, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

³⁶ Archibald R. Colquhoun, 'Pan-mania', *The North American Review*, Vol. 183, No. 602 (Nov. 2, 1906), p. 852. Colquhoun noted that "although not coherent, pan-Germanism has a solid foundation; and the idea of strengthening the bond that ties all Germans to their fatherland is one that excites sympathy and has received approval from the Emperor himself. So long as pan-Germanism means only an attempt to secure for the fatherland the intellectual and spiritual allegiance of its children, even when their bodies owe fealty to an alien land, it is at once a great and an elevating ideal... But, unfortunately, the idea is Utopian". *Ibid*, p. 855.

³⁷ MS, Australian National University Archives, Canberra: AU ANUA 72, Charles Price, 'Pan-Germanism in South Australia, 1838-1944', unpublished manuscript in *Papers (1945-1985)*, p. 5. This manuscript appears within Dr Price's personal archives but does not seem to have been published.

³⁸ Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, London, Macmillan, 2000, p. 114.

While I am primarily interested in the macro-national community of *Norden*, that indeed attempted to ethnicise Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian groups into a pan-Scandinavian ‘imagined community’ of fraternal readers, this study attempts to adopt several of his ideas regarding the importance of print media and networks of communal information sharing to explain the simultaneous rise of wider, ‘pan’ identities in settler societies such as Australia and those of North America. Anderson is also influential in enabling a framework of 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, is significant for *both* national and macro-national communities, not simply the national.³⁹

Through its connection to vernacular print-languages and institutions, such as the migrant press – capable, to paraphrase Anderson, of creating in the minds of readers a clocked and simultaneous sharing of migrant experiences and desires, problems and celebrations⁴⁰ – such a united migrant community had an important tool to delay the pressures of assimilation regardless of physical isolation or cultural detachment. *Norden*, as the vehicle of connection of 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 as discussed by Anderson. Culturally, linguistically and politically intertwined, migrants from the late-nineteenth 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 own identities are very important considerations, especially when such layers of pan-Scandinavian and nationalist identifications could be sometimes complementary, sometimes incompatible. Through an analysis of *Norden*’s history, its long-term struggles concerning pan-Scandinavian unity and nationalist fragmentation, an understanding of the Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language press’s true significance can be gained.

Australia, pan-Scandinavianism and the immigrant press

The turmoil associated with the turn of the twentieth 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

³⁹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 35. Further theoretical studies on the influence of newspapers upon community construction and maintenance and influence on community ties are examined in detail by Keith R. Stamm and Morris Janowitz, and a discussion of their relevant ideas in the methodology. See: Keith R. Stamm, *Newspaper Use and Community Ties: Toward a Dynamic Theory*, Norwood, NJ, Ablex, 1985; Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting: The Social Elements of Urbanism*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1967.

the native born, and that this supposedly “weakened automatic ties with the Old World and assisted the growth of ideas and institutions based on the Australian experience”.⁴¹ 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 has stated, Italian 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”.⁴² Similarly, as Marianne Reimann notes, a strong German-language press arose in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century, forming around “rural, close-knit settlements [that] favoured the persistence of German language and culture”.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ Categorised racially as Northern Europeans, like their German counterparts, the numerically smaller Scandinavians also used their foreign-language press to affect a similar persistence of their own 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 overarching Nordic cultural and social unity – what this thesis labels as ‘pan-Scandinavianism’ – due to small migrant numbers and feelings of kinship spurred on by the close geopolitical and cultural relationships of their homelands.⁴⁵ 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 nineteenth century, but a lack of national homogeneity quickly drove groups to fight amongst each other, leading to nationalist group fragmentation.⁴⁶ Pan-Scandinavian co-operation was thus a practical necessity for many early Scandinavian migrants in Australia as it was in other settler societies, but by the 1890s, nationalised Danish,

⁴¹ Kingston notes that the ‘Australian type’ was seen as a successful mix of settlers from England, Scotland and Ireland, and that other minorities such as Germans and Scandinavian, while adding a small sense of difference to colonial society, assimilated quickly into the majority. Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 3: Glad, Confident Morning 1860-1900*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 123, 128-132.

⁴² 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, p. 10. Available: http://eprints.usq.edu.au/2392/1/Inventing_%27Italians%27_2002.pdf (Accessed 17/09/2012).

⁴³ Marianne Reimann, ‘The German-language Press’ in Abe W. Ata and Colin Ryan (eds), *The Ethnic Press in Australia*, Melbourne, Academic Press, 1989, p. 158.

⁴⁴ Despite the strong German community presence, newspapers such as the *Sued Australische Zeitung* (1849-1939) were prone to mergers, re-organisation and collapse. The newspaper went through several major mergers over its lifespan, changing name and location frequently. Gilson and Zubrzycki state that “the genealogy of all the important German-language newspapers almost up to the outbreak of World War II can be traced to the *Sued Australische Zeitung*”. Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10.

⁴⁵ Experimentation with pan-Scandinavian societies was the predominant organisational structure during the 1870s and 1880s. Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-4, 57, 75-6, 82, 83-5, 92, 133-4, 140-1, which details the various Scandinavian societies across the states.

⁴⁶ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-281.

Swedish, and Norwegian organisational structures in Australia had replaced the majority of pan-Scandinavian societies of previous decades.

The establishment of the influential Scandinavian-Australian publication, *Norden*, in 1896, marked a significant turning point back towards ideas of unity and imagined fraternity (See Plate 2). Under an ambitious founding editor, Jens Sørensen Lyng, *Norden* quickly gained the support of not only its local Melbourne Scandinavian community, but also forged strong networks amongst the wide-spread 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ Such networks would prove invaluable for the newspaper's continued success and longevity.

While the earliest editions of *Norden* (6 June 1896 - 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**".⁴⁹ This general tenet guided *Norden*'s content for much of its 44-year history, as the newspaper sought to assist migrants to settle 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 (see Table 1 in Appendix). Despite fluctuations in size, most issues followed a similar format and style of content, while each editorial team made their own changes to reflect a changing society and readership.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹ Translated into Danish and Swedish languages, the editors were also quick to republish many articles from other newspapers – both Australian and from abroad – when they were deemed of interest

⁴⁷ 'From our own circle' *Norden*, January 1898, p. 8; 'Norden's Representatives and Agents', *Norden*, February 1898, p. 1; *Norden*, September 1898, p. 1.

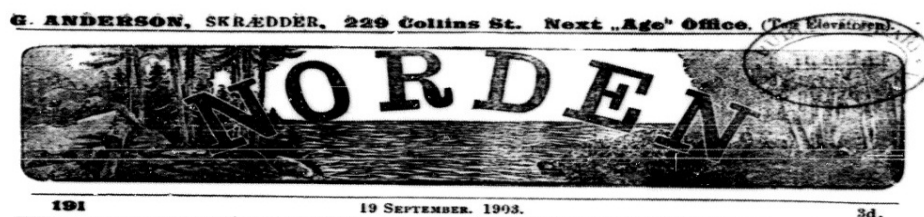
⁴⁸ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁴⁹ 'Norden's Goals', *Norden*, February 1898, p.1. *Norden*'s boldened emphasis on "**interests**" denotes the importance of promoting migrant concerns in the new land above all else.

⁵⁰ See each individual chapter for how each editor adapted *Norden* to their own needs.

⁵¹ *Norden*, November 1897, p. 7; 'Norden's Directory: Scandinavian Consuls in Australia', *Norden*, December 1897, p. 8; 'Advertisements', *Norden*, December 1897, p. 12.

Plate 2: 'Masquerade Ball', Norden, 19 September 1903, p. 1.



Norden
Registered at the General Post Office, Melbourne
for transmission by Post as a Newspaper.
Printed and Published by L. V. for
The Australian Scandinavian Newspaper Co. Ltd.
Editor J. B. L. V.
Subscription Rates: 1 year 6/-, 6 months 3-
outside Australia 1 year 7-
Address all communications:
"NORDEN"
227 King St., MELBOURNE.

Maskeballet DEN 24. SEPTEMBER.

De gamle Vikinger er for Tiden kommet svært i Kurs i Melbourne, og hvor man staar og hvor man gaar, er man dem nær. I Blade, i Avertissementer, i Vinduesplakater, i Cirkulærer, i Folkemunde, i F. Hansens Atelier o. s. v. o. s. v. møder vi dem, hvorfor saa ikke ogsaa fløde dem i „Norden“.

Aarsagen til Vikingernes pludselige Popularitet skyldes dels Skandinavernes store Karneval, dels den nær forestaaende 100 Aarsfest for Irlands Nationalhelt, Robert Emmet, der vil finde Sted i Udstillingsbygningen, og ved hvilken vil blive opført et Skuespil fra Irlands Storhedstid, med djarve nordiske Vikinger og andet Tilbehør.

Hvis vi bliver indbudt til Irøndernes Nationalfest, skal vi senere fortælle noget om den, — foreløbig vil vi holde os til vore egne Affærer.

Komiteens forberedende Arbejder til Skandinavernes Karneval den 24. Sept., er nu saa temmelig nær afsluttet og lover noget *noch nie gewesen*.

Forøvrigt er der ikke meget nyt at berette denne Gang. 5 Shillingsbalkonbilletterne synes at gaa stry ende og der kan næppe være Tvivl om, at Galleriet vil blive fuldt til sidste Plads. Paa Gulvet venter man ca. 150 Par, derat cirka 50 skandinaviske.

Der forventes at ville blive mindst 8 nationale „Sete“, nemlig, 1 australsk, 1 dansk, 2 norske, 2 svenske, 1 skotsk og 1 Zigeunerkvadrille.

Med Hensyn til Tableauerne bliver de fem i forrige Nr. af „Norden“ omtalt, nemlig Norden, Prinsessen og Svinedrengen, Nisserne ved Julegrøden, Holmgang og Hyldest til Australien. Tableauerne vil blive belyst af forskelligt farvet Kalklys.

De Herr og Damer, som ønsker deres Dragter omtalt i Karnevalsgazetten, bør indsende Oplysninger snarest muligt; i det hele taget modtages ikke andre Bidrag for Bladet efter Tirsdag end godt betalte Avertissementer. De indsendte Oplysninger vil blive behandlet med den største Hemmelighedsfuldhed.

Hvad angaar distingverede Deltage-

paa at finde saa mange af sine Bekendte som muligt. I Reglen skriver man vedkommendes Navn indeni Haanden. Forøvrigt gælder det kun om at slippe Livsglæden løs, og holde sig for Øje, at man ved et Maskebal ikke er sig selv, men den Karakter, man forestiller.

Ønskede Oplysninger om Masker og lignende, kan faaes hos Sekretæren eller paa „Nordens Kontor“.

Efter at ovenstaaende Karnevalsnyt og gammelt er sat i Typer, erfarer vi, at der sandsynligvis vil blive to Avertissements-Kvadriller, hvoraf den ene vil indeholde Representanter fra alle Byens Importører af Mejeriredskababer.

Med de sidste Forberedelser drives nu paa af fuld Kraft. Tablauer prøves, Danse indøves, medens det af Komiteen engagerede store Orkestre driver paa med Indstuderingen af skandinaviske Melodier.

Vikingerne.

Ved at søge efter Stof for vor Karnevalsgazet, fik vi fat paa følgende Udtalelser om de gamle, nordiske Vikinger af den amerikanske Videnskabsmand Edmund Kelley:

Den gammeltdags Militarisme havde i en enkelt Henseende et Fortrin for Nutidens Merkantilisme:— Den gav Plads for Højsind. Vikingerne havde saavel under deres Kolonisationsforseg som under deres Røvertog lært Europa et Højsind af speciel nordisk Oprindelse: de kæmpede helst med Vaaben, der kunde bruges i Nærkamp, og de angreb hellere en Fjende, der var talrigere end dem selv, end en, der var dem underordnet i Tal. Det var efter Kellys Mening disse to Træk, der blev af indgribende Betydning for Ridderschabets Aand, saaledes som denne repræsenteres af den norman. Greve af Apulien, Wilhelm Jærnam, Richard Lövehjerte, den sorte Prins, Guesclin og Bayard. Det var Vikingernes Kampmaade, der udførte sig til Ordspøget: „Adel forpligter“, og gav Forfatterne Impulsen til Skikkelser som Arthur, Lancelot, Amadis og Palmerin af England.

Det er os endnu ubekendt, hvorman af de fremmede Konsuler, der kommer i Uniform til vort Maskebal.



re, er saavidt os bekendt, ikke andre kommen til end Brygger Cohn, R. D., der vil komme hertil fra Bendigo, hvis hans Helbred tillader.

Karnevalets Ledelse vil være underlagt to Balinspektører, der ved denne Lejlighed har faaet Tittel af Ceremonial Stewards.

Til Vejledning for saadanne Personer, som ikke før har deltaget i et Karneval, bør tilføjes, at det kommer an

Description: An example of *Norden's* attempts to ethnicise a migrant community at the height of its influence, through activities designed to express pride in their shared heritage. Here, *Norden's* Danish editor contrasts a history of the community's viking past with upcoming local events, including a Scandinavian Carnival, to be complete with costumes, themed tableaux and, of course, Scandinavian melodies. An ornate illustration by one member of the readership, Melbourne's Swedish Club president Mr Von Wijnblädh, further accentuated the perceived quality and significance of *Norden's* united community-building efforts. Also note the title graphic, which emphasises *Norden's* initial role as a bridge, metaphorically linking migrants from their originating pine forests to an adopted Eucalypt scrub.

to the migrant community.⁵² *Norden* was remarkably disinterested with religion and remained apolitical in focus as it sought to encourage a widespread readership without causing friction.⁵³ 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, historical essays, biographies of notable Scandinavian settlers – all while advertising the benefits of Scandinavian-Australian immigration to interested readers.

Drawing together a migrant readership based on ties of Nordic regionalism and themes of Scandinavian co-operation, a common heritage, and shared public memory, the Scandinavian foreign-language press 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.⁵⁴ In order to negate this boom/bust cycle, *Norden* consciously aimed to forge a strong network of 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 – ultimately to ensure its own economic survival. 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. Under a motto of “*Enighed Gör Staerk*” (“Unity is Strength”), *Norden* relied on an inclusive and idealistic approach to gain sufficient readership, much like earlier pan-Scandinavian organisations and failed newspapers had done.⁵⁵

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 socio-cultural 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.⁵⁶ Furthermore, as subscription fees only paid for approximately 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

⁵² 'Scandinavian Books in Boston's Library', *Norden*, April 1898, p. 6; 'Danes in America', *Norden*, December 1898, p. 2; 'Our compatriots in America and Australia', *Norden*, January 1899, pp. 1, 5

⁵³ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939, p. 62

⁵⁴ Gilson and Zubrzycki identified two peaks in the number of German secular and church papers during the late 1850s/early 1860s and again in the 1890s, which corresponded directly with new waves of German settlers to Australia. Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁵⁵ MS, State Library of Victoria: Microfilm 8437, Reel No. 2 (May 1902- December 1906), 24 December 1904. A Loose Wall Calendar for 1905, included as an unpaginated flyer within *Norden*'s 24 December 1904 issue, used this unifying motto as a banner to bring in the New Year and with it, new subscribers.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 4 for estimates of subscriber numbers, and a more detailed analysis of *Norden*'s financial situation.

activities for the newspaper's benefit. As Table 3 in Appendix 1 shows, 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 – it comes as no surprise that recruiting local readers for increased advertorial power and community fundraising were even more pressing issues for *Norden's* editors than subscriptions alone. 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 (Table 2 and Chart 2 in Appendix). Such inclusive ideological tenets also helped *Norden* survive the devastating fluctuations to its wider advertiser base in times of economic boom and bust (See Chart 3 in Appendix), through the normalisation of pan-Scandinavian advertorial and community fundraising support.

It was because of such survivalist needs that *Norden's* editors used the newspaper to promote consensus-building and friendliness amongst its readership, and encourage continued co-operation between nationalising Swedish, Danish and Norwegian groups. *Norden's* power, wrote its founding editor Jens Lyng, was not only its ability to bring fortnightly messages from the homelands 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.⁵⁷

Encouraging co-operation and fellowship between the migrants of several Scandinavian states, *Norden* focused 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 co-exist 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 sense of belongings. Primarily, it is the relationship of *Norden* to the creation of an overarching 'imagined pan-Scandinavian community' that this thesis explores.

The Australian pan-Scandinavian experience mirrors closely – albeit as a much smaller and more isolated case – the networks of the larger Scandinavian communities of North America, which also demonstrated pan-Scandinavian interaction during the middle of the nineteenth century. American scholars, such as Kenneth Bjork, have noted that Scandinavian co-operation 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”.⁵⁸ 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

⁵⁷ Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 68.

⁵⁸ Kenneth O. Bjork, 'Scandinavian Experiment in California', *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* Vol. 5, No. 3, July 1954, p. 67.

California Scandinav, acting as ‘virtual communities’ up until the 1870s.⁵⁹ The fact that something similar was also being attempted by the foreign-language press in Australia warrants further discussion, especially in relation to the Australian political and cultural climate of the late-nineteenth century. However, the Australian situation is unique in the fact that there was a delay of several decades – well into the 1890s – before Scandinavian migrant communities could establish a successful foreign-language press capable of spreading such pan-Scandinavian or co-operative sentiments. *Norden* was thus discordant with the earlier experiments of the Australian pan-Scandinavian clubs and churches of 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 becoming a more prevalent thread as the twentieth century drew closer.⁶⁰ Yet, 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.

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 which] failed to produce deep roots in the world of social and economic reality”.⁶¹ Martin is the only scholar to discuss, let alone critique, the idea of a pan-Scandinavian identity in Australia, arguing that it 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.⁶² Nationalised groupings were 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”.⁶³ While pan-Scandinavianism in Australia did indeed make way for national-based identities as early as the 1890s, I argue that its ideals must not be overlooked for their significance, nor should the idea that both layers of identification could and did exist simultaneously for many migrants be ignored.

Both pan-Scandinavianism and nationality-based ideals were used as viable bases for migrant identity formation in Australia and, through the strategic use of both at varying times, institutions such as *Norden* were able to provide migrants with a stronger base for co-operation than simply one or the other, depending on the needs of the community itself. It is important to understand *Norden*’s goal of creating a unified readership through the promotion of pan-Scandinavianism, one that was echoed by earlier newspapers that had also realised that the only way to ensure their survival in Australia was through joint Scandinavian publications. While driven by an elitist, ideological and often impractical stance, the foreign-language press’

⁵⁹ Mark Safstrom, ‘Writing History Together: Norwegian American and Swedish American Historians in Dialogue’ in Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St. Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012, p. 114.

⁶⁰ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-4, 57, 75-6, 82, 83-5, 92, 133-4, 140-1.

⁶¹ John Stanley Martin, ‘Ethnicity and the Swedish Church in Melbourne 1883-1991’ Master of Theology thesis, Melbourne, College of Divinity, 1992, p. 9.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

inclusive pan-Scandinavian focus was the reason for its success, longevity and significance. Synthesising Martin's ideas with my own, this thesis suggests that, while homeland nationalism forced Scandinavian migrant groups to fragment and remain so throughout the early twentieth century, *Norden* attempted to delay the abandonment of pan-Scandinavianism – and in some cases even resurrect it – through its imagined Scandinavian-Australian readership and continued promotion of a unified pan-Scandinavist stance.

Perceptions of race, whiteness and assimilation in settler societies

As well as ideas of pan-Scandinavian versus nationality-based migrant identities, this thesis examines another crucial issue faced by many non-British, racially 'white' migrant groups at Federation – the ability to cultivate both a sense of belonging *and* a sense of difference within dominant British-Australian society. Examples of Scandinavian co-operation in promoting a collective role in Australian society while retaining cultural differentiation show that late nineteenth century Australia, on the verge of Federation, was not wholly British-Australian in appearance, ethnicity or culture, and that the seeds of a pluralist society had already been planted. As Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds state, Australian society had shown rigorous signs of cosmopolitanism, especially amongst members of the developing socialist movement, in the early 1900s.⁶⁴ Similarly, as Brian Bullivant has inferred, Australia has been a pluralist society in varying cultural, racial, social and ethnic spheres since its first settlement.⁶⁵ Yet, he also reminds us that, as the "economic and political needs of the Anglo-Celtic majority changed through time, so did their processes of exclusion and inclusion".⁶⁶

Here, the role of whiteness as a dominating idea and a source of privilege in the late Victorian-Edwardian period cannot be understated, especially when viewed in terms of Federation-era Australians' strong feelings of British racial pride and desires for British-Australian cultural homogenisation. During the 1870s and 1880s – a period characterised by increased European migration to Australia before the economic crises of the 1890s crippled future migration prospects – the heightened number of Scandinavians were advantageously situated to express their Nordic cultural differences within the pluralistic settler state.⁶⁷ Economically and politically valued for their whiteness and reputation as hard workers, the slight cultural differences between Nordic settlers and the British-Australian majority were ignored for the sake of the further development opportunities.⁶⁸

Historically, Scandinavians were not an undesirable group or openly discriminated against, as the Chinese or even Southern Europeans were.⁶⁹ Rather, they were a privileged alternative migration source, acceptable for their Northern European

⁶⁴ Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Publishing, 2008, p. 159.

⁶⁵ Brian M. Bullivant, *Pluralism: Cultural Maintenance and Evolution*, Clevedon, UK, Multilingual Matters, 1984, pp. 23, 45.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁶⁷ Geoffrey Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1980, p. 85.

⁶⁸ Kingston, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶⁹ Hsu-Ming Teo, 'The Romance of White Nations: Imperialism, Popular Culture, and National Histories' in Antoinette Burton (ed.), *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, London, Duke University Press, 2003, p. 281.

status. As Ann Curthoys argues, traditions of exclusionism arose in mid-nineteenth century Australia, as they did in many other liberal democratic settler societies, as a product of both uneasy settler consciousness and the encouragement of a British motherland intent on creating “all-white colonies which would exclude the importation of non-European labour and encourage British immigration”.⁷⁰ By the 1880s, Australian intellectuals who shared an uneasy preoccupation with “the decline of the European world and the rise of Asia”, such as William Lane, stressed the degenerative risks of unimpeded non-British invasion upon Australia, while later Charles Pearson’s influential work *National Life and Character: A Forecast* “made the case to set Australia aside for the renewal and advancement of the ‘higher civilisation’”.⁷¹ Lake and Reynolds note that, “by pointing to the insecurity of white men’s place in the world, *National Life and Character* prompted anxious thoughts about what [American writer Lothrop] Stoddard called ‘the rising tide of color’ and proprietorial assertions that certain lands were, and must remain, ‘white men’s countries’”.⁷² As racialised ‘Northern European’ settlers, Scandinavian migrants were therefore well-positioned to attain a unique ‘white migrant’ position that allowed them entry to a predominantly British Australia in a period characterised by strong racial exclusion.

While the Scandinavians’ perceived whiteness and racial similarity to British-Australia were crucial factors not only for their acceptance as migrants but also for their relative cultural invisibility, a burgeoning realisation of an Australian national consciousness over the 1880s and 1890s was a further cause for concern. W. G. McMinn notes that by “the 1880s something in the nature of a national ferment had undoubtedly begun to work in Australia: out of it came both the White Australia Policy and a strong anti-immigration movement in working-class circles”.⁷³ As the percentage of Australian-born rose to nearly 80% by 1901, a growing national awareness took precedence, as did the rapid growth of “xenophobia, racism, material selfishness and ethnocentricity” that would accompany the shift.⁷⁴ This was a volatile time in Australia’s history and the position of first-generation non-British migrants within Australian society became increasingly unsure and required continual validation.

With the Federation of Australia in 1901 and “speakers in federal parliament invok[ing] Pearson in their arguments in favour of immigration restriction”, the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 institutionalised and consolidated Australia’s claim to being, primarily, a racially exclusive, homogenised, and culturally British nation.⁷⁵ Yet, as Graham Huggan notes, “it is important to remember that the White Australia Policy didn’t designate specifically who was considered to be white, but discriminated rather on the basis of desirable and

⁷⁰ Ann Curthoys, ‘Liberalism and Exclusionism: A Prehistory of the White Australia Policy’ in Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker, and Jan Gothard (eds), *Legacies of White Australia: Race, Culture, and Nation*, Crawley, WA, University of Western Australia Press, 2003, p. 10.

⁷¹ David Walker, ‘Race Building and the Disciplining of White Australia’ in Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker, and Jan Gothard (eds), *Legacies of White Australia: Race, Culture, and Nation*, Crawley, WA, University of Western Australia Press, 2003, pp. 35–42.

⁷² Lake and Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁷³ W. G. McMinn, *Nationalism and Federalism in Australia*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 97.

⁷⁴ John Eddy, ‘Nationalism and nation-making from Federation to Gallipoli’ in John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder (eds), *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1988, p. 144.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 42.

undesirable migrant groups”.⁷⁶ So great was this ‘non-white’ exclusion and associated ideas of cultural homogenisation that, prior to the wave of post-war migration from the late 1940s, the majority of Australians did not even see assimilation as an issue – it was a natural and expected occurrence.⁷⁷ Despite desiring some level of cultural differentiation, many Scandinavian-Australians also desired to share in the privilege of whiteness, causing them to focus on ideas of Nordic racial superiority over even their fellow British-Australians⁷⁸ – and this was yet another factor driving community participation within *Norden*’s pages. Other migrant groups, such as the Southern Europeans, faced greater feelings of hostility and non-acceptance:

It cannot be doubted that many Australians – like many New Zealanders, Canadians, and even Englishmen – do not warm easily to the Southern European. They prefer ‘Nordic’ stock... they have been tolerated, but they have not been welcomed... they have tended to live apart, rather than to be merged with the communities amongst whom they have settled.⁷⁹

Converse to the Southern European experience, the purported swift and unproblematic assimilation of racially accepted Scandinavians and Germans into early twentieth century Australian society has caused scholars to downplay serious attempts by Nordic migrants to form visible cultural units and stay somewhat separate from the dominant British-derived population. Olavi Koivukangas believes that:

Scandinavians, because of the economic, social, cultural, and political background somewhat similar to that of the British Isles, and with closely related languages... were well qualified for rapid assimilation in the predominantly British country of Australia; that is, compared with Southern or Eastern Europeans.⁸⁰

Similarly, W. D. Borrie agrees 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

⁷⁶ Huggan explains that the most desirable of these migrant groups, namely the British and Irish, were also deemed the ‘whitest’. Furthermore, as the twentieth century wore on, terminology for dominant and minority groups in Australia evolved based on such deliberate exclusionary practices: “the discriminatory ‘Anglo-Saxon’ eventually [gave] way to the majoritarian ‘Anglo-Celtic’” while ‘ethnic’ “increasingly referred to southern and/or eastern European migrants, who occupied the discursive position of ‘marginal’ whites”. Graham Huggan, *Australian Literature: Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 73-74.

⁷⁷ According to W. D. Borrie, “the non-British minority was small enough to be practically ignored, and until recently the question of whether or not it has been absorbed into the Australian way of life has simply not been asked”. W. D. Borrie, *Immigration: Australia’s Problems and Prospects*, London, Angus and Robertson, 1949, p. 82.

⁷⁸ Jens Lyng’s racialised histories continue to promote his own Nordic superiority over other races, and the weakened racial constitution of the multi-ethnic British Empire. Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁷⁹ Borrie, *Immigration: Australia’s Problems and Prospects*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁸⁰ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

origin”.⁸¹ Borrie states that large scale Scandinavian intermarriage with wider society further promoted quick assimilation, and that:

Culturally, too, the Scandinavians lost their identity. 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.⁸²

The racially motivated, overzealous and protectionist focus of Australian society during the early twentieth century disregarded the Scandinavians’ cultural and social differences in favour of ‘Nordic’ racial similarities to their British-Australian cousins – similarities that would enable quick and complete assimilation. Scandinavians, nevertheless, did not completely assimilate, as Scandinavian clubs, churches and press institutions arose, ultimately, in attempts to reforge old world connections and establish a sense of their own ethnic identity. What is important for this study is an examination of the impact of what Hsu-Ming Teo calls ‘ethnicisation’ or the process “bound up with migration and settlement, geographical location, identity attribution by the dominant culture, and voluntary identification with others as a statement of solidarity and difference”.⁸³ Analysis of the Scandinavian migrant experience through ethnicisation processes suggests a fluid and constantly evolving community for both the migrants and the society that accepted them, and the importance of the foreign-language press in this ethnicising process.

Despite such strong evidence to suggest that Northern European migrants assimilated quickly while the Southern Europeans did not, the cultural baggage of *all* non-British migrants created some level of differentiation between them and dominant British-Australian society, at least for a time. The fact that many first-generation Scandinavians were still regarded socially and culturally as ‘non-British’ foreigners – until they gave up the habits and customs of their homelands – makes it clear that their own cultural baggage continued to affect their own sense of belonging, regardless of their perceived whiteness.⁸⁴ The actual reasons why certain migrant groups responded to assimilation and ethnicisation pressures were complex and not always solely based on issues of racial exclusion or negative hostility. Charles Price, for example, makes the case that:

The Southern European fight to retain their customs and institutions did not spring primarily from the hostility and indifference of British-

⁸¹ W. D. Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1954, p. 44.

⁸² *Ibid*, p. 45.

⁸³ In other words, *how* and *why* a group grows to express ethnic characteristics, and solidify themselves as a separate community within a dominant society. Hsu-Ming Teo, ‘Multiculturalism and the Problem of Multicultural Histories: An Overview of Ethnic Historiography’ in Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (eds), *Cultural History in Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2003, p.148.

⁸⁴ As Jens Lyng argued in the ability for Scandinavians to assimilate into Australian society *if they so desired*, “an Anglo-Saxon girl will have no aversion from marrying a Scandinavian immigrant as soon as he has dropped his foreign habits and mastered the English language sufficiently not to make himself ridiculous”. Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

Australian society but from the very nature of Southern European migration and settlement.⁸⁵

Price argues that even if the Southern Europeans had been openly welcomed rather than derided, ethnic group settlements were an inevitable and necessary accompaniment of their migration to a new land, as migrants could not abandon the cultural baggage brought with them.⁸⁶ The larger numbers of German migrants – who often settled together in rural communities and established their own churches and German language institutions – were also able to withstand direct assimilation to certain levels, instead integrating with the dominant British-Australian core while continuing German-Australian traditions across generations.⁸⁷ It is important to note here that, while conflict and adversity might have been driving forces for migrant group ethnicity in certain cases, self-interest was also an important factor for the formation of the Scandinavian community, particularly for those involved in the production of a foreign-language press and the economic and social benefits it could bring. However, this self-interest can be interpreted as a need for Scandinavian migrants to succeed and maintain their identity in the face of a subtle sense of non-acceptance. With this idea in mind, Scandinavians, regardless of racial similarity and reported high levels of assimilation, had their own reasons to form viable ethnic associations in Australia, such as those that formed around the migrant press.

By demonstrating how racially categorised ‘white’ migrants from non-British backgrounds have attempted to remain as distinct and separate cultural groups from the dominant British-Australian tradition – even in a pan sense – this study investigates how their ethnicity served a flexible and utilitarian function for Scandinavians at a time of heightened paranoia in white settler societies. Federation fuelled the cultural and racial homogenisation of Australian society in the early twentieth century.⁸⁸ As such, issues of racism, imperialism, racial identity and national identity emerged at the peak of Scandinavian immigration to Australia, the 1880s and 1890s, coinciding with this turning-point in Australia’s political identity and governmental relations. Simply situating Scandinavians, Germans and other groups under a historically inaccurate blanket of racial whiteness fails, according to Matthew Frye Jacobson, to “examine the relationship among competing ideas such as *white, Caucasian, Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, Celt, Slav, Alpine, Hebrew, Mediterranean, Iberic, Latin*, and so on”.⁸⁹ Indeed, Jacobson argues that during the period of mass European immigration into the United States and other settler countries, such as Canada and Australia between 1840 and 1924, whiteness was not consolidated but fractured “into a hierarchy of plural and scientifically determined white races”.⁹⁰ The racialised writings of Scandinavian-Australian journalist, statistician and historian Jens Lyng confirm such occurrences in the Australian situation, especially when, in 1927, he categorised ‘Nordic’, ‘Alpine’, and

⁸⁵ Charles Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 272.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Ian Harmstorf and Michael Cigler, *The Germans in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1985, pp. 158, 162.

⁸⁸ John Eddy, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Kate Walsh, *The Changing Face of Australia: A Century of Immigration 1901-2000*, St. Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 2001, p. 29.

⁸⁹ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1998, p. 7 [Author’s emphasis].

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

‘Mediterranean’ races as branches from one a European racial family.⁹¹ However, he was eager to impress the point of Nordics’ being racially superior to other ‘mixed’ groups, even white groups such as the Germans or English (See Plate 3).⁹² Why and how groups of “white ethnics”, as Jacobson calls them,⁹³ were able to maintain their various cultural identities, as well as how this affected their communities and contributed to the pluralism of society in the face of dominant homogenising trends, are further questions that my project discusses through the lens of the foreign-language press. As international conflicts, such as the Boer War and World War I, strengthened fears of foreigners through cases of mistaken identity, bigotry and ignorance – even in regards to naturalised Scandinavian Australians⁹⁴ – certain groups of white migrants were still perceived as somewhat separate from dominant British-Australia, which continues to demonstrate that “race resides not in nature but in politics and culture”.⁹⁵ Race, then, was for certain groups a flexible and utilitarian construct in similar lines to culturally-based ethnicities and identifications.

In reaction to the threats faced by migrant groups and the challenges to their social and cultural survival, *Norden* assisted troubled migrants through continued connection, belonging and the propagation of pan-Scandinavian unity. Through the migrant press, inclusive Scandinavian-Australian groups attempted to forge a separate ethnicity and identity in ways that were acceptable in mainstream Australian society largely through processes of ‘social constructivism’, where migrants behaved as “active, conscious agents engaged in the construction of a shared social reality”.⁹⁶ The need to succeed and validate their existence in a new home, despite a sense of difference caused by their migratory heritage, drove their expression of new and adaptable identifications. The focus on an inclusive, recently rediscovered Viking heritage as a way of uniting Scandinavian nationalities, for example, and an emphasis on cultural and religious similarities, empowered a wider regional consciousness in an attempt to construct a more inclusive and viable community group than individual Danish, Swedish or Norwegian nationalisms could provide. By establishing a framework of social support to migrants of several smaller national groupings, who were struggling to survive in a new land or come to terms with their migrant identity, the utilitarian creation of pan-Scandinavianism through the migrant press gave Scandinavian migrants an inclusive and prosperous formula for possible community development, despite countless setbacks.

⁹¹ Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1927.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 21.

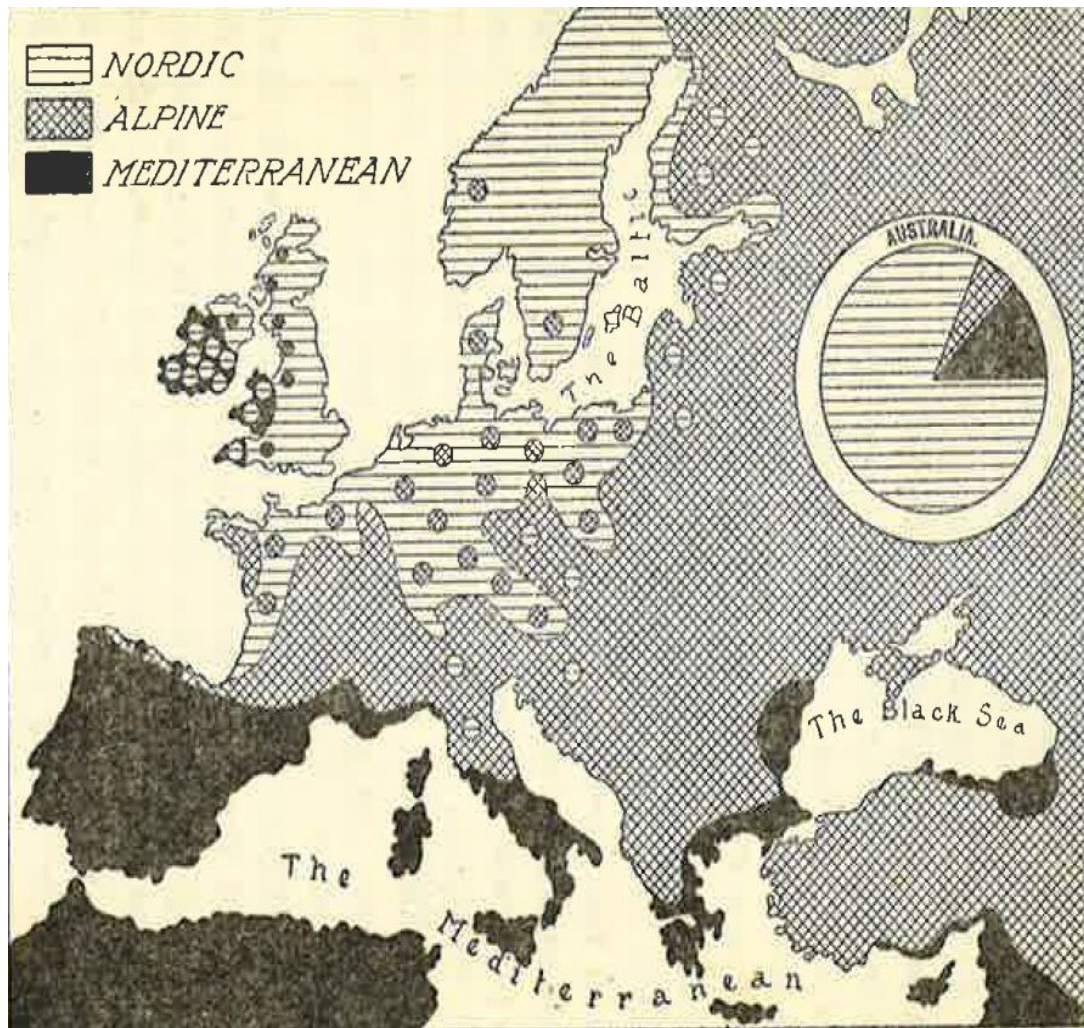
⁹³ Jacobson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁹⁴ MS, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland: M1625, ‘Correspondence between Col. Vilhelm Larsen of Brisbane’s *Heimdal* and Capt. C Wood of the Australian Military Forces, Brisbane re: reporting naturalised Scandinavians as Aliens’ 14-16 November 1917, in *Vilhelm Larsen Papers 1917-1918*.

⁹⁵ Jacobson, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁹⁶ Graham Day and Andrew Thompson, *Theorizing Nationalism*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 85.

Plate 3: ‘Composition of the Australian People’, in Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1927, p. 21.



Description: *Norden's* founding editor, historian and statistician Jens Lyng, articulated the racialised views of early twentieth-century Australia with his 1927 work *Non-Britishers in Australia*. In *Non-Britishers*, Lyng adamantly located Scandinavians, Germans and the English as belonging to the 'Nordic' race, endeavouring to further promote his own migrant group as racially superior necessary to populating Australia with 'good Nordic stock'. In the same way as the Vikings had done in the British Isles a thousand years before. Lyng notes that an increased 'mixing' of Germans with their Southern 'Alpine' neighbours, and the English with the 'Mediterranean' Irish, had led to a racial weakening of these populations. As such, Lyng's writings demonstrated a perceived strength of Scandinavians as a strong source of much needed immigrants for Australia, which sought to remain predominately 'Nordic' in racial outlook (inset).

Historical background to the study

The term, Scandinavia, refers to the three main states of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, whereas the term, 'Norden' [the North], has become more popular amongst Scandinavians when including Finland and Iceland.⁹⁷ While sharing similar languages and cultures, Denmark, Norway and Sweden have remained individual states throughout the twentieth century, yet in the past there have been alternating periods of extreme animosity and unity between them. According to Ellen Paulsen, "the countries have, over the centuries, often been at war with each other and have been invaded by others, but are now, with an increasingly singleness of purpose, drawing towards a common goal".⁹⁸ The role of geography, shared history and culture in influencing migrants' desires to recreate the past cannot be understated, and must form the basis of how one views their reconnection with tradition, language, and other community members from the originating landscape.

The interrelated nature of Scandinavia as a geopolitical unit extends far back into the Middle Ages, when continual border disputes, marriages, and political contrivances allowed Sweden to become the largest European realm in area in the early fourteenth-century.⁹⁹ Between 1397 and 1523, Scandinavia was somewhat united politically under Danish rule through the Kalmar Union,¹⁰⁰ and according to Herman Lindqvist:

conditions seemed good for the three realms to become one... the three Scandinavian countries still had a great deal in common in those days: their languages were still very similar, many of the great lords owned land in the other countries and many were married over national boundaries.¹⁰¹

The threat of growing Hanseatic power in the Baltic fuelled early Scandinavian co-operation, but the next several hundred years were marred with constant political upheavals that split Scandinavia into two great rival powers – Denmark/Norway and the growing power of a rapacious Sweden/Finland, which expanded through conquest to claim most of the Baltic shoreline during the seventeenth-century.¹⁰² By the end of the Napoleonic wars, Sweden had lost the majority of these annexations, even Finland, and the borders of the three Scandinavian states took the rough shape of their modern counterparts. The last major political changes to affect Scandinavian ties occurred first with the Treaty of Kiel in 1814, when Norway proper was ceded to Sweden as part of a political Union, and Denmark retained only Norwegian overseas possessions.¹⁰³ This was also the last time that the Scandinavian states would go to

⁹⁷ Ellen Paulsen, 'Scandinavians in Queensland,' in M. Brändle and S. Karas (eds), *Multicultural Queensland: The People and Communities of Queensland*, Ethnic Communities Council of Queensland, Kangaroo Point, Qld, 1988, p. 194. According to Louis L. Snyder, similar parliamentary systems, laws, education, Lutheran background and a passion for social reform led to five nations of Scandinavia to "come closer to relinquishing national sovereignty than any other European pan-movement". Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Herman Lindqvist, *A History of Sweden*, Stockholm, Norstedts, 2002, p. 592.

¹⁰⁰ David Arter, *Scandinavian Politics Today*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999, p. xi.

¹⁰¹ Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 224.

¹⁰³ According to Karen Larsen, "Though Norway had by no means attained equality with Sweden, the union had been formed not as a result of conquest or of the Treaty of Kiel, but on the basis of popular

war against one another, leading to a period of mutual co-operation and the romanticised view of pan-Scandinavianism that began to grow politically and within student and literary circles, most dominant during the 1840s.¹⁰⁴

According to Mary Hilson, “the roots of pan-Scandinavianism lay in the ‘literary medievalism’ which emerged in Scandinavia, as elsewhere, from the late eighteenth century”.¹⁰⁵ Driven by the rediscovery of a linguistic bond between the Scandinavian peoples, calls for increased co-operation by intellectuals across the Nordic region from the 1820s onwards motivated political co-operation based on cosmopolitan and enlightenment ideals. A proposed unification of the Nordic peoples became desirable “in order to achieve the full potential of Northern civilization, which the individual states were too small and uninfluential to realise on their own”.¹⁰⁶ Political pan-Scandinavianism found its strongest 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, but it also proved popular amongst Swedish national liberals to justify Sweden-Norway as a new unified state and as a way to regain Finland from Russia.¹⁰⁷

During the 1840s, the student movement of Scandinavianism emerged, predominantly around those studying at Copenhagen, Lund and Uppsala Universities.¹⁰⁸ 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”.¹⁰⁹ Emphasising the unity of the Scandinavian *folk* (people), Romantic literature of the 1830s and 1840s attempted to focus on the Scandinavian peoples as one “community in blood and spirit”.¹¹⁰ In 1850, Karl XV, King of Norway-Sweden, went so far as to declare that Norwegians, Swedes and Danes belonged together as one Nordic people, due to their shared history and traditions.¹¹¹

However, 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 seventeenth 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.¹¹² 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.¹¹³ Politically, the loss

sovereignty and the decision of representatives of the people.” Strength lay in unity. Karen Larsen, *A History of Norway*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1948, p. 395.

¹⁰⁴ Martin, ‘Ethnicity and the Swedish Church in Melbourne 1883-1991’, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Mary Hilson, ‘Denmark, Norway, and Sweden: Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism’, in Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (eds) *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 202.

¹⁰⁶ Hilson, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*; Byron J. Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p. 208.

¹⁰⁸ Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁰ Hilson, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

¹¹¹ Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹¹² Hilson, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

¹¹³ Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

of Finland in 1809 allowed a now more ethnically homogenous Sweden to begin to see its people as a distinctive ethnic group.¹¹⁴ The multiethnic Danish state began 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”.¹¹⁵ 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 nineteenth century and the Norwegian quest for independence eventually caused the dissolution of the 91-year old Sweden-Norway Union in 1905.¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷

Ultimately, pan-Scandinavianism failed to result in a unified Nordic state. Hilson notes that a lack of cultural or linguistic unity across Scandinavia was not a prime concern for this failure, but rather the fact that the Scandinavian movement was not aided by a strong economic impulse, nor a leading “state with sufficient might and ambition to drive through the project of political unity”.¹¹⁸ By 1864, European political developments and a perceived inability for the monarchs of Scandinavia to co-operate in response to German nationalism caused both Danish and Swedish state-builders to focus more on their own national concerns.¹¹⁹ Despite the short period of pan-Scandinavian idealism, nationalism was clearly the driving force of change in nineteenth century Scandinavia, influenced by developments across Europe. Instead, Nordstrom believes that “Scandinavianism reflects 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”.¹²⁰

In regards to the two satellite nations of Scandinavia proper, Finland and Iceland have been included within – and in Finland’s case, excluded from – Scandinavia at varying times in the region’s history, with varying levels of political control and autonomy. Throughout the nineteenth century, Iceland was a Danish dependency, gaining sovereignty in 1918 yet closely tied in a personal union with Denmark until full independence in 1944.¹²¹ As such, it is included as part of Scandinavia for this study, regardless of the limited number of Icelandic migrants to reach Australia. Finland, while tied to Swedish rule for most of the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries – and containing a large number of Swedish speakers even today – was under Russian rule from 1809 to 1917, before gaining its independence.¹²² Because of this, Finland remained separated politically from the other Nordic states during the nineteenth century (See Map 1, overleaf). Furthermore, the strong linguistic

¹¹⁴ Hilson, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹¹⁶ According to Nordstrom, nationalism was driving events across the world at this time, affecting Great Britain, the Hapsburg and Russian Empires, the Ottoman Empire, and the Balkans. “Within this context it is difficult to imagine Norwegian nationalists passively accepting what many believed was domination by Sweden.” Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

¹¹⁷ Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹¹⁸ Hilson, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

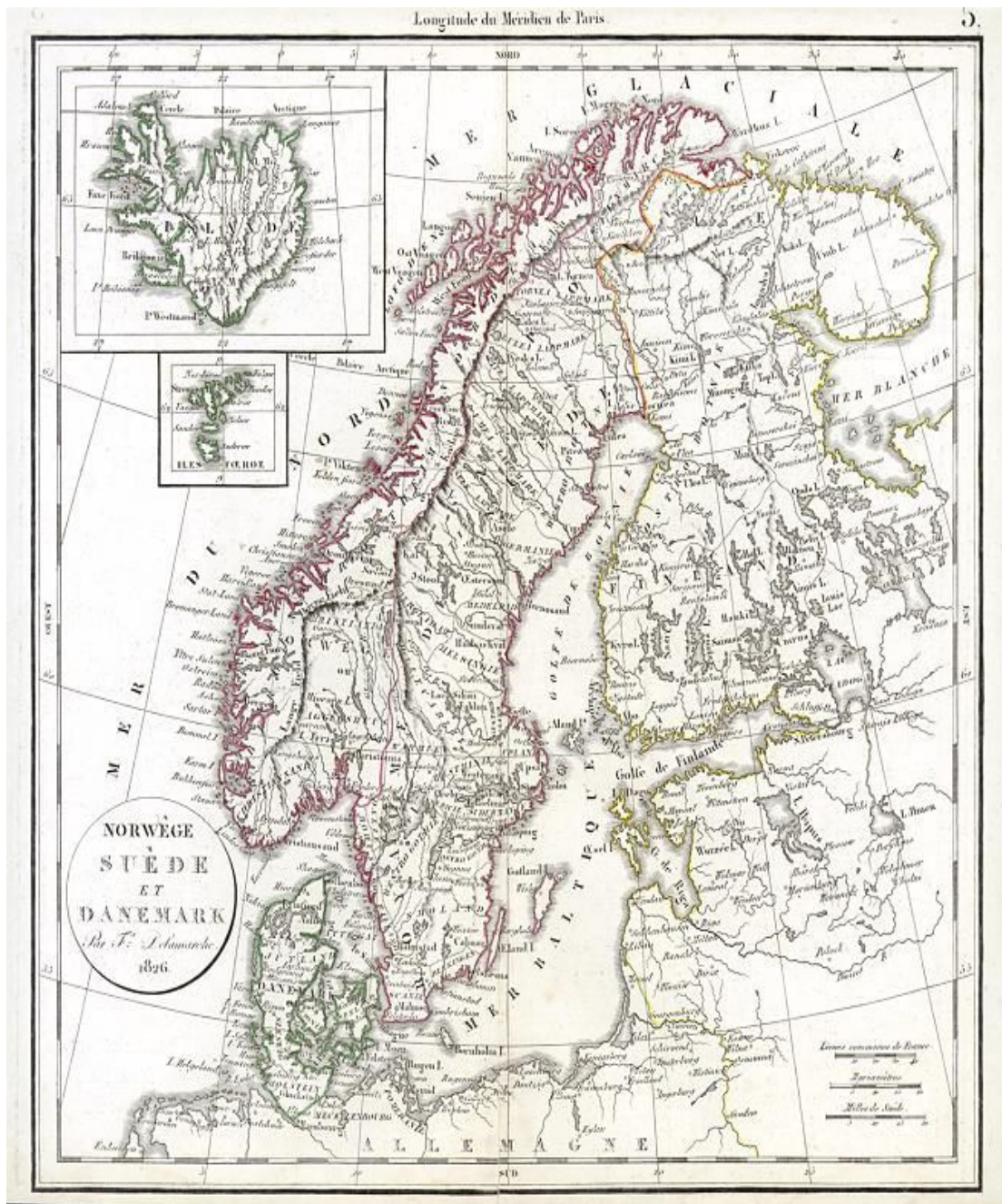
¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 199-203.

Map 1: 'Norway, Sweden and Denmark', 1826¹²³



Description: This map illustrates both the Sweden/Norway Union (1814-1905) and Denmark's ownership of Iceland during most of the nineteenth century, including it as a province of Scandinavia proper. This 1826 map is one of the few not to state Russia's claim over Finland clearly, which was present on many of Delamarche's later maps. However, Finland's omission from the map title makes clear its existence outside of 'Scandinavia' during the nineteenth century and the Scandinavian diaspora.

¹²³ F. Delamarche, 'Norwege, Suede et Danemark', in *Atlas de la Géographie*, Paris, Chez. F. Delamarche, 1828. Available: <http://www.ancestryimages.com/proddetail.php?prod=e4818> (Accessed 13/12/2012).

differences between ethnic Finns and the other states of the Nordic region limited their inclusion in both nineteenth century pan-Scandinavian sentiments and overseas migrant communities built upon Scandinavian co-operation.

The interrelated history of the states of Scandinavia is vital for understanding how migrants from these states viewed themselves differently at varying times over the period of migration and how important cultural and political developments in the originating nations were in the creation of adaptable identifications for those leaving the homeland states during periods of nationalism, unionism and Scandinavianism. Leading up to the nineteenth century, these political and cultural developments would combine with economic disasters and the lure of a better life across the seas to create a diaspora of Scandinavian migrants, many of whom belonged to several overlapping 'imagined communities' in terms of homeland identifications.

Beginning as early as 1825, and continuing throughout the 1830s to 1850s, the people of the Nordic region began seeking opportunities for migration, particularly to the Americas.¹²⁴ A century of widespread migration would follow these early pioneers of mainly trans-Atlantic activity and the sheer volume of migrants during 1830-1930 marked the exodus as the 'Scandinavian diaspora'. Exact reasons for the migration, however, and the various 'push-pull' factors that influenced the diaspora's movements, remain the subject of debate. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the kingdoms of Scandinavia economically lagged behind the rest of industrialising Europe. Despite a lack of progress, the population was steadily increasing in response to a generally long period of peace between the states, the eradication of smallpox, and the introduction of new food crops from the Americas. As the poet Esaias Tegnér famously quipped, "peace, vaccines, and potatoes" were responsible for the rapid growth of Scandinavian society.¹²⁵ Despite this growth the Nordic region was still heavily reliant on the land and its natural resources for prosperity.¹²⁶ As Norman Pounds notes, the fact that northern Scandinavia also had a marginal environment meant that "weather fluctuations, which in Western or Central Europe would have caused merely short term scarcities, could here become disastrous".¹²⁷ Coupled with an unnaturally high population situated still mostly in rural areas – around 90% – it was simply a matter of time for this to occur.¹²⁸

Early Atlantic migration scholars, such as Marcus Lee Hansen, believed that 'push factors' – that is, negative conditions in Europe such as overpopulation, famine, revolution and unemployment – were mostly responsible for the exodus from

¹²⁴ According to Nordstrom, "this 'great exodus' began with the departure of relatively small groups", the first on record being 52 Norwegians who left Stavanger in 1825 to settle in Kendall, New York before moving to southwest Illinois. Despite earlier settlers, Swedish migration is noted as officially beginning in 1846 with religious followers of Erik Jansson settling in western Illinois. Danes, Finns, and Icelanders followed later in the nineteenth century. Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹²⁵ Esaias Tegnér, cited in Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

¹²⁶ According to Pounds, the population of the long rocky coastline relied solely upon shipping, fishing and associated industries, and while the majority of the forested interior yielded timber and paper for export, the low-lying and still rocky areas were mainly used for marginally successful agriculture. Norman John Greville Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe, 1800-1914*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 86.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 86-87

¹²⁸ Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

Scandinavia, especially during the middle of the nineteenth century (1845-1870).¹²⁹ Reasons for the exodus included the opportunity to escape persecution, “heavy taxation, the antiquated laws that governed land and labor, and the enthusiastic letters from settlers in the Mississippi Valley”.¹³⁰ Religious minorities in Norway and Sweden, dissatisfied with the established Lutheran Church, began to look overseas for greater religious and political freedoms.¹³¹ Superior economic opportunities were also possible for bureaucratically-oppressed rural landholders and the expanded number of cottagers, crofters and landless groups that had grown to inhabit the Scandinavian countryside. As many innovations in agricultural methods reduced the demand for farm labourers, emigration became a solution of an impoverished rural population.¹³² Furthermore, Danish subjects also saw emigration as a way to escape the hardships and insecurities wrought by continued Danish-German conflicts for ownership of Schleswig-Holstein (1848-1851 and 1864).¹³³ Climactic anomalies and the hardships faced by poverty-stricken rural Scandinavians in times of famine also led to increased emigration during the 1860s.¹³⁴ Migration between the European countries was, however, rather limited in scale, as most of those affected looked further afield to escape the poverty felt in Europe.¹³⁵ These strong push factors, coupled with increasing news from abroad of prosperity on America’s and Australia’s gold-fields, and the future prospects of land acquisition, were posited by Hansen as the main reasons that many families hoped to improve their condition through overseas emigration.¹³⁶

While emigration levels did seem directly related to recurring periods of hardship and suffering, more recent scholarship suggests that push factors did not adequately explain the scale of the diaspora. Norman Pounds believes that the migration resulting from such push factors might not appear to have been wholly necessary, pointing to pull factors as being more influential.¹³⁷ Lindqvist states that there was no real shortage of work within Sweden for the greater part of the emigration period, with boom years encouraging economic expansion and rising wages for those who stayed.¹³⁸ Koivukangas notes that emigration, “a phenomenon of a transition era”, was largely an economic concern for Nordic migrants; the opportunity for greater economic success in North America and Australia made pull factors much more powerful than those that pushed.¹³⁹ The common-held belief that boundless

¹²⁹ Marcus Lee Hansen, with Arthur Meier Schlesinger (ed.), *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1945, pp. 242-306.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹³² Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 17. Koivukangas further notes that after Denmark ceded Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia-Austria in 1864, many young Danes preferred to emigrate rather than be forced to take up Prussian citizenship and its associated compulsory military service. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

¹³⁴ According to Lindqvist, failed harvests across Scandinavia in 1865 and 1866 emptied food stores throughout the countryside and, in 1867, Europe experienced extreme climactic anomalies that caused thousands of people to die across Northern Europe. Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 592.

¹³⁵ Pounds, *op. cit.*, p.88; According to Marcus Lee Hansen, would-be emigrants thronged German ports to a point where shipping houses found difficulty securing adequate fleets for customers. “In Norway and Denmark, similar incidents occurred. Even the southern provinces of Denmark displayed a growing interest in emigration”. Marcus Lee Hansen, *op. cit.*, p.244.

¹³⁶ Marcus Lee Hansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-306.

¹³⁷ Pounds, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

¹³⁸ Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 593.

¹³⁹ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 49.

opportunities existed in the new settler societies of the United States and Canada and, to some extent, other sites of emigration such as Brazil, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, pulled migrants to new locales. According to Lindqvist:

There was something that tempted and attracted people to emigrate and it wasn't just the goldrush in America and the enthusiastic letters home from those that that travelled ahead. The USA was attractive by virtue of the great opportunities it presented, and not only in economic terms. People there had a personal freedom which simply did not exist in Sweden. The ancient dream of the free life of an independent farmer without the interference of county officials and other bureaucrats – that dream could be realised 'over there'.¹⁴⁰

Regardless of the actual reasons for the diaspora, B. J. Hovde notes that the Scandinavian countries, "in proportion to their populations... contributed more heavily to the stream of migration than almost any other region in Europe".¹⁴¹ Table 1 (below) demonstrates the immense proportions that left Scandinavia, with some 36.5%, 22.5%, and 13.9% of the total populations leaving Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, respectively, before 1900.

Table 1: Overseas Migration from Europe in the nineteenth-century¹⁴²

Country	Total migration in thousands	As a percentage of total population in 1900
Austria-Hungary	4878	10.7
Belgium	172	2.6
Denmark	349	13.9
Finland	342	12.7
France	497	1.3
Germany	4533	8
Italy	9474	29.2
Netherlands	207	3.9
Norway	804	36.5
Portugal	1633	32.7
Spain	4314	23.2
Sweden	1145	22.5
Switzerland	307	9.3

In Sweden alone, some 1.2 million Swedes left their homeland between 1851 and 1930 and of these, around 499,000 were women.¹⁴³ The majority of Scandinavian migrants left for the United States, a closer and more hospitable place than Australia's distant settlement. According to Koivukangas, more than 95% of Scandinavian overseas emigrants went to the United States, and Table 2 (overleaf) gives an indication of the percentage of Scandinavians who settled in other locations. As Marcus Lee Hansen wrote, Australia was "too remote from Europe, too primitive a region and too expensive to reach. By contrast, those who sought the United States

¹⁴⁰ Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 593.

¹⁴¹ B. J. Hovde, 'Notes of the effects of Emigration upon Scandinavia', *Journal of Modern History*, No. 6, 1934, pp. 253-279, cited in Pounds, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁴² Pounds, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁴³ Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 592.

prospered, soon developing flourishing communities”.¹⁴⁴ Ellen Paulsen also notes that Australia only became a more hospitable choice for Scandinavians later in the nineteenth century, once influenced by the accounts of explorers and scientists visiting Australian shores.¹⁴⁵

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Overseas Destinations: 1871-1925 for Denmark and Norway, 1881-1925 for Sweden¹⁴⁶

Destination	Denmark	Sweden	Norway
United States	87.9	97.6	95.6
Canada	5.4	1.2	3.8
Rest of America	3.8	0.6	-
Australia	2.2	-	0.4
Africa	0.5	0.6	0.2
Asia	0.2	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total numbers	325,000	917,000	665,000

From the 1850s, the increasing number of Scandinavian sailors, seeing Australia for the first time whilst visiting colonial Australia as part of a developing maritime trade, told stories of a fantastic land in the south that was increasingly full of opportunities. According to Paulsen, Australia’s “tropical climate, uncultivated areas and unexplored resources was an irresistible temptation – especially after harsh winters, turbulent seas, snow-covered fields and economic hardships”.¹⁴⁷ Such accounts somewhat shifted the focus of Nordic emigration from the Americas to Australia in the later nineteenth century. Despite the distance and cost, and the utopian alternative of the United States that drew the bulk of the migrants, some began to see Australia as a viable option in resettlement, especially when the Queensland colonial government began to target Scandinavian farmers through assisted migration schemes.¹⁴⁸ The hope of land for agriculturalists, coupled with the lure of gold discoveries and economic prosperity, created an image of Australia as a land reachable “for little more cost than was necessary to reach the interior of the United States”.¹⁴⁹ Even when economic conditions improved within Scandinavia, migration continued unabatedly, with pull factors and chain migration causing many more

¹⁴⁴ Marcus Lee Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹⁴⁵ Paulsen list figures such as Swedish naturalist Erik Mjoberg, economic geographer Professor Gunnar Andersson, botanist Einar Du Rietz, Norwegian pisciculturalist Knut Dahl, and Norwegian zoologist Carl Lumholz, who spread the knowledge of Australia to their homelands. Paulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

¹⁴⁶ Adolph Jensen, ‘Migration Statistics of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden’, in Walter F. Willcox (ed.), *International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations*, New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931, pp. 289, 299, cited in Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁴⁷ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

¹⁴⁸ Of these assisted migrants, Jens Lyng wrote they were “poor and reckless. Had they been in a position to pay their own passage money, the bulk of them would have gone to the United States”. Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p.125, cited in Kingston, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹⁴⁹ Marcus Lee Hansen believed that the consequent demand for ships in this distant trade withdrew many vessels from the Atlantic lanes, causing an associated rise in price of passage to America – lowering the cost difference further. Marcus Lee Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

Swedes, Norwegians and Danes to leave at the thought of a better life. These pull factors ultimately took over, many Scandinavians believing that “if conditions at home were good, elsewhere they were better”.¹⁵⁰

Scandinavian immigration to Australia can be characterised as consisting of three clear waves of settlers, spanning the mid-nineteenth century to the present day. Prior to these waves, only a trickle of Nordic visitors reached Australia’s colonial shores prior the 1850s. Several Scandinavians, namely the botanists Dr Daniel Solander and Anders Sparrman, accompanied Captain James Cook on his first two voyages to the South Seas between 1769 and 1772.¹⁵¹ Settlers from Scandinavia, by way of Great Britain, also arrived amongst the First Fleet, although in quite small numbers – some 73 Scandinavians had been naturalised before 1852.¹⁵² The earliest nature of Scandinavian migration present in the historical record can be characterised as one linked to British transportation and exploration rather than desired permanent settlement by free Scandinavian migrants.

While immigration to Australia from the Nordic countries remained small in the first half of the nineteenth century, from the 1850s a surge of immigrants arrived in Australia in the quest for gold. Often emigrating in groups to avoid language difficulties and loneliness on the long voyage, advertisements to join parties bound for Australia in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish newspapers became somewhat common during this time.¹⁵³ Once they had arrived, small groups of Scandinavian men congregated at diggings, mostly in Victoria, with their numbers bolstered by Scandinavian sailors who deserted their ships in Australian ports at the mere thought of an easy fortune.¹⁵⁴ Corfitz Cronqvist, a Swede present in Australia in the 1850s, believed that deserted sailors constituted over 50% of the early Scandinavian immigrants present on the gold-fields at that time.¹⁵⁵ Koivukangas and Martin believe that some 5,000 permanent Scandinavian settlers arrived in Victoria over the 1850s and 1860s.¹⁵⁶

This first wave of Scandinavian migration to Australia, however, was ineffective at creating any lasting idea of a Scandinavian community abroad. Although many Nordic gold-diggers did stay in Australia once the gold began to disappear in the 1860s, many left for home or other colonies. The predominantly male Scandinavian population that remained were believed to have quickly assimilated through marriage into colonial families and were largely Anglicised, losing their language and links to their country of origin.¹⁵⁷ However, from 1870 to 1900 the largest wave of Scandinavian immigration occurred. Under the global influences of increasing

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 25; Amongst these was renowned Norwegian artist and forger Knud Bull, who after serving time in the penal colony became Tasmania’s premier landscape painter. Irene Hansen, ‘Australia’s Norwegian Convict Painter Knud Geelmuyden Bull, 1811-1899’ B.A. thesis, Canberra, Australian National University, 1989.

¹⁵³ ‘Gold-fever’ hit the Nordic sailors so hard that entire crews, even captains, abandoned their ships the moment they docked, and headed inland to the gold-fields. Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37; Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁵⁵ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39. See Chapter 3 for more detail on the experiences of Cronqvist and Scandinavian journalism during the gold-rush period.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁵⁷ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 99. Chapter 3 also discusses the efforts of these migrants in regards to the early migrant press and surrounding ideas of pan-Scandinavian community building.

nationalisms, macro-nationalisms and collective consciousnesses, these migrants, complemented in part by the aging miners of the previous wave who had remained, were responsible for the creation of viable migrant associations, clubs, and the foreign-language press.

At this point, it is important to outline the actual numbers of Scandinavian migrants who entered Australia during the nineteenth century to demonstrate emerging patterns of settlement and Scandinavian national groups in the context of other migrant nationalities. Table 3 (overleaf) details several select national groupings of migrants present in the colonial state and later Federal censuses between 1871 and 1991. As Table 3 demonstrates, the 1890s marked the largest number of Scandinavian migrants living in Australia, approximately 0.5% of the total Australian population, compared with 1.4% German-born and 1.1% Chinese-born – the two largest non-British migrant groups to reach Australia during this period of migration. From Table 3 it can also be seen that, of the Scandinavian groups, the Norwegians were generally the least represented, the Danes and Swedes generally being equal in higher numbers.¹⁵⁸

The result of a rapid increase in Scandinavian migrant numbers to Australia over the 1880s, Koivukangas' figures note that in Victoria the number of Swedes and Norwegians doubled (from 1,375 to 3,214), and the Danes increased by another third (from 1,039 to 1,389 Danes) in just one decade. Similar increases occurred in New South Wales.¹⁵⁹ In terms of geographical settlement and occupational trends, this second wave of Scandinavian immigration was predominately rural in focus. Koivukangas notes that, before 1904, only 37% of Scandinavians lived in metropolitan areas and that while "Swedes and Norwegians particularly preferred the six state capitals... the large numbers of Danes in rural Queensland resulted in a lower metropolitan proportion for Danes".¹⁶⁰ The majority of these Scandinavians belonged to lower occupational strata and those who remained in the cities, and Koivukangas' occupational statistics confirm that only 1.9% of the total male Scandinavians naturalised before 1904 (a total 7,027 individuals) were employed as professionals (133 persons) with a further 2.4% (168 persons) in industry and commerce, 3.8% (267 persons) in catering and retail and 15% (1,054 persons) as skilled craftsmen. The majority were employed as farmers (18.9%/1,328 persons), labourers (20.2%/1,419 persons), and in maritime occupations (19.4%/1,363 persons).¹⁶¹ Over the next few decades, however, a move to the cities is evident. According to Koivukangas, between 1881 and 1901 Sydney grew to house a larger proportion of the total Scandinavian population of New South Wales (increasing from 33.3% living in Sydney and surrounding suburbs in 1881 to 48.8% in 1901), while Melbourne witnessed a similar rise as more of Victoria's Scandinavians moved from the country to the city – the city's share increasing from 33.8% in 1881 to 41.8% of the state's total migrant population by 1901.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, due to records not delineating between Swedes and Norwegians from 1881-1911 it is difficult to state exactly the proportions of the nationalities, but given the surrounding population data it is safe to assume the Norwegians' minority within the Swedish/Norwegian figures.

¹⁵⁹ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-151.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.183.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 184.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, pp. 151, 166, 183-185.

Table 3: Australian Commonwealth Census: Overseas Born 1871-1991¹⁶³

Year	Sweden	Norway	Denmark	Scandinavia	Germany	Italy	China	Australia
1871	845†	395†	1568†	2808†	17581†	860†	21240†	851632†
1881	4023¶		4742	8765	37384	1880	38702	2271202
1886*	2787*¶		2889*	5676*	14232*	322*	10463*	322853*
1891	10121¶		6403	16524	45022	3890	37055	3174392
1901	9863¶		6283	16146	38446	5678	29856	3773248
1911	5652	3451	5730	14833	33381	6719	20994	4455005
1921	5025	3014	6002	14041	22396	8135	15224	5435734
1933	3895	2680	4484	11059	16842	26756	8579	6629839
1947	2209	2024	2759	6992	14567	33632	6404	7579358
1954	2191	2835	2954	7980	65422	119897	10277	8986530
1961	2674	3219	5654	11547	109315	228296	13154	10508186
1966	2558	3166	5401	11125	108709	267325	17390	11550462
1971	3725	3306	7566	14597	11811	289476	17601	12755638
1976	4204	2897	7098	14199	107559	280154	19971	13548448
1981	4404	2935	7911	15250	110758	275883	25883	14576330
1986	5154	2811	8623	16588	114818	261892	37469	15602279
1991	6009	2713	9368	18590	114915	254780	78835	16850334

†QLD and Vic censuses only

*QLD only

¶ Sweden and Norway formed a single state in this period, Norway becoming independent in 1905, and as a result records did not delineate between the two until the 1911 census.

Prior to Federation, Queensland's financial emphasis upon assisted passage schemes for non-British settlers in particular – mainly Germans and Scandinavians – was also quite beneficial in recruiting migrants.¹⁶⁴ According to Fredrik Larsen Lund, some 114,000 European migrants arrived in Queensland between 1860 and 1878, with approximately 85% receiving some form of financial assistance from the Queensland Government to pay for fares.¹⁶⁵ In 1871, there was only 936 Scandinavian-born migrants in Queensland, however by 1881 that number had grown to 3,278 and by 1886 peaked at 5,756. The majority of these Queensland migrants stayed close to the ports of arrival in Brisbane, Maryborough, Mackay, Townsville and Bundaberg,

¹⁶³ Compiled from data in Jupp and York, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5, 9, 10, 14, 18, 25, 33, 41, 44, 51, 57, 63, 73.

¹⁶⁴ Maximilian Brändle and Steve Karas, 'Introduction' in Maximilian Brändle and Steve Karas (eds) *Multicultural Queensland: The People and Communities of Queensland*, Kangaroo Point, Qld, Ethnic Communities Council of Queensland, 1988, p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ Fredrik Larsen Lund, 'You May Well Become Slaves: On the Fringes of Queensland's Assisted Migration Scheme', *Queensland History Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 11, November 2012, p. 719.

where societies formed in the ensuing years.¹⁶⁶ Despite this encouragement, many migrants who arrived in Queensland during the 1870s quickly migrated to southern colonies after making use of the assisted passage.¹⁶⁷ Following such assisted migration schemes which specifically targeted Danish farming labour, Danish migrants arrived in somewhat larger numbers in the 1880s, despite having a lower percentage of their 1901 population (13.9%) involved in migration compared to that of the Swedes (22.5%) or Norwegians (36.5%).¹⁶⁸ Generally speaking, this Australian ratio of approximately two Danes to every two Swedes and one Norwegian (2:2:1) was the reverse of the situation in the United States, which had a dominant Norwegian and Swedish presence and a minority number of Danes.¹⁶⁹

Bolstering the numbers of Scandinavian settlers to enter Australia during the 1870s to 1920s was difficult. Scandinavian migration patterns reflected opportunities that were largely dictated by the supply and demand of Australian immigration policies, which were in turn bound up with climactic and economic conditions. Consequently, immigration boomed and busted along with the land-based economy, and this had startling repercussions for those attempting to rekindle past connections. Assisted passages in Queensland, for example, were offered during the 1870s and 1880s, abandoned in 1892, and revived again in 1897.¹⁷⁰ Between 1898 and 1901, more than 1,000 new Scandinavians arrived in Australia as assisted migrants, but economic decline in the 1890s meant that governments were hardly able to support them when they arrived.¹⁷¹ The assisted passage schemes were eventually handed over as part of the Commonwealth's responsibilities in 1901.¹⁷² As Michael Roe infers however, the handover was anything but simple; the all-important exclusion of undesirable aliens was a major object of early Commonwealth legislation, yet "other immigration matters remained in constitutional limbo, the Commonwealth having ultimate power but the states jealously retaining their *de facto* control".¹⁷³ Between 1906 and 1912, most States once again became enthusiastic towards assisted migration schemes, and numbers peaked in 1912 with 92,000 immigrants; however over 90% were British and approximately half were assisted.¹⁷⁴ By 1920, Empire Migration schemes were attempted, however state control and funding were constant issues that undermined their efficacy and many failed terribly.¹⁷⁵ As such, well into the twentieth century most migration settlement schemes were explicitly designed to strengthen British migration and development throughout the empire, and rarely did they include

¹⁶⁶ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-118.

¹⁶⁷ Lund draws attention to the fact that while 750 young assisted Norwegians had disembarked in Queensland in the 1870s, only 442 Norwegian-born residents are present in the 1881 Census. *Ibid.*, p. 728.

¹⁶⁸ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Percentage statistics from Pounds, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁶⁹ H. Arnold Barton, 'Norwegians and Swedes in America: Some Comparisons' in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, p. 21.

¹⁷⁰ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72; According to P. B. Hansen, living conditions in Queensland became particularly severe, and even the already established Scandinavians left Brisbane for Southern cities, seeking opportunities elsewhere. P. B. Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁷² Paulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

¹⁷³ Michael Roe, *Australia, Britain, and Migration, 1915-1940: A Study of Desperate Hopes*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-29

provisions for Nordic migrants, who were required to self-fund their journeys.¹⁷⁶ This was of little consequence, however, as by the 1920s the Scandinavian diaspora was over, and the numbers of both Scandinavian immigrants and Scandinavian-born present in the census plummeted. Martin and Koivukangas note the decline in migrant numbers stemmed from the fact that “Australia no longer exerted strong pull factors and that Scandinavian emigration was ebbing because of rapid industrialisation in the home countries”.¹⁷⁷ Return migration was also a concern throughout the period of Scandinavian immigration, especially after 1901. Indeed, Koivukangas found that, while some 13,417 new migrants arrived during 1901-1913, very high numbers also left the country, leaving only some 4,500 new males as a net amount of permanent arrivals.¹⁷⁸ As economic migrants, the Scandinavians were consequently a very unstable and fluctuating population, easily mobile yet hard to attract – and retain – if economic conditions were not favourable. Still, Scandinavians remained one of the largest groups to enter Australia during the late-nineteenth century but, because of these developments, their numbers slowly diminished for much of the early twentieth century and only increased after the 1980s, following a third wave of Scandinavian immigration in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁷⁹

Theoretical Implications and Methodology

This thesis draws from relevant social theories in order to provide the parameters for analysing the Scandinavian foreign-language press’s involvement in migrant community-building and the layering of national and macro-national ethnic identities. The fact that the project focuses heavily on the role of the foreign-language press in fostering largely immeasurable and intangible identifications and emotions amongst migrants makes it necessary to engage with a theoretical framework in order to situate the analysis of historical material. By combining historical enquiry with other disciplinary contributions, a synthesis of ideas that properly expresses the gamut of experiences encompassed in terms such as ‘migration’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘nationalism’ can be gained.¹⁸⁰

Social constructivism lends itself to the process of ethnicisation, providing a framework in which to understand the adoption of Scandinavian migrant identities and their relationship to the foreign-language press.¹⁸¹ ‘Instrumentalist’ or ‘social constructivist’ approaches seek to focus on the socially constructed nature of ethnicity “and the ability of individuals to ‘cut and mix’ from a variety of ethnic

¹⁷⁶ Roe notes that in 1921, most policy makers assumed that these assistance schemes were only designed to provide aid to UK Britons, yet from April 1921 the Commonwealth-States scheme allowed nomination and fare-grants also “to residents of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Poland, Finland... the USA and other Dominions.” Despite this, Prime Minister Hughes continued his focus on Britain as the prime source of Australia’s new immigrants. Roe, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁷⁷ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹⁷⁸ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

¹⁷⁹ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹⁸⁰ For a more thorough understanding of the various problems and approaches to ethnicity and nationalism, see: Klaus Eder, Bernd Giesen, Oliver Schmidke, and Damian Tambini, *Collective Identities in Action: A Social Approach to Ethnicity*. Burlington, VT, Ashgate, 2002; Farida Fozda, Raelene Wilding, and Mary Hawkins, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, South Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009; John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds), *Ethnicity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.

¹⁸¹ Teo, ‘Multiculturalism and the Problem of Multicultural Histories’, *op. cit.*, p.148.

heritages and cultures to forge their own individual or group identities”.¹⁸² Daniel Bell believes that ethnicity is more “a strategic choice” than “a primordial phenomenon” and that the constructed, selective and fluid nature of ethnicity makes it an important tool for social change.¹⁸³ Depending on political and economic circumstances, migrant identity and attachment to ethnicity can grow, fade or shift in focus very quickly. As a construction rather than an inherited phenomena, instrumentalists view ethnicity as a tool that can be activated in particular times and situations; switched on and off as desired for advantageous societal rewards. In this way, according to Miri Song, one’s inherited and invented ethnic affiliations, cultural practices and resources can act as instruments with the symbols, stories and rituals of the community being used to “solve a range of problems they encounter... in response to current needs, or in terms of competition with outside groups”.¹⁸⁴

What is most interesting about constructivist views of ethnicity is the fact that, as a flexible and malleable element of an individual and group identity, ethnic solidarity and community attachments are not constant or guaranteed, because they can fluctuate over time.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, constructivism also enables the layering of identities that may act either in unison or in competition with one another, such as a ‘pan’ identity, a homeland national identity, an Australian identity, as well as many others, all existing at once within one individual or group. Ultimately, ethnic identity construction remains in the hands of the individual, who can choose to ‘opt in’ or ‘opt out’ of various identities as they feel most advantageous to social acceptance or survival. As Joanne Nagel argues, as ethnicity changes situationally:

The individual carries a portfolio of ethnic identities that are more or less salient in various situations and vis-à-vis various audiences. As audiences change, the socially-defined array of ethnic choices open to the individual changes.¹⁸⁶

Similarly, race, much like ethnicity, is seen more commonly today as a social construct that has no fixed meaning and is constructed and transformed socio-historically through competing political projects.¹⁸⁷ By following an understanding of migrants as “active agents who can creatively adapt and negotiate their ethnic identities” rather than “the passive object of the host environment”,¹⁸⁸ ‘white ethnics’ can be seen to have chosen their own social associations depending on the situation, on their terms. While Scandinavians were included within dominant British-Australian society on the basis of a presumed similarity of physical criteria – that is, their perceived whiteness and racial homogeneity – their ethnicity was instead defined on a basis of *cultural* criteria as being more important factors to their identity decisions and, as such, pertained to much “more fluid and blurred boundaries”.¹⁸⁹ In this way, Scandinavian whiteness allowed for the production of what Mary Waters calls “ethnic options” – the ability to pick and choose ethnic identification at will, to

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Daniel Bell, ‘Ethnicity and Social Change’ in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1975, p. 171.

¹⁸⁴ Miri Song, *Choosing Ethnic Identity*, Cambridge, Blackwell, 2003, p. 7.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Joanne Nagel, cited in Song, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁸⁷ Song, *op. cit.*, p.10.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

add or drop cultural and social characteristics as the need arises.¹⁹⁰ This is very important in understanding Scandinavian attempts to negate assimilation through the reproduction of cultural material in the foreign-language press, as well as the ability for communities to involve both macro-national and national sentiments simultaneously within their ethnic organisations.

Modern ideas of social constructivist theory are implicit in this idea that ethnic minority groups are active in re-creating and reinventing the meanings and practices associated with themselves.¹⁹¹ As ethnicities are not static, elemental entities, but rather “a strategic choice by individuals who, in other circumstances, would choose other group memberships as a means of gaining some power and privilege”,¹⁹² it can therefore be argued that their histories should also be treated as fluid and constantly evolving constructs. Instead of writing ethnic history, Hsu Ming Teo argues that understanding how an ethnicity is created – or ‘ethnicised’ – is more beneficial.¹⁹³ The ways in which an ethnic group evolves, via a plethora of social, political, and cultural processes, demonstrate the intersections of a group with wider societal and global developments, and it is here that migration historians can begin to delve deeper into the reasons behind ethnic group creation. Through an understanding of ethnicisation, ethnic groups and migrant identities can be seen to develop through overt antagonism and masked forms of exclusion or hostility, as well as the desire to help and interact with others with whom they feel somehow connected.¹⁹⁴ By defining ethnicity along lines of social constructivism, the fluidity and adaptability of ethnicity in the hands of individuals and groups over time must be recognised. In promoting varying ethnic options for Scandinavian migrants, the foreign-language press must be analysed as a significant site for the attempted ethnicisation of its readership. A social constructivist approach supports my research questions and assists in moving away from past positivist and celebratory histories, and reaffirming the importance of the migrant press in shaping malleable Scandinavian-Australian ethnic identities.

If individual migrants are able to choose their own ideological centre of belonging – ethnicity, cultural standpoint, social identity – which aspects are actually chosen? Here, Anderson’s concept of “imagined communities” again becomes relevant for explaining social inclusivity and networked migrant co-operation. He defines the nation as an imagined political community – “*imagined*” because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”.¹⁹⁵ As a *community*, Anderson states the fundamental concept of the nation is “a deep horizontal comradeship... [and] it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly die for such limited imaginings”.¹⁹⁶ Between 1870 and 1918, states

¹⁹⁰ Waters argues that “ethnic identity is a dynamic and complex social phenomenon”, and that “the degree of intermarriage and geographic and social mobility among whites of European extraction in the United States means that they enjoy a great deal of choice and numerous options when it comes to ethnic identification”. Mary Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*, Berkley, CA, University of California Press, 1990, p. 16.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

¹⁹³ Teo, ‘Multiculturalism and the Problem of Multicultural Histories’, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁹⁵ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 6. [Emphasis in original.]

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7. [Emphasis in original.]

Eric Hobsbawm, nationalised ‘imagined communities’ grew from the resistance of traditional groups to modernity and the new and non-traditional classes rapidly growing in the urbanising societies of developed countries, as well as from mass world emigration.¹⁹⁷ In reaction to these forces, many communities turned to the construction of ethnicity, emphasising difference through “mass-produced traditions”¹⁹⁸ which were aided specifically by their own vehicles of group knowledge and interaction – newspapers.

Conceptually, migrant newspapers, such as *Norden*, can be seen to have acted as their own socially constructed “imagined communities” or at least purveyors of virtual connection amongst their migrant readership by enacting feelings of simultaneous belonging, uniting participants under what Anderson calls a “mass ceremony” of fraternal readership.¹⁹⁹ In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson describes newspapers as “merely an ‘extreme form’ of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of ephemeral popularity”.²⁰⁰ Unlike other forms of printed material, however, the newspaper is designed specifically to be read by many *at the same time*. Due to its temporal nature, there exists only a short window of time in which the newspaper can be effectively read – its contents becoming obsolete, as it were, by the next issue – and Anderson believes that this creates an “extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption (‘imagining’) of the newspaper-as-fiction”.²⁰¹ As each reader of a newspaper issue silently performs the same ritual of consumption, reading the same pages as others surely do elsewhere, they are connected with countless others of “whose existence [each reader] is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion... What more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked imagined community can be envisioned?”²⁰² The simultaneous consumption of *Norden* across vast distances enabled Scandinavian migrants to feel voluntarily connected to each other in a network of imagined creation – an event impossible outside of the realms of imagined fraternity provided by *Norden*’s pages.

The importance of connection is further demonstrated through the role of the newspaper as a foreign-language publication, which takes the idea of “mass ceremony” one step further and locates it in an increasingly personable realm. Arising from the social needs of immigrants, Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki posit that the foreign-language press “seeks to provide news of the world that the settlers left behind and to instruct them about the new world; it comments on migrant affairs and serves as an outlet for the airing of grievances and complaints”.²⁰³ As an institution, the migrant press attempts to straddle both the old and new worlds, legitimising migrant activities while acting as a vehicle for public dissemination of news, ideas, and issues that affect the migrant experience. Gilson and Zubrzycki state that, compared to the larger and mainly impersonal national or metropolitan newspapers, the foreign-language press must deal with a larger spectrum of unanticipated social, political and emotional needs of its readership, and as such a

¹⁹⁷ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 109.

¹⁹⁸ Hobsbawm, ‘Mass-producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914’, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

¹⁹⁹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 35

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

“spirit of intimacy exists between the editors and readers of immigrant newspapers”.²⁰⁴ The immigrant press consequently operates much more like a community newspaper, but on a wider geographic setting rather than within a single urban centre with its associated strong physical presence.²⁰⁵ In this manner, the foreign-language press must combine both the far-reaching networks of larger national and transnational publications with the personal and tailored content of community papers if it is to be successful. Instead of simply being a “mass ceremony” of readership enacted simultaneously by a large portion of society, the nature of the foreign-language press is that of a smaller and more intimate audience. Built on perceived cultural similarities and interests that are much more specific and emotionally charged than the average metropolitan or national newspaper’s content, foreign-language publications are small scale and intimate in readership, but no less global in their scope.

Interestingly, by associating the foreign-language press with the community press – defined by Morris Janowitz as a “publication addressed to the residents of a specific area of the urban metropolis”²⁰⁶ – many similarities can be seen. As well as being described as neither a commercialised nor a politically-orientated medium, Janowitz notes that the community press is perceived mainly as “an agent of community welfare and progress...[and] an extension of the reader’s personal and social contacts because of its emphasis on news about voluntary associations and on local news of a social and personal nature”.²⁰⁷ Following on from Janowitz’s studies, Keith R. Stamm in particular notes that the persistence of “natural” communities within urban settings is primarily due to local newspapers acting as “the mechanism by which individuals and families became part of a localised social system”.²⁰⁸ Stamm also identifies how a mass medium, such as a community newspaper, can bridge spatial gaps that disturb community ties through promoting increased communication and cognition between community members.²⁰⁹ Without such vehicles acting to unite separated groups of people with similar concerns, the idea of an ‘imagined’ community remains limited, and incorporating as many interested parties as possible becomes a difficult exercise.

In terms of the migrant press, *Norden* followed very similar patterns to the community press in providing personalised and intimate news services to the migrant community, the main difference being that the ‘locality’ was one of Scandinavian migrant interests rather than geographic closeness. Acting as a community newspaper stemming from Melbourne’s urban centre, *Norden*’s readership was, however, not limited to the physical and local residents of the nearby urban environment; instead it extended outwards to include other migrant centres and individuals spread across Australasia while at the same time retaining an intimate connection and discussion with the majority of its dislocated readers. The limited readership numbers of this community enabled an intimate relationship over such

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 157

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*.

²⁰⁶ Janowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

²⁰⁷ Morris Janowitz, ‘The Imagery of the Urban Community Press,’ *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Fall, 1951, cited in John Cameron Sim, *The Grass Roots Press: America’s Community Newspapers*, Ames, IA, Iowa State University Press, 1969, p. 7.

²⁰⁸ Stamm, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

²⁰⁹ Stamm also identifies political, social, and informational gaps as issues that disturb community ties. *Ibid*, pp. 25-27.

spatial gaps and allowed migrants to share common and personal news on a voluntary basis with others who deemed it interesting or worthwhile for publication. *Norden*'s continual influence on maintaining strong personal social contacts between readers across Australia and New Zealand situates it directly in line with the characteristics of a community press, as well as an institution intent on creating an imagined, macro-national ethnic community.

The social constructivist nature of the foreign language press is evident in how a readership's sense of identity and purpose can be influenced, changed or reinforced through its content, in particular the selection of material by the central figure – the editor. In steering the community and using it as a method of controlling ideas and group sentiment, the role of the editor was paramount in the ethnicising process, and was heavily involved in all aspects of community activity. As Gilson and Zubrzycki have noted, "the foreign-language editor is not a more or less anonymous individual like his Australian counterpart".²¹⁰ In acting as a far-reaching community paper, foreign-language publications dictate that the editor be continually forced to act as a visible and personable member for the community. Indeed, "in order to meet the expectations of his [*sic*] readership," state Gilson and Zubrzycki, "the editor *must* participate in the activities of the immigrant community and win its respect and confidence. This social role of the editor calls for considerable versatility and skill".²¹¹ The office of a foreign-language publication was often more than a place of work and the production of the newspaper. Rather, it was a social hub for members of the local migrant community, who could enjoy social interaction with an editor who was not only the voice of the community, but also a friend, ally and equal.²¹² Ensconced within migrant communities as a communication gateway, these editors:

know their public and print in their newspapers what their subscribers are interested in and able to read. Their native intelligence and realism, combined with intimate contact with the readership, have produced some outstanding examples of leadership in immigrant communities.²¹³

This personal nature of the foreign-language press as a geographically dispersed community newspaper, coupled with the immediacy of the publication's content and its consequent consumption as "mass ceremony" are important concepts for understanding how *Norden* forged an emotional sense of connection amongst its readers. It was not simply a news service to these migrants, but a source of personable information concerning their lives, interests, friends and an imagined

²¹⁰ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

²¹¹ *Ibid* [My emphasis.]

²¹² Gilson and Zubrzycki note that foreign-language press editors were often a first point of call for needy migrants, and that the editors were often involved in a number of enterprises as an economic necessity to the newspaper's survival. "Often the editor has a subsidiary line of income and acts as a shipping agent for a company that brings immigrants from Europe; real estate, advertising, and employment agencies are also complementary business lines to foreign-language publishing". *Ibid*, p. 165.

²¹³ The hardworking nature of these editors is also astounding. Due to limited incomes from their varied businesses, the editor "often single-handed, has to not only fill the newspaper, but also to look after the management and subscriptions, solicit advertisements, and sometimes give a hand to the compositor and linotype operator. He [*sic*] may be his own secretary, office boy, and proof reader... He [*sic*] plays a leading part in the community because of his position but rarely derives substantial material rewards for his [*sic*] services and personal sacrifices". *Ibid*, pp. 165-166.

extended family, and a close community linked through old world heritage. The regular access to printed material tailored to their own dispersed group allowed geographically isolated migrants to come together through this shared experience of consumption, using *Norden*'s pages to introduce, discuss and most importantly react to issues of the day that affected their own community. As a community newspaper on a wide reaching scale, *Norden* became an important meeting place for followers of the Scandinavian macro-national 'imagined community', and an important ethnicising agent.

Linking the migrant networks of several Scandinavian nations to the ethnicisation of a macro-national Scandinavian-Australian community through the efforts of the foreign-language press, this research design understands that Scandinavian migrants could layer their ethnic identities and allegiances and, through networks of knowledge and culture, link with similar minded migrants across the globe on several levels at once. This study uses concepts of 'imagined communities', 'pan' sentiments and ethnicisation to explain how, over the period of Scandinavian migration, communities have not simply been built and developed before eventually disappearing, but have consistently existed in a fluid and evolving sense of ethnic characterisation and identity politicisation. They are also significant in explaining how migrant press institutions, such as *Norden*, were able to influence Scandinavian migrant identity formation and the creation of an pan-Scandinavian community to such an extent, and gain overwhelming support from a struggling constituency of like-minded readers.

As a historical study, information was gathered through empirical research based on documented written remnants of individuals, groups and organisations linked through nationality, affiliation or ideology to the Scandinavian diaspora. These sources include the early foreign-language press, notably *Norden* itself, government documents, migrant correspondence, organisational papers, diaries, memoirs, and other forms of historical evidence, located primarily in Australian archives and libraries. While many sources have previously been analysed, this new analysis, revised in the context of more recent historiographical developments concerning nationalism and social identity construction, hopes to describe more fully the impact of the migrant press in relation to community-building amongst the Scandinavians. The growing amount of digitised material and the ability to search textually across vast databases has also enabled a greater use of material from further afield, such as Scandinavian historical newspapers and other Australasian sources that have previously been unavailable to researchers. This also allows a new study to give a more thorough and complete image of the Scandinavian-Australian press, one that takes into account the connections and influences between communities and institutions on local, national, and transnational levels. In doing so, the study complements existing Scandinavian-Australian studies and bring further attention to the importance of the migrant press in the creation of diasporic 'imagined communities'.²¹⁴ I also draw on interdisciplinary research relevant to the study of nationalism, ethnicity and migration, including issues of race from the experience of 'white ethnics', as discussed earlier in this chapter.²¹⁵ Various sources have provided

²¹⁴ Koivukangas' study is very important in analysing the statistics concerning Scandinavian migration within Australia, and is used throughout this thesis as the main source of data concerning social and economic trends. My study builds on his findings to strengthen my own theoretical position.

²¹⁵ Jacobson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

much information that must be relied on to gain knowledge of other areas of Scandinavian settlement, namely other white settler societies such as New Zealand, Canada, the United States and South Africa, analysed in line with the Australian primary material to give a strong idea of the global and transnational scale of the diaspora. As such, the wide scope of the literature review is important as it does not view the Australian work in isolation, but places it in its broader diasporic setting.

The majority of primary source material derives, however, directly from *Norden* itself, as it is one of the best preserved and chronologically-detailed sources of the period. As very little information regarding the immigrant press has survived from other sources, the study has been forced to rely heavily on the analysis of *Norden*, Lyng's memoirs, and use relevant secondary material to bolster the discussion. This is indeed a limitation that could improperly inflate *Norden*'s perceived importance to the migrant community. I have sought to overcome this through the use, where possible, of other scant archival material, such as club records and Church archives, as well as the objective use of *Norden*'s own records to piece together as 'authentic' version of the past as possible. This project also builds on the exhaustive studies of Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, and as such I refer often to their pioneering research for statistics, evidence and interpretation. This was another limitation that could not be avoided, given the limited secondary studies on this topic and the fact that the earlier authors had been extremely thorough in their researching of material. The originality of this thesis, and indeed the 'gap' in the knowledge base that I address with this new study, is in providing the most detailed history of their own main source material – *Norden*. This study returns the immigrant press to centre focus as a significant social institution, something which these earlier authors have neglected. My originality stems ultimately from this level of detail, providing the most comprehensive account of the immigrant press as a significant pan-Scandinavian institution and cultural repository.

Due the immense size and longevity of the Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language press, the study has been forced to take a somewhat thematic, social constructivist approach, especially as it weaves *Norden*'s history into that of wider Australian society. The project largely takes a chronological organisation to achieve this end, and to plot trends within the migrant press' development over time. The various editorial phases of *Norden* are used to demarcate the history into chapters, as each editor had an immense impact on the type of newspaper produced. Furthermore, each editor's reign corresponds to a significant shift in the migrant community's focus and enables a similar examination of pertinent thematic concerns across the decades. It also allows analysis of sources pertinent to a specific timeframe, contextualising the newspaper's achievements and problems within a wider understanding of Australian society and global diasporic developments. Ideas of *Norden* as an inclusive community of migrant readers and discussions of pan-Scandinavianism, nationalism and assimilation are interlaced through the chapters and drawn out in the conclusion.

Full content analysis of the newspaper, while exceedingly beneficial in explaining the consistency of *Norden* at various points in time, was deemed overly ambitious for the scope of the project. Instead, a quantitative advertising analysis has been included to complement the thematic approach and give some grounded basis for certain trends, such as financial insecurity and the turn to English-language articles. Content analysis is definitely a pathway for future studies of *Norden*, especially if comparing

certain issues with other newspapers from either across the diaspora, or across ethnic groups. Similarly, while comparative analysis of the immigrant press in other diasporic communities would be useful in future studies, this research project is firmly rooted in the Australian, and to a lesser extent, New Zealand experience. Secondary scholarly material and primary sources concerning other sites of migrant community-building are used to draw some comparisons across the diaspora, give context and support this research project's analysis and findings. The consideration of parallel ethnic journals in Australia would also be most insightful, for instance a future study comparing the Scandinavian immigrant press to those of the Italian, German, English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish immigrant newspapers of the period. However, my scope does not allow such ambitious goals as a full comparative study of the foreign-language press, nor of migrant community-building across the diaspora. Instead, the study of *Norden* in itself is a large enough migrant network for this project, which focuses on its links to the wider diaspora where possible. While remaining focused on the Australian experience, an understanding of how the Scandinavian-Australian situation was influenced by its position as part of a transnational network of diasporic migrants is still vital for explaining the transmission of ideas such as pan-Scandinavianism and homeland nationalist sentiments to Australian migrants.

The thesis is structured over eight chapters, the introductory chapter having given the crucial background information, the focus and argument of the thesis, key concepts and terms and the project's methodological approach. Chapter 2, the 'Literature Review', covers the three areas of previous literature pertinent to this study – Scandinavian migration to sites in the United States, Canada, and South Africa, the Australian migration experience, with particular focus on Scandinavian migration, and the role and influence of the foreign-language press. Chapter 3, 'Printing Pioneers', discusses the abortive attempts to establish a Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language press by earlier migrants. The chapter provides much needed historical context as to the Scandinavian community as well as pan-Scandinavianism in early secular and religious societies. Importantly, it also details the exploits of early migrant journalists who attempted to generate pan-Scandinavian publications prior to *Norden*'s founding in 1896, such as Corfitz Cronqvist (1833-1895), and reasons for their failure.

The remaining five chapters focus their attention on the lifespan and influence of this major Scandinavian-Australian newspaper, Jens Lyng's *Norden* (1896-1940). *Norden*'s history is framed within the three main editorial periods of the newspaper, beginning with its founding and growth as a pan-Scandinavian publication under Jens Lyng (1868-1941) in the decade from 1896-1906. Chapter 4, 'Founding *Norden*', addresses the social climate of 1890s Melbourne that led to *Norden*'s establishment. The various reasons why *Norden* was successful in surviving the crucial first few years and its ability to gather readers from across Australasia into a networked migrant readership are discussed, as are the effects of important national identity-driven events – the Boer War (1899-1902), Federation (1901) and Norwegian independence (1905) – upon an ethnicising readership. Chapter 5, 'Revitalising a Community', deals with the period following Lyng's resignation where the newspaper came under new leadership with Olga (1868-1963) and Hans Clausen (1859-1929) from 1906-1913. Adapting *Norden* to a changing readership and attempting to incorporate the wider Australian community as well as the second generation, this chapter details the short window before the outbreak of World War I

(1914) where *Norden* grew and tried to establish generational continuity within its readers. Chapter 6, 'A Threatened Readership' addresses the problems endured by *Norden* and the community during World War I (1914-1918), under newly arrived Dane Carl Fischmann (1864-1942), examining the insular nature of a migrant community under homefront hostilities and the post-war economic boom that eventually gave the Scandinavians hope for future prosperity. Chapter 7, 'The Long Day Closes', deals with *Norden*'s slow decline towards obsolescence from 1925 to 1940, where a shrinking first-generation community, coupled with the impacts of the Great Depression (1929-1932), decimated the newspaper's readership before the outbreak of World War II (1939) forced the newspaper to close. The growing Danish nature of the newspaper, and conflicts with its pan-Scandinavian beginnings, are also discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 8, 'Conclusion', ends the discussion, pointing out the overall findings, especially those regarding pan-Scandinavianism and assimilation, and implications for future study.

In this way, the thesis exposes the evolving nature of the Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language press and argues that the importance of *Norden* was due to its centrality as a source and record of information concerning Scandinavian migrants, but also because it was a vibrant social organism. By interlacing these migrants' sustained exploits and interactions through a period of Australian history that is generally described as nationalistic and culturally homogenised, this study highlights how *Norden* and its' macro-national migrant readership fought dominant social trends and sought to build pluralist, co-operative communities rather than fade away behind the dominant image of British-Australia. Consequently, a succession of migrant editors used the Scandinavian-foreign language press to further the needs of themselves, their community, and wider society, promoting their culturally-distinct position within Australian society as one that was in no way isolationist nor uninterested, but simply wished to belong. Linking scattered groups together through shared news and stories, *Norden* enabled an intangible pan-Scandinavian ethnic community to develop between these isolated first-generation migrants as they struggled to define themselves and take part in the Australian nation-building process. In turn, this community stabilised and supported *Norden* through 44 years of continual struggle.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature to date on Scandinavian migrants offers much in terms of migration history, statistics and settlement patterns, as well as the economic and political contributions of notable Scandinavians to the development of Australian society. However, there are serious gaps in this history concerning the Scandinavian foreign-language press and its influence on community-building and identity construction in Australia, which provide an opportunity to review not only the history, but also the various historiographical approaches. Three main areas of scholarship inform the focus of this research project and this chapter is structured in such a way to steer discussion from general influential works to specific and highly relevant scholarly stimuli. First, works concerning overseas Scandinavians in other settler societies of the period, such as the United States of America, Canada, and South Africa, where a larger field of research exists, are discussed to compare overseas developments with Australia's Scandinavian communities. The transnational context of the Scandinavian diaspora, where migrants did not solely interact with the home nations but also with other migrant communities, make such centres an important starting point and can be used for investigating similar connections, influences and social patterns that appear in the Australian experience. Second, previous studies of Australian migration history, with a focus on Scandinavian settlement in Australia, must be examined to establish a foundation on which this study builds. This section discusses issues in the historiography of Australian migration, emphasising reasons why Scandinavians have been overlooked in terms of scholarly understandings of their significance to Australia's development and their own attempts to promote pluralist communities. Previous studies of the Scandinavian-Australian migration experience – their strengths and weaknesses, as well as how these studies align with this current research project – are also detailed here. Third, works focusing on the migrant press, in particular its influence on the migrant worldview, nationalism, 'pan' identities and associated themes of networking and community-building, must be analysed to explore the roles of the Scandinavian migrant press and the possible motives of Scandinavian communities for creating such informational vehicles.

Scandinavia overseas: Migrant experiences across settler societies

While studies of Australia's Scandinavian communities have remained limited, the migration experience within other white settler societies is informing, especially that of the most vigorous scholarly impact – the Scandinavian-American communities of Canada and the United States. Consequently, many sources concerning migration to these regions stand out as models for Australian analysis, though early studies must be viewed in a similar manner to Australian studies in terms of the assimilative culture in which they were produced. Marcus Lee Hansen's *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (1945) chronicles the early settlements in the United States in general,

while his more prominent paper, 'The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant' (1938) details issues of ethnicity, Americanisation and generational change.¹ With the large scale Scandinavian migration and community-building processes inherent in the American experience, much of this work focuses on intergenerational continuity of ethnic expression. Hansen's famous statement, "what the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember", is echoed in Steven Schnell's 'Creating narratives of place and identity in "Little Sweden, U.S.A."' (2003), which demonstrates the ways in which symbolic and commercial ethnicity was created by Swedish migrants and their descendants in Lindsborg, Kansas.² Dag Blanck's work is important for describing the localised Swedish-American ethnicity that was produced at Augustana College, Illinois, where invented traditions "which consisted of a 'usable' Swedish past" became necessary to affirm the community's sense of Swedish-Americanism and mark it as a separate ethnic community within pluralist America.³ Blanck is influential through his many edited studies of particularly Swedish cultural transformation and ethnicity, producing several works that are important models for continuing Australian research. Apart from *Scandinavia Overseas* (1986), Blanck and Harald Runblom have also focused specifically on *Swedish Life in American Cities* (1991), an edited work in which Blanck and Peter Kivisto's study of Moline, Illinois, explains the 'white' ethnic composition of migrant towns in the United States, and the ways in which several of the main ethnic groups in Moline – the Americans, Swedes and Germans, as well as large contingents of Irish and Belgians – jostled for political and social power.⁴ The importance of physical institutions in enabling Swedish-American identifications is also discussed in Anita Olson's chapter concerning 'Church growth in Swedish Chicago' where she describes the ability of Swedish-American communities to build numerous and prosperous religious organisations to meet the spiritual and social needs of immigrant families.⁵

Blanck's collaboration with Philip Anderson on *Swedes in the Twin Cities* (2001) expands the knowledge of Swedish migrant life in an urban environment further, discussing aspects of urban settlement as well as providing details on issues of institutional and creative life, language, immigrant newspapers, the teaching of Swedish language, as well as religion and political involvement.⁶ In particular, David Markle's discussion of Dania Hall as a place of an inclusive Scandinavian-American community describes how pan-Scandinavian sentiment in the United States became

¹ Marcus Lee Hansen, with Arthur Meier Schlesinger (ed.), *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1945; Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant*, Rock Island, IL, Augustana Historical Society, 1938.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9; Steven M. Schnell, 'Creating Narratives of Place and Identity in "Little Sweden, U.S.A."', *Geographical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 1, 2003, p. 1.

³ Dag Blanck, 'An Invented Tradition: The Creation of a Swedish-American Ethnic Consciousness at Augustana College, 1860-1900' in Harald Runblom and Dag Blanck (eds), *Scandinavia Overseas: Patterns of Cultural Transformation in North America and Australia*, Uppsala, Uppsala University, 1986, p. 112.

⁴ Dag Blanck and Peter Kivisto, 'Immigrants by the Mississippi: Ethnic relations in Moline, Illinois', in Dag Blanck and Harald Runblom (eds), *Swedish Life in American Cities*, Uppsala, Uppsala University, 1991, p. 17.

⁵ Anita Olson, 'Church growth in Swedish Chicago: Extension and Transition in an Immigrant Community, 1880-1920' in Dag Blanck and Harald Runblom (eds), *Swedish Life in American Cities*, Uppsala, Uppsala University, 1991, pp. 72-94.

⁶ Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Swedes in the Twin Cities: Immigrant Life and Minnesota's Urban Frontier*, St. Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001.

an option for community-building, despite the reality of robust national communities.⁷ Ulf Beijbom, who has also studied Swedish migration to Australia, has contributed his edited work to the study of *Swedes in America* (1991), which focuses on ethnic relations in a city environment and republishes several articles from Blanck and Runblom.⁸ This work is important for approaching gender issues through its focus on Swedish immigrant women and in using life stories and oral histories as a way to improve the chronicling of the immigrant experience. The importance of city communities is also taken up from a Norwegian perspective in David Mauk's *The Colony that Rose from the Sea* (1997).⁹ He outlines the historical Norwegian experience of community-building and its important maritime focus in contrast to the rural backgrounds of the Swedish and Danish migrants. Lastly, the ways in which visible ethnic communities were viable in the United States is also explored by Robert Ostergren, who demonstrates how the sheer scale of migration left many cultural and ethnic communities largely intact despite the shift from one continent to another¹⁰ – once again, a phenomena impossible for Australia's Scandinavians. Such broad American Scandinavian studies are influential for drawing similarities, as well as the stark differences, between the larger settler society's Scandinavian migration experience and its Australian counterpart.

Canadian Scandinavian studies, much like the American research, focus on issues of community life and the maintenance of cultural values and social differentiation amongst Scandinavian migrants. The large number of Scandinavians settling in concentrated groups and establishing townships in Canada aided this, as George Houser's case study of *The Swedish Community at Eriksdale, Manitoba* (1976) argues.¹¹ Wherever possible, migrants desired to link up with those based on parochial or regional levels of identification – much of Eriksdale's settlers were not only Swedes, but mostly from the province of Jämtland – and, as such, ideas of pan-Scandinavianism were disregarded for pure Jämtland-Canadian or at least Swedish-Canadian custom, leaving pan-Scandinavian sentiment as a last resort for small and isolated groups.¹² Despite a strong community and the cultivation of a sense of ethnic identity around family life, language maintenance, traditional food and social activities, World War I and the Great Depression were posited as breaking down the Eriksdale community.¹³ Lars Ljungmark has also written of the Swedish impact in Canada, his chapter 'Swedes in Winnipeg up to the 1940s' (2001) notable for describing the establishment of ethnic Swedish organisations, businesses and even a

⁷ David Markle, 'Dania Hall: At the Centre of a Scandinavian American Community', in Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Swedes in the Twin Cities: Immigrant Life and Minnesota's Urban Frontier*, St. Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001, pp. 173-99.

⁸ Ulf Beijbom (ed.), *Swedes in America: Intercultural and Interethnic Perspectives on Contemporary Research: A Report of the Symposium Swedes in America: New Perspectives*, Växjö, Swedish Emigrant Institute, 1993.

⁹ David C. Mauk, *The Colony That Rose from the Sea: Norwegian Maritime Migration and Community in Brooklyn, 1850-1910*, Northfield, MN, The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1997.

¹⁰ Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915*, Madison, WA University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

¹¹ George J. Houser, *The Swedish Community at Eriksdale, Manitoba*, Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1976.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 9.

¹³ With many tight-knit traditional farming families being forced off their land and children moving away to other larger centres, Houser notes how ethnic continuity was broken and Anglicisation took over after the 1930s. *Ibid*, pp. 96-99.

definable Swedish service district within Winnipeg.¹⁴ Most importantly, Ljungmark discusses the ways in which Swedes interacted within Canadian life – in particular dealing with the rise of Canadian nationalism and friction caused by World War I – as well as other immigrant groups. In this respect, the study is significant in following the difficulties faced by Scandinavian migrants in the turbulent early twentieth century and offers a strong mirror for the Australian situation. His study suggests what might have been if Australia had similar migrant concentrations in townships like Winnipeg or Manitoba.

At the other end of the spectrum, studies of Nordic migration to South Africa echo the Australian situation closely, yet on an even smaller scale. Much in the same vein as Olavi Koivukangas' research on Scandinavian Australia, fellow Finn Eero Kuparinen's *An African Alternative* (1991) follows a demographic model and provides useful comparisons between the two settler societies.¹⁵ Kuparinen meticulously assembles his data of arrivals, departures and settlement, noting economic pull factors as the main reasons for the largely rural population of migrants, which remained minimal.¹⁶ Even Kuparinen notes that, "from the perspective both of overall Nordic migration, and of the overall migration to South Africa, the Nordic migration to South Africa is of very minor significance".¹⁷ Possibly due to the researcher's focus on national groups, experimentation with pan-Scandinavianism by South Africa's Scandinavians is not discussed and no evidence is presented to suggest its manifestation through a migrant press institution, which was not attempted due to such sparse and unviable migrant numbers. The lack of pan-Scandinavian co-operation in an environment of such low migrant numbers seems to be a unique occurrence and may have been due to a result of poor timing of various ethnic arrivals, or simply that no evidence remains of macro-national sentiments in South Africa – especially as no press institution was established there to document the community. Furthermore, as Kuparinen's study reveals, while Swedish migrants were in preponderance prior to the 1870s, assisted migration schemes led to strong increase in Danish migrant numbers after 1876, and both Swedish and Danish ethnic communities developed in South Africa somewhat separately.¹⁸ However, this lack of evidence does not necessarily mean that a 'pan' sense of identity did not exist for South African-based migrants, and instead may simply have been overlooked by Kuparinen, who was certainly more interested in demographics. Migrant co-operation and the production of Scandinavian regional identities is an area that certainly would benefit from more research in terms of community building within South Africa. Fortunately, for my study, scholars in the United States are finally beginning to shift attention to the importance of co-operation and unity within Scandinavian-America, notably the significance of the ties between migrant communities of different Nordic nationalities.

¹⁴ Lars Ljungmark 'Swedes in Winnipeg up to the 1940s: Inter-Ethnic relations' in Dag Blanck and Harald Runblom (eds), *Swedish Life in American Cities*, Uppsala, Uppsala University, 1991, p. 44.

¹⁵ Eero Kuparinen, *An African Alternative: Nordic Migration to South Africa: 1815-1914*, Helsinki, Finnish Historical Society, 1991.

¹⁶ Kuparinen interestingly notes that while the majority of diasporic Nordic migrants were overwhelmingly young and rural in recruitment, South Africa's were predominantly from an urban Scandinavian background, and older. *Ibid*, p. 359-60.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 357.

¹⁸ The arrival of large concentrations of Danes arriving together on Godeffroy Ships within a short time window (1876-1878) most likely caused the newly arrived Danes to remain separate from the earlier Swedes and Norwegian settlers, limiting the amount of Scandinavian co-operation that may have resulted if they had arrived to South Africa more sporadically. *Ibid*, pp. 104-106.

Traditionally, studies of North America's Scandinavian migrants have been built along the strong national lines of the communities that they set out to study. Thus, there is a robust distinction between Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish studies throughout the American literature. Indeed, as Blanck asserts, a history of the *Scandinavians* in the United States remains to be written.¹⁹ Fortunately for informing my study of Scandinavian co-operation within an Australian context, recent American scholarship has begun to focus on the links between Scandinavian-American migrant groups. Philip Anderson and Blanck's *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States* (2012) is particularly influential by "attempting to capture the dynamics of inter-Scandinavian contacts in the United States in a variety of social spheres".²⁰ Its contributors are finally beginning to break down the barriers of difference and isolation that previous studies have used to characterise migrant groups by, instead, focusing on the similarities and relationships – both positive co-operation and negative conflict – that existed between migrants of different backgrounds or countries of origin.

In 'Friends and Neighbours', Blanck breaks the chronology of Norwegian-Swedish relations in the United States into three main periods which can be seen to echo that of the Australian experience. The first period (1840-1890) was characterised by attempts to cultivate pan-Scandinavianism in the United States, which developed due to the relatively small numbers of Scandinavian immigrants before the Civil War, the tendency for Scandinavians to band together in order to survive the immigrant experience and the possible influences from the pan-Scandinavian cultural and political movement from Scandinavia itself.²¹ Furthermore, the main ethnic institution of this period, the Church, seemed to be built more on common ideas of Lutheranism rather than Swedish or Norwegian ethnicity, allowing for Scandinavian congregations to predominate until a rising ethnic awareness began to work against pan-Scandinavian tendencies as early as the 1870s. The second period (1890-1915) was one where clear national lines of demarcation had been established, coinciding with the peak numbers of Norwegian and Swedish American communities – some 665,000 Swedes and 400,000 Norwegians in 1910.²² During this period, most pan-Scandinavian churches and organisations were reorganising along national lines and only in the realm of politics did pan-Scandinavian co-operation really continue. During the third period (1915-1965), the decline in migration from the 1920s caused Scandinavian groups to become predominantly American-born, with a gradual distancing of Scandinavian-Americans socially and culturally from those of the Scandinavian homelands and an increasing emphasis on "American" elements of their identity in the wake of World War I.²³

In regards to the impacts of nationalising movements within the Scandinavian homelands and their effects on migrant populations, Odd Lovoll's study of the two organisations, established to maintain Norwegian and Swedish culture abroad – *Nordmanns-Forbundet* (The Norse Federation) and *Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt* (Royal Society for Swedish Culture Abroad) – describes the ways in which the home

¹⁹ Dag Blanck, 'Friends and Neighbors: Patterns of Norwegian-Swedish Interaction in the United States', in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, p. 5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

countries of Scandinavia continued to promote transnational links and cultural retention amongst those who had left during a period of heightened nationalism. Despite not labelling themselves as “nations of emigrants”,²⁴ Lovoll posits that, beginning in the early twentieth century, both Norway and Sweden were intent on strengthening the relationship between homeland nations and their compatriots abroad, especially in response to emigrants’ heightened reactions to the 1905 dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian Union, which had also spawned romantic concepts of a transnational network constituting “a greater Norway”.²⁵

In studying the early histories produced by the Norwegian-American Historical Association and the Swedish-American Historical Society, Mark Safstrom’s work, ‘Writing History Together’ (2012), explains how problematic the term ‘Scandinavian’ has been for Norwegian-American and Swedish-American historians while presenting comparative studies.²⁶ Instead, Safstrom notes of the American experience that “*Scandinavian*” really was a synonym for “*Norwegian-Swedish*” – the two dominant Scandinavian groups in the Americas. Alternatively, studies addressing Danish and Norwegian co-operation – due to their shared written language – were often instead regarded as “*Dano-Norwegian*”.²⁷ Despite studies making these distinctions, however, Safstrom notes:

that the immigrants frequently chose to use the term *Scandinavian* in the names of newspapers and churches, even when only one or two of the ethnic groups were present, suggests a considerable desire to be affiliated with a larger group.²⁸

Lastly, Safstrom indicates that early studies of pan-Scandinavianism and migrant co-operation were carried out to place “each nationality into its broader context and perhaps even remind the readership of the multifaceted nature of the immigrant experience”.²⁹ In comparing ‘Norwegians and Swedes in America’ (2012), H. Arnold Barton also makes the case that “the similarities between Swedes and Norwegians in North America were always greater than the differences, especially when compared with other, non-Scandinavian immigrant groups”.³⁰

The impact of the 1905 dissolution of the Norwegian-Swedish Union continues to be a main issue discussed in terms of conflict between Scandinavian groups and a reason for the increased nationalism and fragmentation of pan-Scandinavian organisations into national-orientated forms at the turn of the twentieth century. In ‘We are Norwegians and Swedes now, not Scandinavians’ (2012), Jørn Brøndal argues that the 1905 dissolution “did tend to exacerbate the Norwegian American

²⁴ Odd. S. Lovoll, ‘Preserving Cultural Heritage across Boundaries: A Comparative Perspective on RiksföreningenSverigekontakt and Nordmanns-Forbundet’, in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, p. 51.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 40.

²⁶ Mark Safstrom, ‘Writing History Together: Norwegian American and Swedish American Historians in Dialogue’, in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, pp.112-113.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 113.

²⁸ *Ibid*. [His emphasis.]

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 114.

³⁰ H. Arnold Barton, ‘Norwegians and Swedes in America: Some Comparisons’ in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, p. 21.

and Swedish American differences in the Midwest and give the ‘Scandinavian’ label a jolt... [but] pan-Scandinavianism had never been strong in this region in the first place”.³¹ Brøndal, much like John Martin in Australia, posits that pan-Scandinavianism between 1840 and 1890 existed only out of numerical necessity:

the reality was that just as the short-lived and weak pan-Scandinavian movement – which had begun to flourish back in the Scandinavian countries in the 1840s – had been an elite project, so was the attempt to establish pan-Scandinavian cooperation amongst America’s immigrants from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.³²

After 1890, Brøndal notes that pan-Scandinavianism only continued for two reasons. First, the inability of other Americans to differentiate between Norwegian-Americans, Swedish-Americans and Danish-Americans meant that external groups continued to label them as one ‘Scandinavian’ group. Second, in the political realm pan-Scandinavian co-operation was seen as a valuable tool for self-styled ‘Scandinavian’ candidates eager to garner a larger portion of migrant voters, which helped “to further their own and their groups’ ambitions in [an] American environment” where emergent ethnic groups held substantial political power.³³ In ‘An End to Brotherhood?’ (2012), Ulf Jonas Björk follows Brøndal’s argument that the 1905 dissolution did indeed increase animosities between Swedes and Norwegians across the United States, but states that this was not a permanent divide.³⁴ Björk explains the emotional contexts of both the Swedish Americans and Norwegian Americans to such a sensitive event – the Swedish Americans were humiliated and hurt as their last vestige of Sweden’s great-power past was liberated, and Norwegian Americans dismayed that the Swedes could not sympathise with their desire for Norwegian independence.³⁵ Björk posits that:

although seemingly remote from the daily lives of Swedes and Norwegians who had chosen a new life in the United States, the union dissolution had implications not only for the relationship to their native lands but also for how the two ethnic communities related to one another.³⁶

His point is important in analysing how immigrants viewed the events occurring in their far removed homelands and how their views were expressed through their letters to the migrant press. This explains further the transnational nature of the Scandinavian diaspora and the emotional attachment that Australia’s Scandinavian migrants would also have felt about distant issues, such as the dissolution.

³¹ Jørn Brøndal, ‘We are Norwegians and Swedes now, not Scandinavians: The impact of Norwegian Independence on Scandinavian Politics in the Midwest’ in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds) *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, pp. 135-136.

³² *Ibid*, p. 132.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 136.

³⁴ Ulf Jonas Björk, ‘An End to Brotherhood? Swedes and Norwegians in America Discuss the 1905 Dissolution’, in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, p. 150.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 146-147.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 139.

In terms of breadth of scholarship, the North American experience is well-documented due to the enormous scale and importance nineteenth century Scandinavian migration played in the development of trans-Atlantic settler societies. In the absence of notable Australian research, studies of the American migrant experience and those focusing on macro-national co-operation between Scandinavian migrant groups in the United States and Canada are the most influential in guiding my study. Studies of smaller sites of migration, such as South Africa, are also important as these more distant, isolated and less populated destinations of Scandinavian migration more closely mirror the Australian situation and can provide a comparative understanding of the similar issues in community-building faced by other more widespread Scandinavian groups. The North American and South African literature therefore provides a strong base from which to compare and contrast the experiences of the Scandinavian migrants in Australia's historiography and their need for a foreign-language press.

Negotiating Australian migration history

Australia's Scandinavians have attracted little scholarly attention. This oversight is due to the limited population size of this migrant group even at its height, which was numerically declining by 1901– and therefore an assumed lack of significance to Australia's migration heritage – but also to the stigma of a certain racial type. The racial antagonisms that emphasised the many visibly non-white and, to some extent, non-British groups have previously led to a historical focus on outright discrimination against those deemed as racially inferior and, therefore, undesirable in Australian society during the early years of nation-building and the implementation of White Australia. As Ien Eng observed concerning the racial and spatial anxieties that have continued to act as a deeply rooted structure within Australian culture even today, “at the heart of modern Australia's sense of itself lies a fundamental tension between its white, European identity and its Asian, non-European location”.³⁷ As such, many minority migrant studies from the 1920s to the 1970s have been framed in terms of ‘white’ and ‘non-white’.³⁸ The problem for early Australian histories in following this proposition of ‘white’ *versus* ‘other’ is that it failed to account for groups that were deemed ‘white’ but also ‘other’, which the Scandinavian case illustrates. Such a focus on non-white minorities also overshadowed the subtle forms of conflict experienced by those of non-British heritage but with official equal status, such as the Germans and Scandinavians, who often experienced similar, if less pronounced, negative treatment within the dominant British-Australian society as those who were racialised as non-white due to their politicised ‘foreigner’ label.³⁹ Thankfully, many influential studies have been carried out in recent decades regarding non-British migrants of European extraction and their own experiences in Australia, including Irish, German and Italian communities. This thesis complements such studies by bringing the experiences of Scandinavian-Australian communities back into focus, as yet another migrant group that fought the exclusionary forces of a

³⁷ Ien Eng, ‘From White Australia to Fortress Australia: The Anxious Nation in the New Century’, in Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker, and Jan Gothard (eds), *Legacies of White Australia: Race, Culture, and Nation*, Crawley, WA, University of Western Australia Press, 2003, p. 57.

³⁸ See, for example, Kenneth Rivett (ed.), *Australia and the Non-White Migrant*, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Press, 1975; Herbert I. London, *Non-White Immigration and the “White Australia” Policy*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1970.

³⁹ Raymond Evans, *Loyalty and Disloyalty: Social Conflict on the Queensland Homefront, 1914-18*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1987, p. 49.

dominant British-Australian society in order to validate their existence and celebrate their differences.

In further explaining the past problems of writing Australian migration histories, Hsu-Ming Teo's 'Multiculturalism and the Problem of Multicultural Histories' (2003) discusses new approaches to the study of cultural history and the issues associated with past research of migration and ethnicity.⁴⁰ Teo explains the discrepancies in past Australian ethnic histories as being shallow in focus:

Early ethnic histories were often celebratory, monumental narratives, recognisable as the genre of 'contributory' history made familiar by women's history when it first appeared in the 1970s. The sacrifices and contributions made by non-British/Irish Australians to nation building were undoubtedly important and needed to be made common knowledge. Yet the problem was that by accepting the nation-building paradigm of grand national history, these additions might rate a fleeting acknowledgement – 'women and ethnic groups were there and did their bit too' – but they hardly decentred or transformed the focus of Australian history on 'white' people of British/Irish descent.⁴¹

Teo's concept of rewriting migrant histories with a focus on the processes of "ethnicisation" – how a migrant group develops its own perceived ethnicity and identifications through shared language culture, experiences and discrimination, rather than simple positivistic accounts of migrant society⁴² – forms an important part of my thesis' focus and its methodology. Understanding migrant identity in terms of fluid and malleable 'options' – that is, as a socially-constructed identity – is important in relaying the ethnicisation experience of Scandinavians who relied on the migrant press to this end.

Despite nineteenth century migration being a significant area of historical studies in both Australia and Scandinavia, most scholars' publications have continually discussed Scandinavians emigrating to places such as North America, not Australia.⁴³ The same can be said about studies of Australian immigration generally and the lack of focus upon Northern European migrants, with the Germans, as the largest group, garnering the most research.⁴⁴ Australian studies on nineteenth century migration have focused on the larger non-British ethnic groups entering Australia at this time – the Chinese and Germans – and, in emphasising their perceived similarities to German migrants, studies have also tended to include or brush over Scandinavians as part of a larger 'Northern European' group, in which the German information predominates.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Hsu-Ming Teo, 'Multiculturalism and the Problem of Multicultural Histories: An Overview of Ethnic Historiography', in Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (eds), *Cultural History in Australia*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 2003, pp. 142-155.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 147.

⁴² *Ibid*, p.149.

⁴³ See the previous section concerning 'Scandinavian America' for a review of these studies.

⁴⁴ See the section below on German-Australian migrant studies.

⁴⁵ See for example: W. D. Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1954, which includes the Scandinavian experience within the German sphere.

The changing importance of Australia's political and social development has emphasised processes of assimilation, acculturation and, in recent decades, multiculturalism, in implementing, acknowledging and explaining the influence of minority migrant groups to the evolution of Australian society. Throughout early policies of Australian social and cultural development, which focused on assimilation and acculturation, the contributions of racially white yet culturally different migrants were not viewed as separate from the majority, and therefore not worthy of ethnic histories.⁴⁶ As white British-Australia was viewed as the norm, migrants able to melt into the mainstream racially were desired as assimilation pressures would force many would-be "invisible ethnics" to abandon their ideas of maintaining separate ethnicities and instead adopt more acceptable 'Australian' attitudes, activities and identifications.⁴⁷ As such, early studies concerning the period of White Australia have historically ignored non-British racially white groups, the processes of cultural homogenisation relegating them to the sphere of invisibility and supposed assimilation.

Prior to World War II, migration studies began to appear in the 1920s to 1940s dealing with Australia's growing 'population problem'. Studies from the University of Melbourne began to proliferate, such as P. D. Phillips and G. L. Wood's *The Peopling of Australia* (1928), and Jens Lyng's influential early ethnic history *Non-Britishers in Australia* (1927), but with the exception of Lyng, they were more interested in looking forward rather than back. While Lyng's scientific racist material is problematic in his categorisation of the various minorities present in Australia in the early twentieth century, his works more vehemently reflected the overwhelming desire to prove the contributions of various migrant groups as worthwhile for Australian development, and promote their viability in terms of future migration prospects.⁴⁸ These works were particularly influential on the later demographic studies of W. D. Borrie and Charles Price from the 1940s onwards, which fortunately did not continue the racialised rhetoric of earlier years.⁴⁹

In the post-1945 era the focus has shifted substantially to studies of displaced persons, Southern and Eastern Europeans in the wake of World War II, and then later the immigrants from other places in Asia, the Pacific Oceanic countries, Africa and the Middle East.⁵⁰ Coinciding with the turn to multicultural policies in the 1970s and 1980s, studies of Australia's ethnic groups have moved to focus on those who were more visible as representing the roots of a multicultural Australia.⁵¹ Emphasising

⁴⁶ W.D. Borrie, *Immigration: Australia's Problems and Prospects*, London, Angus and Robertson, 1949, p. 82.

⁴⁷ Noel J. Chrisman, *Ethnic Influence on Urban Groups: The Danish-Americans*, San Francisco, CA, R. and E. Research Associates, 1975, p. vii.

⁴⁸ P. D. Phillips and G. L. Wood (eds), *The Peopling of Australia*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1928; Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1927.

⁴⁹ W. D. Borrie, *Immigration: Australia's Problems and Prospects*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1949; Charles Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1964.

⁵⁰ See Manfred Jurgensen and Alan Corkhill (eds), *The German Presence in Queensland over the Last 150 Years: Proceedings of an International Symposium, August 24, 25 and 26, 1987*, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, St. Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland, 1988; C. Y. Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1975; Nancy Viviani, *The Long Journey: Vietnamese Migration and Settlement in Australia*, Carlton, Vic, Melbourne University Press, 1984.

⁵¹ Teo, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.

those who arrived in greater numbers after 1945 or who were one of the larger groups of early migrants – both of which were more easily seen to exhibit cultural difference and exemplify multicultural Australia than the Scandinavians – later studies of the multicultural era continued to miss such ‘invisible ethnics’ in Australia’s past. Ironically, while the Scandinavians’ physical and cultural similarities to post-war British-Australian society had made them so desirable in the earlier period of assimilation, they were now disenfranchised from owning a sense of ethnic history in a later period of multiculturalism that focused on celebrating much wider ranges of variation and difference.

In researching the full migration histories of these post-war diasporas, studies have indeed sought to uncover the earlier influences of their fellow countrymen and women in the Australian experience in order to establish the history of these groups further in the Australian social landscape and celebrate the pioneering relations of more recent migrant groups, particularly around the Bicentenary in 1988. However, despite the limited post-war migration by Scandinavians, which amounted to some 6,992 in 1947 and had only grown to 18,590 by 1991, interest in their nineteenth century counterparts has similarly remained scarce.⁵² With two exceptions to be discussed shortly, studies of past waves of Scandinavian migration have largely failed to return this important migrant group to the spotlight unlike the growing histories of Italian migrants, for example.⁵³ Australian immigration studies also tend to relate to the boom of post-war immigration and, when discussing the White Australia policy era, many studies emphasise the adversely affected non-white immigrants, not those ‘white ethnics’ actually desired by the racially motivated nation-building governments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁴ A hierarchical pecking order of ethnic groups and their supposed importance to the growth and contribution to Australian society has developed in historical circles, in which the Scandinavians seem to be far down the list of warranted research.

The influence of minority groups on many aspects of Australian society has, according to Barry York, been largely understated in the past, with many studies relying too heavily on basic settler numbers as an indicator of importance.⁵⁵ As such, modern multicultural studies fail to recognise the important and varied roles played by smaller ethnic groups arriving before 1945, which the Scandinavians exemplify. In explaining this further, the body of work in whiteness studies is informing and any study examining migrant identity in early twentieth century settler

⁵² See Table 3 in Introduction; James Jupp and Barry York (eds). *Birthplaces of the Australian People: Colonial & Commonwealth Censuses, 1828-1991*. Canberra, Australian National University, 1995, pp. 3-5, 9, 10, 14, 18, 25, 33, 41, 44, 51, 57, 63, 73.

⁵³ The exceptions are Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, who both researched the Scandinavian experience in Australia and published extensively on the topic during the 1970s to 2000s, including Olavi Koivukangas, ‘Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II’ PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974; Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1986. On Italian migrant histories, see: Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

⁵⁴ See, for example: Marie M. de Lepervanche, *Indians in a White Australia*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1984; John Fitzgerald, *Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in White Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2007; Herbert I. London, *Non-White Immigration and the “White Australia” Policy*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1970.

⁵⁵ Barry York, *Ethno-Historical Studies in a Multicultural Australia*, Canberra, Centre for Immigration & Multicultural Studies, 1996, p. 9.

societies must take race and whiteness studies into account. Richard Dyer's *White* (1997), for example, discusses how culturally diverse ethnic groups can be categorised racially under the umbrella of whiteness and consequently ideologically be merged with dominant cultural discourses in society.⁵⁶ Dyer argues that whiteness has been enormously effective, both socially and politically, in unifying coalitions of disparate groups of people. According to Dyer, the shifting borders of what constitutes whiteness, coupled with its hierarchical nature:

suggests that the category of whiteness is unclear and unstable, yet this has proved its strength. Because whiteness carries such rewards and privileges, the sense of a border that might be crossed and a hierarchy that might be climbed has produced a dynamic that has enthralled people who have had any chance of participating in it.⁵⁷

Dyer illustrates this point by demonstrating that some groups such as the Irish, Mexicans, or Jews can be included within or excluded from whiteness under certain historical circumstances, and that some white groups such as Anglo-Saxons, Germans, and Scandinavians can be deemed whiter than others. Similarly, Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color* (1998) shows that race, like ethnicity, is an invented category, where "designations [were] coined for the sake of grouping and separating peoples along lines of presumed difference".⁵⁸ Scandinavian skin-colour was able to open many doors for immigrants wishing easily to enter the colonies of the British Empire between the 1870s and 1914, especially as the increasingly xenophobic "white men's countries" that would develop in the early twentieth century began to restrict immigration to protect themselves from perceived racial threats from other modernising and competing cultures.⁵⁹ Scandinavian whiteness was favourable for immigration around the globe during this period of heightened racial ideology, but Jacobson argues that the maintenance of cultural and political difference amongst such minorities often overrode racial similarity.⁶⁰ As such, while benefiting from their apparent whiteness and similarity to their hosts, Scandinavian migrants must be considered as those whose social and cultural differences from mainstream Australian society were more important markers of their identities than race alone. The way that institutions, such as the foreign-language press, focused on maintaining such ideas of difference from dominant British-Australian society are therefore significant. In creating cultural capital to override racial similarity, counteract their perceived 'whiteness' and the propensity for large-scale assimilation processes to destroy their migrant communities, the migrant press was paramount in aiding in the construction of Scandinavians as a visible ethnic group in both the public and private spheres.

⁵⁶ Richard Dyer, *White*, New York, Routledge, 1997.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁸ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1998, p. 4. According to Jacobson, whiteness and the fluidity of its construction are linked to group dominance, power and its disposition. *Ibid*, p. 9.

⁵⁹ Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, Carlton, VIC, Melbourne University Publishing, 2008, p. 3; Charles Price, *The Great White Walls are Built: Restrictive Immigration to North America and Australasia, 1836-1888*, Canberra, Australian Institute of International Affairs in association with Australian National University Press, 1974.

⁶⁰ Jacobson, *op. cit.*, p. 9

Situating whiteness studies within an understanding of the wider Australian context, it is important here to discuss several sources concerning dominant British-Australian identity construction. Miriam Dixon's *The Imaginary Australian* (1999) and Ann-Mari Jordens' *Redefining Australians* (1995) both attempt to define what is really a constantly changing and largely intangible idea.⁶¹ Dixon's discussion about dominant 'Anglo-Celtic' identity and issues of ethnicity and nation notes the source of Australian identity as coming from Indigenous, Anglo-Celtic or 'new ethnic' streams.⁶² Missing from this discussion are earlier, non-British migrants, but the more contemporary issues relating to the dominant 'core' culture and reactions to new sites of identity still ring true for the earlier migrants, such as the Scandinavians. In regards to conflicts between dominant, 'old-identity' Anglo-Celts in white settler societies and the diversity brought by new ethnic groups, Dixon describes the response of early twentieth century Anglo-Celts like author Henry James to "what he called the great 'ethnic' question on the 'American' identity" that began to emerge during the heightened migrant influx within white settler societies between the 1880s to 1910:

James was well aware that 'in a country peopled... by migrations at once extremely recent, perfectly traceable and urgently required,' America's British and European core culture settlers could make no moral appeal to antiquity. Yet as an old-identity American, for him the emotional and intellectual stakes were no less high at the start of the century than they are for many old-identity Australians today.⁶³

Jordens, while largely focusing on post-war migration, still discusses this idea of 'an imagined Australian' and what she calls the erosion of Australian national identity.⁶⁴ Jordens makes the point that only after World War II did minority groups in Australia – non-British Europeans, Indigenous peoples and those of Asian heritage, for example – that had previously been "excluded or marginalised by prevailing conceptions of citizenship and national identity, [come] to be included within the imagined community of Australians".⁶⁵ The question of whether Scandinavians were indeed an 'invisible minority' in the earlier period or part of the British-Australian majority, remains to be answered.⁶⁶ What these studies seem to miss is the complexity in evolving identities. Not only was Australia's national identity changing with the influence of migrant groups, but the perceptions of their own identities were also impacting on the process. Such Australian studies have remained focused on the production of a dominant cultural identity rather than their influences on minority migrant identity formation.

What these studies also indicate is the fact that whiteness continues to distract from and limit the understanding of minority cultural groups in Australia, resulting in many being overlooked as a source of diversity and cultural significance. Yet, over the last two decades, Australian studies have begun to focus increasingly on racially

⁶¹ Miriam Dixon, *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity, 1788 to the Present*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 1999; Ann-Mari Jordens, *Redefining Australians: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity*, Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1995.

⁶² Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 44.

⁶⁴ Jordens, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

white migrant groups that have still remained culturally and socially distinct from the dominant 'British-Australian' culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As 'white ethnic' histories, such studies are important in affirming the need to look beyond whiteness to discover the true differences between diverse migrant groups that have previously been characterised as one homogenous population.

Patrick O'Farrell's studies of Irish migration and ethnicity, for example 'Defining Place and Home' (1992), have established and defined non-British white migrants as individual ethnic groups worth studying, explaining the discriminatory effects that the dominant Australian culture had over these groups.⁶⁷ Similarly, the experiences of other migrant groups, such as Malcolm Prentis and Susan Cowan's separate studies of Scottish migrants, demonstrate the nationalist sentiments felt by the Scots within white British-Australian society and the ethnic groupings that also existed amongst those migrants from the British Isles.⁶⁸ Studies of language use and the ability to preserve cultural tradition was made a special focus of Bill Jones' 'Welsh Identities in Colonial Ballarat' (2001), which demonstrates how white groups were able to promote their own individual languages and events in the Australian situation.⁶⁹ Philip Payton's study of the 'occupational' ethnicity of the Cornish is also important in describing how ethnic identity grew within the large Cornish mining communities in Australia. These migrants remained separate from others due to both their working conditions and a perceived superiority complex over other British peoples, stemming from their proud imported history of hard work and suffering.⁷⁰ As Jon Stratton wrote while discussing the way English migrants were simply expected to merge with the general Australian population:

While Anglo-Saxon, with its associations of British heritage, forms the heart of 'English-speaking born', whiteness works as a penumbra allowing the expected inclusion of all white Americans, of Afrikaner as well as British-Background South Africans, and French Canadians among others.⁷¹

Consequently, white minority groups such as the English, whose assertion of their "English ethnicity remains complicated and problematic" within Australian society, have only recently been the focus of ethnic studies.⁷² Previously, such groups were not even viewed by many as 'ethnic' in the face of an assumed 'sameness' with the majority of white, English-speaking Australia.

Most important for the case of Scandinavian migrants are the studies concerning one of the largest European groups to enter Australia alongside the Scandinavians of the

⁶⁷ Patrick O'Farrell, 'Defining Place and Home: Are the Irish Prisoners of Place?' in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Home or Away: Immigrants in Colonial Australia*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1992, pp. 1-18.

⁶⁸ Malcolm Prentis, 'Haggis on the High Seas: Shipboard Experiences of Scottish Emigrants to Australia, 1821-1897', *Australian Historical Studies* Vol. 36, no. 124, 2004, pp. 294-311; Susan Cowan, 'Contributing Caledonian Culture: A Legacy of the Scottish Diaspora,' *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 76, 2003, pp. 87-95.

⁶⁹ Bill Jones, 'Welsh Identities in Colonial Ballarat', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 68, 2001, pp. 34-43.

⁷⁰ Philip Payton, 'Cousin Jacks and Ancient Britons: Cornish Immigrants and Ethnic Identity', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 68, 2001, pp. 54-64.

⁷¹ Jon Stratton, 'Not Just Another Multicultural Story: The English, From 'Fitting In' to Self-Ethnicisation', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 66, 2000, p. 26.

⁷² *Ibid.*

1850s to 1890s – the German-Australians. Compared with the 16,524 Scandinavians present in the 1891 census, there was approximately three times the number of Germans, 45,022,⁷³ and this larger volume of migrants allowed for not only more communities and networks, but more information and migrant studies to be collated over past decades. Ian Harmsdorf and Michael Cigler's *The Germans in Australia* (1985) gives a general background to the community and provides complementary information as to how the strong and vibrant German community grew in Australia before the 1920s.⁷⁴ Harmsdorf and Cigler posit the importance of German migrants in promoting early multiculturalism, especially in South Australia, the "nineteenth century Germans trying to infuse the best traditions of their old homeland into the laws and ideas of the new country".⁷⁵ Furthermore, the Germans are noted as integrating into Australian life rather than assimilating totally, with a strong generational continuity in terms of the "upholding of their traditions and the festivities connected with them".⁷⁶ Edited volumes and conference proceedings are especially common in regards to Germans and German-Australians recovering their ancestors' migratory past. Johannes Voigt has published two works on the Germans in Australia, with *Australia-Germany* (1987) and with *New Beginnings* (1983).⁷⁷ *New Beginnings*, a co-operative and bilingual publication, demonstrates the continued interest Germany has had on its Australian expatriates, and it covers a variety of topics important to the German migrant experience, including their clubs, culture and notable personalities. The larger amount of migration data and records of the German communities has certainly enabled the creation of strong social and cultural histories of their migrant pasts. The discussions of language maintenance and the foreign-language press are continued in proceedings such as Manfred Jurgenson and Alan Corkhill's *The German Presence in Queensland* (1987), detailing anti-Germanism in Queensland during times of conflict, rural settlements, and church community-building enterprises.⁷⁸ Raymond Evans describes the central role the conservative Australian press played in amplifying anti-Germanism and the general target of German residents for its assault.⁷⁹ Claudia Erdmann, in assessing the viability of physical rural settlements built on German cultural identity, wrote that in South Australia and Queensland, Germans were able to form a cultural landscape due to extensively undeveloped areas of land, as well as it being "essential

⁷³ See Table 3 in Introduction; James Jupp and Barry York (eds). *Birthplaces of the Australian People: Colonial & Commonwealth Censuses, 1828-1991*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1995, pp. 3-5, 10, 14, 25.

⁷⁴ Ian Harmsdorf and Michael Cigler, *The Germans in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1985.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 162.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 158.

⁷⁷ Johannes Voigt and Brangwyn Jones (trans), *Australia-Germany: Two Hundred Years of Contacts, Relations and Connections*, Bonn, Inter Nationes, 1987; Johannes Voigt (ed.) with John Fletcher and John A. Moses, *New Beginnings: The Germans in New South Wales and Queensland: A Commemorative Volume*, Stuttgart, Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1983.

⁷⁸ See Manfred Jurgenson and Alan Corkhill (eds), *The German Presence in Queensland over the Last 150 Years: Proceedings of an International Symposium, August 24, 25 and 26, 1987*, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, St. Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland, 1988; Other works that give background on the Germans in Australia include Jurgen Tampke and Colin Doxford, *Australia, Willkommen: A History of the Germans in Australia*, Kensington, New South Wales University Press, 1990; Charles Meyer, *A History of Germans in Australia 1839-1945*, Caulfield, VIC, Monash University, 1990.

⁷⁹ Raymond Evans, 'The Pen and the Sword: Anti-Germanism in Queensland during the Great War, and the Worker', in Manfred Jurgenson and Alan Corkhill (eds), *The German Presence in Queensland over the Last 150 Years: Proceedings of an International Symposium, August 24, 25 and 26, 1987*, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, St. Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland, 1988, p. 10.

to have groups of settlers with a common rural home country, emigration within their family ties and possibilities of an independent development... uninfluenced by other settlers".⁸⁰ Philip W. Holzknicht's study of German Lutherans in Queensland is also important in providing a history of German Church activity, in particular noting how it differed from the South Australian Church in its missionary origins and inescapable close ties to Scandinavian migrants – as Holzknicht remarks, when discussing the German Lutherans in Queensland "some reference to Scandinavian Lutherans is unavoidable".⁸¹ Studies of the German Church frequently discuss links to the Scandinavian Church groups, many of which initially sprang from German Lutheran services. Herbert Mees' *A German Church in the Garden of God* (2004), in particular, notes the closeness and help that ethnic religious groups gave each other and the closeness of many Scandinavians to the German community.⁸²

The German foreign-language press is also a common theme in past studies as an important institution for migrant community development, an idea taken up by Gilson and Zubrzycki, where *Die Deutsche Post* of 1848 was the first recognised foreign-language newspaper in Australia and paved the way for later Scandinavian attempts.⁸³ Zubrzycki's related article, 'The Role of the Foreign-Language Press in Migrant integration' (1958), is also influential in citing the development of German and Scandinavian newspapers in other settler societies, such as the United States and Canada, where he also made comparisons concerning the role of the migrant press across groups and ethnicities.⁸⁴ Alan Corkhill's article on Queensland's German-language press is important in providing the experiences of smaller Queensland newspapers, noting rural publications' basic desires for language maintenance compared to the urban-orientated need to cover German social and commercial activities.⁸⁵ Useful in comparing the German migrant newspapers with the smaller Scandinavian migrant press, Rebecca Vonhoff's doctoral thesis, 'Spoken Through the Press: German-Australian Identity and Influence During the Kaiserreich' (2011), is also important in demonstrating how communicative networks influenced the creation of an overseas German identity and cultivated an 'imagined community' of readers. Notably, Vonhoff states that while:

the communicative horizon within Australia and internationally was multi-faceted and involved an interconnectedness between politics,

⁸⁰ Claudia Erdmann, 'Rural Settlements Founded by German Immigrants in South Australia and Queensland During the 19th Century', in Manfred Jurgensen and Alan Corkhill (eds), *The German Presence in Queensland over the Last 150 Years: Proceedings of an International Symposium, August 24, 25 and 26, 1987, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia*, St. Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland, 1988, p. 123.

⁸¹ Philip W. Holzknicht, 'A Priesthood of Priests? The German Lutherans in Queensland,' in Manfred Jurgensen and Alan Corkhill (eds), *The German Presence in Queensland over the Last 150 Years: Proceedings of an International Symposium, August 24, 25 and 26, 1987, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia*, St. Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland, 1988, p. 155.

⁸² Herbert D. Mees, *A German Church in the Garden of God: Melbourne's Trinity Lutheran Church 1853-2003*, East Melbourne, Trinity Church Historical Society, 2004.

⁸³ Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *The Foreign-language Press in Australia 1848-1964*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1967, p.75.

⁸⁴ Zubrzycki's article was influential in later Scandinavian American press studies, as discussed in the earlier section on the Scandinavian-American Press. Jerzy Zubrzycki, 'The Role of the Foreign-Language Press in Migrant Integration,' *Population Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1958, pp.73-82.

⁸⁵ Alan Corkhill, 'The German-Language Press in Queensland (1876-1939)', in Johannes H. Voigt (ed.), *New Beginnings: The Germans in New South Wales and Queensland: A Commemorative Volume*. Stuttgart, Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1983, p.221.

diplomacy, cables, news selection and sources, readership and identification... a sense of national identity amongst the German-Australians was far from homogenous.⁸⁶

The German-Australian press' experiences help to explain how *Norden's* heightened involvement in Scandinavian group identity creation can be considered an isolated case; that is, perhaps not typical of the full Scandinavian Australian experience. The differences in German migration experience in general, notably the larger numbers and the resultant ability for rural physical community creation and strong generational continuity of ethnic tradition, are important for comparative analysis with the smaller Scandinavian population.

The first histories of Scandinavian migrants in Australia appeared around the turn of the twentieth century with Danish migrant, scholar and newspaper editor Jens Sorensen Lyng publishing several works of interest. A migrant himself, Lyng's works are somewhat problematic and cannot be fully relied on for accuracy. Lyng first produced *Skandinaverne i Australien i det Nittende Aarhundrede* (*Scandinavians in Australia in the Nineteenth Century*) (1901) and *Emigrantnoveller og Skitser* (*Emigrant Stories and Sketches*) (1901), both in Danish, and then *History of Scandinavians in Australasia* (1907).⁸⁷ Most of the information in these works was reproduced in two later writings, *Non-Britishers in Australia* (1927) and *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western Pacific* (1939).⁸⁸ Lyng's works, especially the latter, are important for describing, in-depth, the lives and experiences of Scandinavian migrants to Australia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a leading member of Melbourne's Scandinavian communities during this period – and founding editor of this thesis' focus, *Norden* – Lyng's first-hand dealings with and knowledge of his compatriots' activities led to the valuable recording of their migrant experiences via the pages of his newspaper and his complementary historical publications. Furthermore, Lyng is perhaps most significant in bringing studies of ethnic minorities and their significance to Australian development to the fore. Indeed, even the title of *Non-Britishers in Australia* marks a milestone in historical studies, moving away from British imperial domination and attempting to describe the proto-multicultural state of affairs in Australia at this time. However, Lyng's writings have several major flaws, not least because he does not reference any of his sources, but largely because of his racial biases and methodology.⁸⁹

In this respect, Lyng's books can be regarded as primary sources themselves. Writing at a time when Australia's nation-building and national character was largely being formed, his works also echo the scientific racism of White Australia.⁹⁰ As

⁸⁶ Rebecca Vonhoff, 'Spoken through the Press: German-Australian Identity and Influence During the Kaiserreich', PhD thesis, Arts Faculty, University of Queensland, 2011, pp. 205, 209.

⁸⁷ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Jens Lyng, *Skandinaverne i Australien i Det Nittende Aarhundrede: Artikelserie i Norden*, Melbourne, Lyng & Scheele's Forlag og Trykkeri, 1901; Jens Lyng, *Emigrantnoveller og Skitser*, Melbourne, Lyng & Scheele's Forlag og Trykkeri, 1901; Jens Lyng and O. N. Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in Australasia*, Melbourne, West Melbourne Printing Works, 1907.

⁸⁸ Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1927; Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939.

⁸⁹ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

⁹⁰ Lake and Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

Koivukangas found, Lyng's works, especially *Non-Britishers in Australia*, hold racialised views that may have made the study biased.⁹¹ While this has definitely negatively affected his accounts of other ethnic groups at this time, such as the Chinese, as well as European "Alpine" and "Mediterranean" groups, it has also distorted an obvious biased emphasis to his own 'superior' peoples, the "Nordics", with whom he identified, overemphasising their achievements in order to promote further migration.⁹² References to his work must therefore be made carefully and critically analysed in line with the socio-political and economic context, and contemporary values and beliefs. For this study, Lyng's works are used as carefully evaluated primary sources, as the information and first-hand knowledge they contain are still vital in gaining a thorough understanding of the Scandinavian-Australian migration experience – even if certain elements of his works are exaggerated.

No other works on Scandinavian-Australians emerge until the post-World War II era when immigration became a major theme in Australian historiography, especially in the fields of demography and political science. As Australia once again looked for new overseas sources to 'populate or perish', scholarly works regarding previous immigration and ideas for the future became common practice. Studies by W. D. Borrie and James Jupp analysed immigration and its effects on the development of Australian society, isolating push-pull factors, migrant conditions, and attitudes towards migrant groups.⁹³ Yet, throughout even seminal immigration studies, such as Jupp's *Arrivals and Departures* (1966), Nordic immigration is virtually ignored.⁹⁴ By 1991, Scandinavian migration is discussed briefly in Jupp's *Immigration*, but – as is common with even later studies of non-British European immigration studies – the Scandinavians are simply dumped unceremoniously amongst the large amount of information concerning German migrants.⁹⁵ Though still referred to as the ideal migrant type, such studies are not interested in describing the past achievements of Scandinavian migrants, nor issues of assimilation or identity formation in their adoptive homeland. They are often demographic in emphasis and, while Borrie and Jupp have been especially influential in studying migrant numbers, places of settlement, migrant life and even notable personalities, these demographic studies fall short of discussing issues of migrant identity and community-building. Such works tend to examine immigration not on a historical basis but on a political one, as Jupp's political scientific background shows, and are more interested in future opportunities for migrants than the past. Scandinavian migrants are portrayed in the post-war environment as still desired, but more expensive to attract.⁹⁶ It is as though the Scandinavian migrant was therefore written out of the equation by such authors, deemed unimportant for the future and consequently to Australia's past.

What these works do show, however, is the relative importance placed on other migrant groups over the Scandinavians. It could be argued, then, that a lack of Scandinavian studies in the context of Australia's migration history demonstrates the

⁹¹ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁹² Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁹³ Borrie, *Immigration: Australia's Problems and Prospects*, *op. cit.*, p. 52; James Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures*, Melbourne, Cheshire-Lansdowne, 1966, p. 6.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ James Jupp, *Immigration*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1991, p. 38.

⁹⁶ Borrie, *Immigration: Australia's problems and prospects*, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Here, Borrie notes the possible post-war attraction of Norwegians particularly, but with only a limited amount from other Baltic countries. Previous Scandinavian migration is not considered.

perceived insignificance of the Scandinavians compared with groups such as the British, the Germans or the Italians, who were deemed to be more desirable (British and Germans), easier to acquire, or arrived in large numbers (Italians). Over time, as political and cultural changes have shifted the importance of certain migrant groups, especially after 1972 and the move to adopt a multicultural society over an assimilationist and integrative Australian culture, Scandinavian history, like the migrant group themselves, has been sorely overlooked in significance over other groups.

The first modern study to focus specifically on Scandinavian immigration was produced by Olavi Koivukangas in his doctoral thesis, ‘Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia before World War II’ (1972).⁹⁷ Giving the most in-depth study on the subject to date and covering the entirety of settlement from 1788 to 1945, Koivukangas was amazed at the limited studies, citing Lyng as the only Scandinavian-orientated work previous to his.⁹⁸ As such, Koivukangas’s work marks a cornerstone in studies of the Scandinavians of Australasia. He argues that, despite the lack of numbers, the Scandinavians as an ethnic group contributed much to the development of Australia, though he also posits the inevitability of cultural decline due to “linguistic, social, and religious features not so unlike the Anglo-Celtic majority that they have been able to melt into the Australian community”.⁹⁹ His thesis, published as a monograph in 1974, formed the basis for a collaborative publication with John Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia* (1986) as part of the Australian Ethnic Heritage Series.¹⁰⁰ After three decades, these works remain the most up-to-date and comprehensive sources of the Scandinavian impact in Australia. Emphasising demographic data and biographical narratives to produce a largely chronological and celebratory account of these migrant groups, they outline the foundations of a collective history of Australia’s Scandinavians.¹⁰¹ However, they do not examine cultural heritage, identity, or pan-Scandinavianism in significant detail or by taking into account the global context. Koivukangas and Martin’s work focuses particularly on individual national entities for most sections while locating the foreign-language press as “undoubtedly the most remarkable Scandinavian institution and achievement in Australia”.¹⁰² Yet, they do not go further into how or why the migrant press achieved this title. Given the decade in which they were publishing their research, it is understandable that they paid scant attention to the earlier significance of the pan-Scandinavian community or transnational influences and that the early development of Australia’s pluralism was overlooked. An analysis of the Scandinavian migrant press is therefore timely for exploring the way a united and macro-national sense of collaboration emerged and persisted amongst Scandinavian-Australian migrants.

There have been some individual national migrant group studies of relevance as well. Notably, Swedish emigration researcher Ulf Beijbom has published several works on the emigration of Swedes to Australia, largely created from documents and accounts from the Våxjö Emigration Institute. Of his works, *Australienfararna: Vårt Märkligaste Utvandringsäventyr* (*Australian Travellers: Our Most Peculiar*

⁹⁷ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 5-7.

⁹⁹ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p.226.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 210.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 139.

Immigration Adventure) (1983), documents Swedish adventures in the Antipodes, translated and tailored for an Australian audience in Martin and Beijbom's later *Vikings in the South* (1988).¹⁰³ These works, written concurrently with Koivukangas around 1988, uncover overseas sources for further study and contain a wealth of information. Beijbom notes that Swedish communities in Australia at the end of the nineteenth century were coming to a sense of awareness and ethnic identity and that, while the Scandinavian migrant press attempted to sustain a Swedish element, massive assimilation due to intermarriage and rising Australian nationalism led to the weakening of ethnic organisations and communal identity.¹⁰⁴ At the same time as Beijbom's study, Martin and Håkan Eilert produced an in-depth study of Scandinavian Church life, *Northern Light in Southern Skies* (1983).¹⁰⁵ In focusing more on Church history than other sources, Martin and Eilert describe the history of the community through the lens of Church activity, emphasising this institution's importance in maintaining cultural and social bonds between Scandinavian migrants and their descendants.¹⁰⁶ *Northern Light in Southern Skies* is influential in situating migrant Church history into the wider context of Australian society, as well as the Church's interactions with social organisations, the foreign-language press and events that impacted on migrants' worldview, and is therefore important for this study. These works continually situate the importance of physical organisations, clubs and churches to the continuation of migrant community activity, however they neglect the similarly important role played by migrant newspapers.

With the Bicentenary of Australia and the turn towards multicultural histories, Scandinavians were included in works such as Jupp's monumental project *The Australian People* (1988).¹⁰⁷ However, the sections detailing the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians are simply excerpts from Martin and Koivukangas, and nothing new. Instead, Jupp's project is more insightful in the way it arranges immigration trends and theory; statistics of international migration that include the Scandinavians are actually more significant than the sections by Koivukangas and Martin, and the idea that Jupp's encyclopedia attempts to treat all ethnic groups on an equal footing allows for greater comparison between the experiences of Scandinavian groups and other migrant communities. Later works on immigration generally and its effects on the development of Australian society virtually ignore Nordic immigration and, if they do occasionally face the subject, they predictably continue to focus on demographic concerns.¹⁰⁸ This trend is one of the largest shortcomings of post-1960s ethnic histories, produced by traditional methodologies. According to Teo:

rarely did these works intersect with the postmodern preoccupation of international cultural history with issues of identity construction,

¹⁰³ Ulf Beijbom, *Australienfararna: Vårt Märkligaste Utvandringsäventyr*, Stockholm, LT, 1983; Ulf Beijbom and John Stanley Martin, *Vikings in the South: Volume 1, Colonial Australia, 1788-1900: The Swedes in Australia*, Carlton, River Seine Press, 1988.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁰⁵ Håkan Eilert and John Stanley Martin, *Northern Light in Southern Skies: Scandinavian Church Life in Victoria 1883-1983*, Melbourne, Swedish Church, 1983.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins* (2nd ed), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 252-255, 608-609, 695-697.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example: W. D. Borrie, *The European Peopling of Australasia: A Demographic History, 1788-1988*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1994.

discourses of power, and the politics of resistance and cultural transformation.¹⁰⁹

While these studies have been vital in the location of migrant numbers, places of settlement, migrant life and even notable personalities, the focus of such studies often falls short of important questions regarding identity and community-building, as well as migrants' interactions with wider society or the diaspora.

Over the last three decades, there have, however, been moves towards the study of Scandinavian community and identity construction, instigated largely by Martin. He has produced several monographs that start to reflect a cultural and ethnic focus.¹¹⁰ He began to question the topic of Scandinavian ethnicity in Victoria, through *Ethnic Identity and Social Organisation in the Scandinavian Community in Melbourne, 1870-1910* (1982). His later work, *The Swedish Church in Toorak House* (1996), looks extensively at the role of the Scandinavian Church in the Australian community and is very insightful for understanding how institutions can affect social group and community formation, as well as on the issues involved in maintaining diasporic culture and language through sizeable Scandinavian Church groups.¹¹¹ Such works are an important starting point in creating an understanding of white migrant ethnic identity for the objectives of this study. Martin has also been involved in two other collaborative research publications, the first with Mark Garner, *Swedes in Melbourne: A Contemporary Ethnographic Survey* (1984) which is a critical attempt to survey the extent of the Melbourne Swedish community of the early 1990s ethnographically.¹¹² The second of Martin's collaborations with Stig Hokanson, Eileen Johnson and Birgitta Sharpe is *One Way Passage* (1996), a work largely based on records and shipping lists located in the James Sanderson Archive. Martin's research concerning ethnic identity, while ground-breaking, is limited in its scope to Melbourne's Scandinavians or favours Swedes over other Nordic nationalities with little further research conducted on the ethnicity of varying Scandinavian populations across Australia. Such studies of Scandinavian migration history give this research project a strong foundation on which this thesis shall build. But, they must also be complemented by one final group of works that inform my research focus – studies of the migrant press.

Studies of the migrant press

The earliest most substantial body of literature dedicated to the Scandinavian foreign- language press in settler societies comes from the United States of America, which received the majority of the Scandinavian diaspora and allowed for strong newspapers and readerships to be established across the Atlantic. These studies allow for comparison with the Australian situation, though of course the size difference in

¹⁰⁹ Teo, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

¹¹⁰ John Stanley Martin, *The Swedish Church in Toorak House: Anchor for Endeavour and Hope, 1956-1996*, Parkville, Vic., University of Melbourne, 1996; John Stanley Martin, *Ethnic Identity and Social Organisation in the Scandinavian Community in Melbourne, 1870-1910*, Parkville, Vic., University of Melbourne, 1982; John Stanley Martin, 'Ethnicity and the Swedish Church in Melbourne 1883-1991' Master of Theology thesis, Melbourne, College of Divinity, 1992.

¹¹¹ Martin, *The Swedish Church in Toorak House*, *op. cit.*.

¹¹² Mark Garner and John Stanley Martin, *Swedes in Melbourne: A Contemporary Ethnographic Survey*, Parkville, Vic., University of Melbourne, 1984; Stig R. Hokanson, Eileen B. Johnson, John Stanley Martin and Birgitta Sharpe, *One Way Passage: Swedish Migrants to Australia in the James Sanderson Archive*, Sydney, WordWright, 1996.

both publications and readership is enormous. In 1915, for example, Australia only had one operating Scandinavian newspaper, *Norden*, and approximately 14,000 migrants to derive a minimal readership from, whereas the Swedish-American newspaper industry alone numbered some 70 publications and 560,000 readers.¹¹³ Regardless, historical trends derived from the extensive studies of the American foreign-language press, as well as the roles these newspapers had on the larger communities, pan-Scandinavian developments and assimilation issues, are still highly relevant to *Norden*'s experience.

In regards to the American migrant press, Marion Marzolf's work on the *Danish-Language Press in America* (1979), demonstrates the similarities of newspapers, such as *Den Danske Pioneer* (The Danish Pioneer) of Omaha, Nebraska, to the newspapers of Australia, such as *Norden*, which was predominantly run by Danes but on a much smaller scale than their American counterparts. In her study, Marzolf marks four stages of Danish-American press history: the first occurring prior to the Civil War and built on combined Dano-Norwegian co-operation; the second "pioneer" era from 1872 to 1900 resulting in a proliferation of Danish-American publications that arose at the height of Scandinavian immigration; the third era from 1900 to World War I producing circulations of a few main newspapers as well as feelings of Danish-American identity and patriotism; and, finally, after World War I the "Americanization" and decline of the majority of Danish migrant newspapers.¹¹⁴ Evolving to meet the changing needs of a group that was rapidly becoming American, Marzolf describes the Danish-American press as one that had, for the most part, aided in immigrant assimilation.¹¹⁵

Odd Lovoll has recently published his masterful study of *Norwegian Newspapers in America* (2010), where he gives a full account of the more than 280 Norwegian-language newspapers that constituted the vibrant national migrant press since its inception in 1847.¹¹⁶ Lovoll's chronological structure enables the author to adeptly weave a history of the Norwegian-American press through American social and political history, deconstructing the foreign-language press' influence upon migrant communities while linking ethnic developments to the important social and political events of wider American society. Like Marzolf, Lovoll acknowledges an early period of Dano-Norwegian co-operation, due to the fact that Danish mass migration came much later and forced early Danes to join with the larger Norwegian population until their own newspapers could be established in the 1870s.¹¹⁷ An exceedingly energetic and flourishing Midwestern press existed from the 1870s to 1900, and a national Norwegian-American communication network was created late in the nineteenth century based around several major newspapers, *Skandinaven* (*The Scandinavian*), *Decorah-Posten* (*The Decorah Post*), and *Minneapolis Tidende* (*Minneapolis News*).¹¹⁸ Importantly, Lovoll believes that the migrant press acted as

¹¹³ Ulf Jonas Björk, 'The Swedish-American Press as an Immigrant Institution', *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 51, No.4, 2000, p. 269.

¹¹⁴ Marion Marzolf, 'The Danish-Language Press in America', *Norwegian American Studies*, Vol. 28, 1979, p. 274.

¹¹⁵ Marion Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America*, New York, Arno Press, 1979, pp. 212-213.

¹¹⁶ Odd Lovoll, *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2010.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 202-203.

both a preserver of ethnic cultures and as an Americaniser simultaneously and without conflict:

the Norwegian immigrant press became a primary expression of the resilience of Norwegian American culture, its interaction rather than assimilation with American society, and its influence on the cultural, social, and political fabric of the American social order.¹¹⁹

In 'The Swedish-American Press as an Immigrant Institution' (2000), Ulf Jonas Björk describes the impressive number of readers – some 560,000 – of the some 50 weekly newspapers, five semi-weeklies, 16 monthlies and one quarterly that constituted the Swedish-American press at its height in 1915.¹²⁰ Attributing the Swedish immigrant press' decline after 1915 to the social and economic impacts of World War I, the end of the era of unrestricted migration in the mid-1920s, and the Great Depression, Björk discusses the importance of the newspapers to this readership by analysing the composition of the papers themselves – their sections, purpose and what immigrants desired to read in these pages – to indicate how Swedish-American press "sought to help readers adjust to American society while at the same time maintaining contact with their roots and their past".¹²¹ In acknowledging the migrant press as an important institution that complemented the Church, associations and colleges that also maintained the Swedish-American community, Björk is influential in noting its "essential and unique function",¹²² something that has been neglected in studies of the Australian situation. Furthermore, Lars Faruland argues that the Swedish-American foreign-language press, while rooted in the populist movements and influence of the originating homelands, grew to embody even greater nationalist ideals and a sense of aesthetic conservatism, deviating from initial goals designed to promote continued Swedish ties and identifications.¹²³ Ultimately, studies of the Scandinavian-American press demonstrate the importance of the foreign-language press as an ethnic institution, and point to a similar need for the Scandinavian-Australian press to be analysed for its significance.

In terms of the relationship between Scandinavian Australia and the migrant press, several works have discussed the Australian experience but not in suitable depth. Jens Lyng's *Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western Pacific* (1939) involved a large chapter detailing his experiences in establishing *Norden*, as well as historical information regarding earlier newspapers, but his emotional links to the newspaper make this section more of a memoir and open for criticism in factual accuracy.¹²⁴ Martin and Koivukangas have also included brief discussions of *Norden* and earlier newspapers in their studies, though, while they touch on *Norden*'s role as a significant migrant institution,¹²⁵ they leave many questions unanswered. The few pages devoted to the Scandinavian press in Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki's *The*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹²⁰ Björk, 'The Swedish-American Press as an Immigrant Institution', *op. cit.*, p. 269.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.280.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Lars Faruland, 'The Swedish-American Press as a literary Institution of the Immigrants' in Harald Runblom and Dag Blanck (eds), *Scandinavia Overseas: Patterns of Cultural Transformation in North America and Australia*, Uppsala, Uppsala University, 1986, p.108.

¹²⁴ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹²⁵ Koivukangas and Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 94-95, 137-139.

Foreign-language Press in Australia (1967) are very informative.¹²⁶ They are notable in giving reasons for the failing of the first incarnation of the Scandinavian newspaper, Corfitz Cronqvist's *Norden* in 1857, as well providing a limited account of the community that sprang up around him.¹²⁷ Cronqvist's own writings of his journalistic exploits, *Vandringar i Australien åren 1857-1859* (*Wanderings in Australia in the years 1857-1859*) (1859) are similarly informing but can be treated, like the work of Lyng, as primarily first-hand accounts and open for significant emotional bias.¹²⁸ Once again, Martin is the only scholar to turn his attention fully on the Scandinavian foreign-language press in his chapter, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia', in Abe Ata and Colin Ryan's *The Ethnic Press in Australia* (1989).¹²⁹ While using the chapter to give a more detailed overview of the early Scandinavian press, Martin's purpose here is to analyse the post-World War II newspapers, *The Scandinavian Courier* (1979-1983) and the *Scandinavian Herald* (1984-?), noting the modern migrant press' functions as being to spread information about Scandinavia and migrant communities in Australia to interested parties, create both a national image for scattered Scandinavians and a sense of solidarity, and act as a symbol for bilingual and bicultural Scandinavians in Australia to remind them of their ethnic heritage.¹³⁰ Importantly, Martin notes that both these publications have turned out to be enterprises based solely around one person – the editor – and that:

the difficulties of producing an ethnic newspaper for a small community are immense. Everything devolves on the editors. In both cases they have had to gather news, write articles, organise advertising and distribution, promote sales and plan future development. Hence the editors perform a heroic feat in the production of these newspapers.¹³¹

As his findings concern a later wave of Scandinavian migration and their relation to the migrant press, it will be of interest to note the differences between these functions and those of the earlier *Norden*.

In the context of this current knowledge, several key gaps have presented themselves that warrant further attention and form the basis for this study. First, the turn towards analysing Scandinavian migrant activities from the perspective of Teo's processes of ethnicisation can greatly expand scholarly understandings of the Scandinavian-Australian histories already produced. Furthermore, as the study of other white ethnic groups has shown, there is a need for historians to differentiate between small migrant groups, with discernible cultural differences and a shared group belonging, from the dominant British-Australian society that was historically envisioned for Australia. So far, many of the primary sources have not been studied in relation to these issues of identity, belonging and ethnicity, especially in regards to the impact of whiteness, nationalism and macro-nationalism on such groups. The fact that the foreign-language press and archival material have only been studied from a

¹²⁶ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

¹²⁷ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹²⁸ Corfitz Cronqvist, *Vandringar i Australien åren 1857-1859* (*Wanderings in Australia in the years 1857-1859*), Gothenburg, Hedlund & Lindskog, 1859.

¹²⁹ John Stanley Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia' in Abe (I.) W. Ata and Colin Ryan (eds), *The Ethnic Press in Australia*, Forest Hill, Vic., Academia Press, 1989, pp. 69-92.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

demographic and positivistic perspective has left a sizeable rift in understanding how these migrants used such methods of communication to identify collectively and relate to each other, form social groups and interact with others in surrounding society. Furthermore, when discussing Australia's Scandinavian migrant communities and institutions, such as the foreign-language press, social clubs and Church groups, past studies have often failed to discuss these groups' interactions with wider society – instead, creating insular barriers between migrant groups and not understanding the plural existence and layers of identity that existed for many migrants.

This research project counters these problems by weaving the history of *Norden*, as well as issues of ethnicisation, assimilation, nationalism, pan-Scandinavianism and the socially-constructed nature of migrant identities, into a wider discussion of Australian social and cultural history. The ensuing analysis of the Scandinavian foreign-language press examines the Scandinavian-Australian migrant experience in greater detail, with particular reference to *Norden* and the evolution of its united migrant community as its editors and readers responded to societal and cultural change. A full history of *Norden* and the influences of the Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language press upon migrant identities, must begin with the very first attempts of Scandinavian migrant publishing in Australia, which emerged from an enabling environment of macro-national collaboration between Nordic migrants on the Victorian gold-fields.

Chapter 3

PIONEERS OF PRINT: 1850-1896

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, Australian immigration literature attempted to persuade impoverished Europeans that “Australia was a land of opportunity, a paradise for the working man”.¹ But, Australia was also promoted – rather honestly – as a harsh frontier landscape where that opportunity came at a cost to one’s own pursuit of social and intellectual gratification. In 1853, John Capper’s *Emigrants Guide to Australia* specifically noted that the colonies had “no room for pride and prejudice... no wits or society stars... [and was] no place for scientists or university men”.² It was not promoted as a popular location for writers, journalists, and intellectuals, for valid reasons:

Strong literary tastes are not an advantage in the bush, although it is an admirable resource to enjoy reading where books are to be had, and to refresh the mind by recalling past reading where they are not; but to always be longing for what is out of reach – for society, newspapers, new books – or to be dreaming and grumbling when you should be riding after cattle or closely superintending the important operation of sheep-shearing – is a terrible drawback.³

According to D. J. Golding, such guides clearly noted that success in the new country depended solely on those with strong hands and unbreakable spirits: “Again and again it stressed the hardships and difficulties that must be expected and warned those who were not prepared for hard work and privations that they better stay home”.⁴ Yet, only four years after *The Emigrants Guide* had espoused these rugged virtues of colonial life, the appearance of intellectually driven, co-operative migrant social networks on the Victorian gold-fields – and, remarkably, the first Scandinavian-Australian newspaper – began to challenge these assumptions.⁵

In May 1857, following the gold discoveries that had drawn so many of his fellow countrymen to the Victorian diggings, a young Swedish journalist arrived in Melbourne with the idea of making his fortune not through mining and backbreaking labour, but by bringing tailored news services to other Scandinavians on the diggings. Corfitz Cronqvist planned to start a Swedish-language newspaper and rally the 800 or so Scandinavian miners present to a united macro-national cause through

¹ Jan Kociumbas, *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 2: Possessions 1770-1860*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 295.

² John Capper, cited in D. J. Golding (ed.), *The Emigrants Guide to Australia in the Eighteen Fifties*, Melbourne, Hawthorn Press, 1973, pp. 18-19.

³ John Capper, *The Emigrants Guide to Australia*, 2nd ed., Liverpool, George Philip & Son, 1853, p. 90.

⁴ Golding *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁵ Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *The Foreign-language Press in Australia, 1848-1964*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1967, p. 13.

their support of his newspaper and the recently established Ballarat Scandinavian Society. Both ventures lasted only a short time, yet are exceptional early attempts of both non-British community formation and pan-Scandinavian unity in Australia. His short-lived publication, *Norden*, was the first Scandinavian-Australian newspaper and the Ballarat Scandinavian Society was the first overseas Scandinavian society in the world.⁶ In the wake of Cronqvist's pioneering exploits, which eventually failed due to a lack of support from Ballarat's impermanent migrant community as well as his own personal foibles, several other pan-Scandinavian publications arose in the later decades of the nineteenth century following migrant calls for a greater sense of belonging, co-operation and 'togetherness' – namely through New Zealand's *Skandia* (*Scandinavia*) (1875/1876) and *Brevduen* (*The Carrier Dove*) (1875),⁷ as well as Sydney's *Skandinavien* (*Scandinavia*) (1887) and Melbourne's *Hjemlandstoner* (*Voices from Home*) (1893-1896).⁸ Intrinsically linked to the simultaneous emergence of late nineteenth century pan-Scandinavian secular and religious organisations designed to allow migrants to re-establish homeland links, foster linguistic similarities and create a sense of united Scandinavian morality and culture within a colonial Australasian landscape, these early newspapers of the Scandinavian-Australian migrant press were highly experimental, romanticised and fragile promotional vehicles for migrant fellowship and fraternity. Despite their failings, these short-lived publications demonstrate both the continued desires of their migrant readers to form macro-national imagined communities centred on communication hubs such as the foreign-language press, but also the immense difficulties faced by these Scandinavian pioneers of print. It is here that the history of the Scandinavian foreign-language press must begin.

The discovery of large gold deposits in rural Victoria in 1851 was instrumental in reshaping Australian pastoral society. According to Jan Kociumbas, gold was "the catalyst for [Australian] colonization", with immigrant arrivals in the new colony of Victoria soaring from around eleven thousand in 1851 to over ninety thousand per year in 1852 and 1853.⁹ This intake of extra migrants gave Australia the economic and labour boost it needed to drive development and prosperity.¹⁰ The gold discoveries and a developing wool trade also led to an increase in shipping into Port Phillip Bay, which from the 1850s began to include a growing number of Scandinavian ships and sailors.¹¹ At the same time as increasing immigration boosted the colonial population, the gold-rush shook the foundations of society as Victorian towns emptied; "thousands of employees simply walked out of their jobs and were never seen again. One-third of the adult male population of Melbourne left for the

⁶ John Stanley Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia' in Abe (I.) W. Ata and Colin Ryan (eds), *The Ethnic Press in Australia*, Forest Hill, Vic., Academia Press, 1989, p. 70.

⁷ 'Literary Column', *Evening Post* (Wellington N.Z.), 20 July 1907, p. 13; Jens Lyng and O. N. Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in Australasia*, Melbourne, West Melbourne Printing Works, 1907, pp. 90-91.

⁸ Olavi Koivukangas, 'Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II' PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974, p. 178.

⁹ Kociumbas, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-305.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 304.

¹¹ John Stanley Martin, *Ethnic Identity and Social Organisation in the Scandinavian Community in Melbourne, 1870-1910*, Parkville, Vic., University of Melbourne, 1982, p. 3.

diggings”.¹² Following Victoria’s separation from New South Wales in 1851, Melbourne:

...bereft of workers, became a transit [point] for prospective diggers en-route to the gold-fields. The city’s growth was phenomenal, and by 1860 fourteen local municipalities had been established. Melbourne took on the function of the administrative and commercial capital of Victoria.¹³

The quick repositioning of Australia’s eastern colonies “from a hellish place of punishment and human degradation to the land of opportunity promised in the emigration literature” acted to pull not only new British settlers but also a rush of emigrants from other locales, including Scandinavia, for the first time.¹⁴ According to Graeme Davison, these new “free immigrants of the 1850s were a special stamp of self-helping men, possibly more skilled and ambitious than the ex-convicts and assisted immigrants of other colonies”.¹⁵ Non-British migrants became increasingly common, and “it has been estimated that some 10,000 or 15,000 non-British Europeans, about half German, and about 10,000 North Americans visited the Victorian diggings in the five years from 1852”.¹⁶ Of these, approximately 2,000 were of Scandinavian extraction, and some 800 were present in the Ballarat region by 1857.¹⁷

Attaining the actual proportion of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians within this group is problematic.¹⁸ While Cronqvist claimed that there were some 2,500 Scandinavians present on the diggings in 1857, more than half of whom were Swedish, this may be somewhat an exaggeration.¹⁹ Olavi Koivukangas believes that, while Cronqvist’s

¹² Michael Cannon, *The Roaring Days*, Mornington, Vic., Today’s Australia, 1998, p. 184; As David Goodman wrote, while the prosperity and growth produced by the gold-rushes of the 1850s “were satisfying to dominant ideologies of progress... the ways in which that prosperity came were troubling. Gold seemed to many to have brought about social decline rather than progression”. David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s*, St Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1994, p. xvii.

¹³ Martin, *Ethnic Identity and Social Organisation*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁴ Kociumbas, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

¹⁵ Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2004, p. 11.

¹⁶ Kociumbas further notes the cosmopolitan nature of gold-rush Victoria, especially when “the sailors of many nationalities who had left their ships to try their luck at the diggings were now joined by veteran prospectors from California and Chile, and European political refugees”. Kociumbas, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

¹⁷ Olavi Koivukangas found that approximately 2000 Scandinavian settlers arrived in Victoria during the peak period of 1852-1857, with a total of 5000 permanent Scandinavians settlers arriving across the entire 1850s and 1860s. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Ulf Beijbom and John Stanley Martin state that the Ballarat region contained approximately 800 Scandinavian men in the later 1850s, a third of whom were Swedish. Ulf Beijbom and John Stanley Martin, *Vikings in the South: The Swedes in Australia Volume 1 – Colonial Australia, 1788-1900*, Carlton, River Seine Press, 1988, p. 39.

¹⁸ While naturalisation records give an idea of the numbers of permanent migrants to arrive during the 1850s, “it is impossible to estimate the number of those who for shorter or longer periods visited the goldfields”. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 87. As not all deserted seamen were reported, it is very difficult to fully understand the scale of the Scandinavian gold-mining experience, especially in regards to the Norwegians. Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1986, p. 38.

¹⁹ Gilson and Zubrzycki draw attention to the 1857 Census of Victoria, which list only 4976 persons from an aggregate group known as ‘Other Europe’ – Scandinavians grouped with all other Europeans in the entire state, bar French and German migrants. Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

total estimate may have been close to the mark, the larger proportion of Danes in the naturalisation records indicates that half of the permanent settlers who arrived in the 1850s and 1860s were actually Danish, not Swedish.²⁰ John Stanley Martin states that this “preponderance of Danes [w]as a result of the disbanding of the Danish Army after the First Slesvig War 1848-50”,²¹ as an already displaced group of young, unemployed Danes sought gold-mining opportunities overseas.

According to Martin, “on the Australian gold-fields Scandinavians would often form informal social networks. This clustering was facilitated by the mutual linguistic comprehension as well as similar culture, history, religion, and traditions”.²² Danish miner Claus Grønn, for example, described in his diary the closeness forged between himself and fellow Dane Peter Hansen above previous partnerships built upon differing nationalities.²³ Another contemporary writer, William Kelly, noted further that one Dane he met on his travels worked independently on his claim, but:

on reaching the gold, he took in a couple of his countrymen as helpers, and they managed to get along in raising up a small pile of the stuff... extracting sufficient gold to meet their outgoings until they had accumulated a lot sufficiently for crushing.²⁴

In forming such working partnerships where possible, supportive collaboration between Scandinavian miners of similar cultural, linguistic and moral backgrounds was a great source of comfort and trust.²⁵ As Kociumbas argued, this was especially important in a place like the gold-fields, where “[n]ew arrivals were taught to be secretive about any finds, for neighbours could not be trusted not to encroach; they learned to carry weapons to protect their persons, and their property from assault”.²⁶ Scandinavian co-operation was therefore an important strategy to survive the hard life on the diggings, but also an ethnicising agent that solidified these migrants into an early pan-Scandinavian community. A heightened need to trust one’s own ‘folk’ drew Scandinavian migrants together in this harsh environment, and this represents the main reason that ideas of united, macro-national co-operation began to proliferate here amongst Nordic mining migrants.

While the Scandinavians’ social life had been previously centred on migrant-owned general stores, the move to a formal society was attempted at the height of the Ballarat gold-rush community.²⁷ In April 1857, these migrants came together

²⁰ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

²¹ Martin, *Ethnic Identity and Social Organisation*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²² Martin, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia’, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

²³ After both good and bad partnerships with an English sailor and a Cornish miner, Grønn’s fortuitous meeting with fellow Dane Peter Hansen sparked a successful long term partnership. Cora McDougall (ed.), *Gold! Gold! Diary of Claus Grønn: A Dane on the Diggings*, translated by Gullivi Ubbersen, Melbourne, Hill of Content Publishing Company, 1981, p. 92.

²⁴ William Kelly, *Life in Victoria, Volume II: Victoria in 1858*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1859, pp. 222-223.

²⁵ When Grønn was struck with a severe case of dysentery, for example, Hansen aided Grønn by continuing to work and provide food and medicine for his Danish partner; “the benefit of caring friends” clearly saving him from the debilitating death that would claim countless other miners. Grønn, cited in McDougall, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

²⁶ Kociumbas, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

²⁷ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40. According to Jens Lyng, “in Ballarat [the Scandinavians] were sufficiently numerous in 1857 to form a Scandinavian club, to erect their own club building, and

formally through the establishment of the Ballarat Scandinavian Society, a new venture which aimed to “help Scandinavians in Ballarat as well as to cater for their social, cultural, educational and spiritual needs”.²⁸ In the interests of partisan co-operation that would be common in later pan-Scandinavian organisations, two Danes, C.A. Tuxen and L. E. Bruun, two Swedes, Oscar Skoglund and J.R. Löfvén, and two Norwegians, T. Asche and J. Børstun, were elected as an executive committee.²⁹ A house was bought on Bridge Street to accommodate the Society while its initial priority was the establishment of a Scandinavian church and congregation. To achieve this end, funds were collected from approximately 100 Scandinavian donors as well as from the membership fee of £1, which brought in sufficient funds for the proposed chapel.³⁰ As Cronqvist would later write, the Scandinavian Society’s goals were flawed in their ability to deliver the promised church, yet they represented a unique experiment trialled by the Scandinavian miners:

The foundation idea was beautiful, but not viable in a country so minimally pious as Australia and with a Scandinavian population so small in religion as the one present: One wanted namely to create a Scandinavian Association and build a church hall – the idea was, as said, good, it was beautiful, high, but it was most of all *new*.³¹

Cronqvist was correct in that the Ballarat Scandinavian Society’s foundation was indeed new and remarkable, as its establishment in the late 1850s was such an early occurrence in terms of emboldening non-British migrant groups to pursue ideas of cultural pluralism within a predominantly British-Australian colonial landscape. Furthermore, this early experimentation with macro-national community-building was even more notable in its timing; as the first documented signs of pan-Scandinavian imaginings in Australia, its development during the late 1850s occurred simultaneously to the influential rise of pan-Scandinavian developments within the Nordic homelands.³² As new migrants from Europe flooded into Victoria to search for gold and a better future, the creation of a migrant newspaper for the Ballarat Scandinavian Society would further provide Australia’s Scandinavian immigrants with quite a unique opportunity – to adapt prevailing homeland ideas of pan-Scandinavian unity and co-operation to their own diasporic migrant communities.

Corfitz Cronqvist and the first Scandinavian-Australian newspaper

Into this environment of rapid growth and ideas of Scandinavian community came the young Swedish journalist Corfitz Cronqvist (1833-1895). Born in Malmö in southern Sweden in 1833, Cronqvist had followed his father, who was a publisher and owner of *Malmö Nya Allehanda* (*Malmö New Journal*), Johan Cronqvist, into

even to inaugurate a Scandinavian newspaper” – Cronqvist’s Norden. Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1927, p. 70.

²⁸ Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²⁹ Corfitz Cronqvist, *Vandringar i Australien åren 1857-1859* (*Wanderings in Australia in the years 1857-1859*), Gothenburg, Hedlund & Lindskog, 1859, pp. 41-42.

³⁰ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

³¹ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 41. My emphasis added.

³² Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1984, pp. 112-113; Byron J. Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p. 208.

newspaper production, training as a typographer before being appointed foreman of the *Nya Wexjö-Bladet* (*New Wexjo Newspaper*) printing works at age 19.³³ Prior to emigrating, he was sacked from *Nya Wexjö-Bladet* for attempting to represent his widowed employer during a slander-trial, despite having no legal qualifications.³⁴ Promptly thrown out of the court and his job, Cronqvist went on to work as a journalist in Kristianstad and Örebro.³⁵ With the death of his father and two other brothers remaining at home to help his mother, Cronqvist sought overseas opportunities to further his future.³⁶

Cronqvist arrived in Melbourne in May 1857 on the British ship *Broughton Hall*. He was 24 years old.³⁷ In the following months, Cronqvist shared his time between Melbourne and the gold-fields, particularly Ballarat.³⁸ The young journalist was quick to assess his situation in the new colony and, within two months of arrival, he had decided to establish himself as editor of his own newspaper for the Scandinavian population of Victoria, to be called *Norden*, and based in Melbourne. His personal reasons behind such a hasty decision can only be speculated but seem steeped in the perception that Victoria was a booming, cosmopolitan region capable of supporting his own pan-Scandinavian endeavours.

In his book, *Wanderings in Australia* (1859), Cronqvist's writings give some idea as to what drove him to begin his newspaper, especially his focus on the economic boom and opportunities generated by the gold-rush. At the time of Cronqvist's arrival in Melbourne, the city had grown to be, in his words, "the biggest [capital city] in Australia, with around 170,000 inhabitants, and presents at first sight a beautiful image".³⁹ Cronqvist was clearly influenced by the size and rapid growth of Melbourne, and the general mood of boundless opportunity. As the contemporary Grønn wrote of his own arrival in Melbourne a few years prior:

‘Unemployment’ was an obsolete word in Melbourne in 1854. Although no longer totally bereft of manpower as it had been when

³³ ‘Obituary of Anna Cristina Cronqvist’, *Kalmar*, 9 February 1893, p. 2; Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Beijbom and Martin have his year of birth as 1853, which is obviously a mistake. According to the Unassisted Inward Passenger lists, Cronqvist was 24 in 1857, thereby born in 1833. Public Records Office Victoria, *Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923*, http://prov.vic.gov.au/search_results?searchid=23&format=freetext&FamilyName=cronquist&GivenName=&Ship=&Month=0&Monthto=0&Year=0&Yearto=0&SearchSortField1=&SearchSortField2=&SearchRecords=50&x=98&y=22 (Accessed 15/01/2013).

³⁴ Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ ‘Obituary of Anna Cristina Cronqvist’, *op. cit.*, p. 2

³⁷ The *Broughton Hall* was predominantly carrying young single men and families of English and Irish extraction to Victoria, and the fact that no other Scandinavian names appear on the passenger lists causes one to believe that he travelled alone. List of passengers on the *Broughton Hall*, May 1857, Public Records Office Victoria, *Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923*, http://prov.vic.gov.au/search_results?searchid=23&format=freetext&FamilyName=&GivenName=&Ship=BROUGHTON+HALL&Month=5&Monthto=0&Year=1857&Yearto=0&SearchSortField1=&SearchSortField2=&SearchRecords=5000 (Accessed 15/01/2013). In a group letter to the ship's Second Mate John Lowie, in which the passengers thank the seaman for his high character and diligence in making the voyage hospitable, Cronqvist is listed as one of the organisers of the thanks, which gives an idea of his relatively visible status aboard ship amongst those of other nationalities.

‘Letter to Mr John Lowie’, *The Argus*, Monday 11 May 1857, p. 1.

³⁸ Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³⁹ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

gold was first discovered in central Victoria in 1851, work still waited about everywhere for men returning from the goldfields. Rates of pay ranged from fifteen shillings and sixpence to one pound for a normal ten-hour day's work... with that kind of pay we all risked delusions of grandeur.⁴⁰

This unchained growth and the possibility for success in Melbourne fed Cronqvist's belief that a Scandinavian newspaper could be viable there, even without proper research into the actual numbers or locations of his potential readership. His book detailed the costs for new and extravagant buildings that grew from unpaved streets, the rush to expand the city's services, and even the exorbitant wages of the Mayor.⁴¹ Importantly, Cronqvist noted in 1859 the growth of Melbourne's newspaper industry, its rapid success in the boom town as another factor in his belief that his *Norden* could be viable:

Melbourne has three daily newspapers (the smallest is twice as large as *Aftonbladet*) with a publication of 8,000, 10,000, and 12,000 copies; in addition, 20 to 25 weekly newspapers. A German [newspaper] has survived for a year's time, but must close due to lack of support. There are over 40 book publishers, 5 of which are supplied with steam presses (one is worth £25,000) and works of great typographic elegance are produced from several of them.⁴²

As Cronqvist indicates, newspapers, such as such as Melbourne's *The Herald* (1840), *The Argus* (1846), and *The Age* (1854), had grown in response to the booming growth of the city.⁴³ Furthermore, "a country press began to spring up by the 1840s, and boosted by the gold-rushes and population increase, was extremely vigorous by the 1860s".⁴⁴ In terms of other migrant publications, Cronqvist's retrospective mention of a failed German-language newspaper demonstrates the mood of journalistic experimentation and opportunity felt by other migrant denominations, especially those intellectuals who would arrive in the wake of the 1848 revolutions.⁴⁵

Enamoured in what he called the Australian "go-a-head system", Cronqvist's belief in his venture's potential success was strengthened by an elitist attitude that likened

⁴⁰ Grønn, cited in McDougall, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

⁴¹ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8. He also details the fast establishment of public institutions to support Melbourne's development, noting churches, theatres, and public houses as part of the growing cityscape, and the somewhat cosmopolitan and pluralistic atmosphere the great gold migrations had created – "over 25 different [religious] sects have their chapels and temples, including a German Lutheran Church". *Ibid*, p. 9.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 11. *Aftonbladet* (*Evening News*) is one of Sweden's oldest popular tabloid news services, founded in 1830 and still operating today.

⁴³ For an overview of the colonial press, including its growth in other centres such as Brisbane, see: Henry Mayer, *The Press in Australia*, Melbourne, Lansdowne Press, 1968, p. 15; Denis Cryle, *The Press in Colonial Queensland: A Social and Political History*, St Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland Press, 1989, p. 165.

⁴⁴ Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁴⁵ Cronqvist was most likely referring to Hermann Puettmann's *Deutsche Monatschrift fuer Australien* (*German Monthly Journal for Australia*) (1858), which became the *Melbournier Deutsche Zeitung* (*Melbourne German Newspaper*) in September 1859 and continued weekly until 1860. Gilson and Zubryzcki note that it became "a lively newspaper which regularly published a digest of European news, feature articles on prominent German liberal thinkers, as well as news reports of German societies throughout Victoria", changing names several times before disappearing in July 1862. Gilson and Zubryzcki, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

Melburnians to civilised Parisians, Berliners, Stockholmers and Copenhageners, yet with their own half-English, half-American character.⁴⁶ Furthermore, growing up in the southern Swedish city of Malmö during the 1840s and 1850s – a period of heightened pan-Scandinavian sentiment – it is likely that this educated and elitist journalist was influenced by united Scandinavian ideals and thought he could rally all three nationalities of Scandinavian emigrants to his macro-national cause.⁴⁷ Such a vibrant publishing scene across the Australian colonies that rivalled the established newspapers of Cronqvist's Sweden, the visible increase in Scandinavian migrant numbers in such a concentrated area as the Victorian gold-fields and extremely influential economic growth, were important factors in convincing Cronqvist that he too could prosper there.

As Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki have noted, Cronqvist's establishment of *Norden* in July 1857 meant that the Scandinavians were the second migrant group to establish a foreign-language press in Australia in 1857, following the German press of 1848 but ahead of the French in 1858.⁴⁸ In this respect, Cronqvist's goals were undoubtedly ground breaking. Despite only landing in Victoria some two months prior to *Norden*'s establishment, Cronqvist attempted to make contact with potential readers outside of Melbourne, particularly with those Scandinavians on the Bendigo diggings. By July 1857, he had become acquainted with Karl Van Damme, a Swede also from Malmö who had been prospecting in the Bendigo region for several years. Van Damme had arrived in Australia in 1852 at the age of 22 and had gone straight to Bendigo where he had purchased a partnership in a tobacconist business while also working as a gold prospector. He was noted as being a literary contributor to *The Argus* in his early days in Australia and later to *The Australasian* (1864), his literary leanings as well as his links to Malmö leading him into co-operation with Cronqvist.⁴⁹ While Cronqvist initially established the newspaper in Melbourne and desired to stay there as the base of operations, he arranged for Van Damme to be *Norden*'s agent on the gold-fields, particularly in the Bendigo region.⁵⁰

From the week beginning on Saturday 18 July, news of *Norden*'s impending arrival was reported in the *Bendigo Advertiser* in an attempt to stir support for the fledgling newspaper and bring it to the attention of the Scandinavian mining community.⁵¹ Van Damme's position as agent for *Norden* was advertised in order to promote the first issue, which was to appear on Thursday 23 July. Described as a Swedish-Danish newspaper, Van Damme stated that the newspaper would largely be concerned with

⁴⁶ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴⁷ The closeness of Swedish Malmö to the Danish capital of Copenhagen – only separated by the four kilometre-wide strait Øresund – meant that residents of the area were well aware of each other's similarities, perhaps further influencing pan-Scandinavian sentiment between migrants such as Cronqvist. Interestingly, the majority of later newspaper editors and important proponents of pan-Scandinavianism in Australia would come from either Copenhagen or the cities of Southern Sweden, indicating that home geopolitics was an important influence in forming the ideals of Scandinavian migrants once abroad.

⁴⁸ These newspapers were *Die Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien* (German Post for the Australian Colonies) (1848-1850) and *Le Journal de Melbourne* (Melbourne Journal) (1858). Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-15.

⁴⁹ 'Obituary of Mr Karl Van Damme, J. P', *Bendigonian*, 7 March 1918, p. 25.

⁵⁰ 'Scandinavia', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 18 July 1857, p. 4.

⁵¹ The advertisement was reprinted throughout the week, on 21, 23, 25 July. By the 25th July, it had been moved to appear on the front page of the broadsheet due to increased interest. 'Scandinavia', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 25 July 1857, p. 1.

the important political news of the homeland nations, which would appeal to miners out of contact with their home states. *Norden* would, for example, “contain original articles on Scandinavianism and the latest exchanges of notes between the Swedish and Danish Cabinets, King Oscar’s abdication, the ministerial Crisis in Denmark, [as well as] Australian news”.⁵² Co-operation between the Swedish and Danish nationalities was a major feature of the newspaper, designed to reflect the similar co-operative tendencies of the local migrant community and strengthen the newspaper’s scope for attracting a potential readership. The article further noted that “K. V. D. [Karl Van Damme] ventures to hope that his Countrymen on the Goldfields will not be slow in supporting so patriotic and interesting an undertaking”.⁵³ Strangely, neither the price nor subscription opportunities were listed in these advertisements, only the newspaper itself, which suggests a flawed business model in ensuring future funding of the venture. Regardless of its pan-Scandinavian character and issues with advertising costs, Cronqvist’s *Norden* was predominantly in Swedish, printed on Thursdays, and sold for a shilling per copy.⁵⁴

Cronqvist and Van Damme’s activities did not go unnoticed by the local Victorian newspapers, which reported the establishment of *Norden* throughout the final week of July 1857. The *Bendigo Advertiser* wrote that the new weekly journal would be “for the especial benefit of the Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian residents of Victoria”,⁵⁵ marking it as not simply a Swedish publication but Scandinavian in scope. Melbourne’s *The Argus* gave further details of the scope of the new journal to its readers, which was then reprinted the week later in Sydney’s *Empire*:

Intelligence from the far North occupies a considerable portion of the columns of our young contemporary; who also furnishes his readers with a *feuilleton*, after the fashion of the journals of continental Europe. A list of unclaimed letters addressed to “hardy northmen” in the colony is given and the advertisements of Melbourne tradesmen appear in the first time in the language spoken by the “sea-kings” with whom so many of our own countrymen may claim affinity by descent. The *Norden* is very neatly printed; and the issue of a paper of this kind is an interesting occurrence in the history of colonial journalism.⁵⁶

This clear fascination with the pan-Scandinavian nature of *Norden* by the mainstream colonial press conveyed a strong atmosphere of positive support for the intellectual venture, willing similar migrant newspapers to flourish within a society affected by the pluralist energies of gold-rush immigration. But it also indicated the ways in which, even then, the individual differences of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian migrants were nominalised by non-Scandinavian observers, who instead grouped these nationalities together into one, already united, Scandinavian regional identity – much in the same way that the former’s contemporaries in the United States were

⁵² ‘Scandinavia’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 18 July 1857, p. 4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939, p. 61.

⁵⁵ ‘Melbourne News (From the Papers)’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 25 July 1857, p. 2.

⁵⁶ ‘Norden’, *The Argus*, 24 July 1857, p. 4. The fact that the article was reprinted the following week in Sydney’s *Empire* shows the perceived importance of the new journal across the colonies as a talking point, at least, for other locales with potential Scandinavian readers.

also grouped and generically labelled as ‘Scandinavians’ by the wider American populace.⁵⁷ As one group of “hardy Northmen”, as the above article referred to those who spoke *the* language of the “sea-kings” – not several related languages, but the singular, emphasising their inability to differentiate between Swede, Dane, or Norwegian – *Norden*’s creation and own focus on macro-national unity would further assist in the masking over of national, cultural and linguistic differences and reinforce a stereotypical ‘Scandinavian’ migrant type in the minds of other Australians.

As well as *Norden*’s pan-Scandinavian focus, the transnational aspect of Cronqvist’s venture was also evident in his efforts to recruit interested readers from Scandinavia proper. Copies were sent back to Sweden in August 1857 in the hope that the newspaper would be a valuable tool for families seeking news of their emigrant sons, thereby gaining transnational subscribers. Upon receiving the 6 August 1857 issue some three months later in October 1857, Swedish government newspaper *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* (*Post and Domestic Times*) reported the details of the Australian venture, notably *Norden*’s provision of “a special detachment which includes submitted greetings from emigrants to friends in Scandinavia, with details of addresses, etc”.⁵⁸ It also listed the Swedish names present in advertisements, as well as Cronqvist’s growing list of agents, in order to give Swedish relatives some news of their loved ones. Listed among others were notable Ballarat Scandinavian Society committee members Oscar Skoglund and J. R. Löfvén, indicating *Norden*’s growing ties to the Ballarat community.⁵⁹

After the first few weeks of publishing *Norden* from Melbourne, Cronqvist decided that he could benefit by being closer to his main concentration of potential readers and the influential Scandinavian Society in Ballarat. By the spring of 1857 he had relocated to the gold-fields,⁶⁰ under the impression that the gold-rush was not a temporary occurrence and that the community of Scandinavian miners was stable enough to require similarly permanent news services. This was most likely due to the encouraging successes of other regional newspapers, such as *The Bendigo Advertiser*, which had grown to hold great sway over colonial affairs as “a local journal of great influence and circulation... a paper above clap-trap, and thoroughly identified with the digging and mining interests”.⁶¹ If such newspapers could be assured their place on the diggings, Cronqvist certainly did not doubt his own ability to continue *Norden* from this new locale. The publication was to be linked to the Society as its informational vehicle and to promote Scandinavian co-operation in the colonies.⁶² Through *Norden* and his involvement in the Society itself as secretary,

⁵⁷ According to Dag Blanck, “to many Americans the distinction between the Norwegians and Swedes was small, and they were seen as one group, as ‘Scandinavians’”. Dag Blanck, ‘Friends and Neighbors: Patterns of Norwegian-Swedish Interaction in the United States’, in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, p. 5.

⁵⁸ ‘Scandinavian newspaper in Australia’, *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* (*Post and Domestic Times*), 26 October 1857, p. 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39

⁶¹ Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 206. John Capper had also mentioned that “three newspapers are to be started at Bendigo and one of them in Melbourne, devoted to the digging interest”, including the *Bendigo Advertiser*. Capper, cited in D. J. Golding, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁶² Martin, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia’, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Cronqvist attempted to cultivate an intellectual atmosphere capable of sparking greater interest in the newspaper and its fraternal goals of Scandinavian unity. He donated his collection of some 150 books to form the basis of a lending library, and gave public readings from them during Society meetings, in the hope that this would strengthen Scandinavian community ties.⁶³

Throughout September and October 1857 the Ballarat community continued to support his efforts, but the Scandinavian Society quickly proved to be a fractured and dissentious group, incapable of co-operating for the good of his newspaper.⁶⁴ One of the main reasons for the creation of the Society – to build a Scandinavian church to aid in the spiritual needs of the miners – caused divisions within the association regarding the nationality of the pastor, to a point where it was eventually decided not to continue with the church plans, even though they had acquired sufficient capital to build the chapel.⁶⁵ While approximately 100 people had shown initial interest in the organisation and had contributed to the proposed church, the Society's numbers quickly receded until only a core of 20 active members remained.⁶⁶ Cronqvist sadly proclaimed that, instead, large numbers of Scandinavian miners preferred to meet and socialise over drinks at the two Norwegian-owned hotels rather than visit their own Bridge Street Society.⁶⁷ Unable to arouse continued support, *Norden* could not locate a sufficiently interested market. The newspaper lasted for three months, with only 15 issues printed, before Cronqvist was forced to abandon the venture.⁶⁸

Ultimately, Cronqvist failed to take into account the constant movement of the local migrant population and their real goals of being in Australia. The moment any Scandinavian miner acquired a sufficient fortune, or as Cronqvist wrote, acquired “*anything*, they turned their back quickly on the gold country, which with all its treasure was still very hard and difficult to work in”.⁶⁹ Furthermore, as Jens Lyng would write later, the gold-diggers “were widely scattered and had no fixed abode, [and] it may be assumed that Mr. Cronquist [*sic*] had to cover a large area to ‘make tucker’, let alone keep a newspaper going”.⁷⁰ Another concern was the significant gender imbalance of the Scandinavian colony on the diggings, which compromised any idea of a continued ethnic community built on migrant families. As Borrie states, the adult population of the goldfields was often three males to one female, and this was even more pronounced “amongst the non-British elements who could not take advantage of assisted passage facilities”.⁷¹ Koivukangas and Martin also note that very few Scandinavian females ever went to the Australian goldfields, and that “the imbalance between the sexes meant that most Scandinavian men who married had British wives which led to rapid assimilation of the Scandinavian settlers”.⁷² The lack of a semi-permanent community was certainly a setback for Cronqvist, as was his belief that the low social and educational level of his fellow Scandinavian miners

⁶³ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40

⁶⁴ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁶⁵ Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁶ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40; Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁶⁷ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*; Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁶⁹ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 41. [My emphasis.]

⁷⁰ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁷¹ W. D. Borrie, *The European Peopling of Australasia: A Demographic History, 1788-1988*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1994, p. 73.

⁷² Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

was responsible for their indifference towards his journalistic and community-building ventures.⁷³

Cronqvist was very harsh on his fellow Scandinavians' educational standards, noting that "of [the some 2,500 Scandinavians on the diggings] at the most 200 have received schooling – those that are able to write *something* more than their own name – and perhaps only 30 of these have theoretic and practical knowledge".⁷⁴ The majority, according to Cronqvist, were tradesmen, farmers, and unskilled labourers, and it was this last group that, along with a large contingent of deserted sailors, were most common on the gold-fields and also the least interested in his journalistic endeavours.⁷⁵ Yet, despite Cronqvist's insistence of low educational standards amongst the Scandinavian migrants, evidence suggests the contrary and undermines this as a strong excuse for his failings. James Jupp reminds us that the gold-rush immigrants attracted in the 1850s "were better educated and possessed higher levels of skills than any other group of immigrants in nineteenth century Australia," enabling Victoria to "claim to have the highest literacy rate of any part of the British Empire" for the remainder of the century.⁷⁶ In terms of the Scandinavians, Beijbom and Martin note, in particular, the "strong element on the Australian gold-fields of Swedish sons of middle-class and aristocratic homes [which] must have also set its mark on the Scandinavian Society of Ballarat".⁷⁷ Furthermore, Koivukangas found that there was a mix of "doctors, lawyers, sea captains and businessmen together with criminals from the old countries"⁷⁸ on the diggings, and Claus Grønn is notable in his insistence that many Scandinavian miners he met were educated to some degree.⁷⁹ Together, this evidence casts significant doubt regarding the influence of poor education and minimal levels of migrant literacy as valid reasons for Cronqvist's failures. While the majority of Ballarat's Scandinavians had expressed interest in united social activity, they were insufficiently determined – and too mobile – to form a lasting ethnic community capable of maintaining Cronqvist's pan-Scandinavian journal.

As such, the first incarnation of *Norden* lasted only three months before Cronqvist realised the futility of his ventures, both in mining and journalism, himself demonstrating the impermanent nature of the community by packing up and leaving Ballarat.⁸⁰ Despairingly, in 1859 he blamed self-complacency and egoism for the failure of Scandinavian migrant unity and, by proxy, his newspaper:

⁷³ Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁷⁴ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 41. [His emphasis.]

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* While the governments of Scandinavia had been busy implementing systems of compulsory schooling between 1814 (Denmark), 1842 (Sweden) and 1848 (Norway), the slow adoption of educational reform meant that most Scandinavian young people only had access to adequate schooling very late in the nineteenth century – suggesting that Cronqvist may have had a point regarding gold-miners' literacy rates. Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁷⁶ James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins* (2nd ed), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 39.

⁷⁷ Beijbom and Martin believe that Cronqvist made contacts and friends amongst these other Swedish sons, in particular those also hailing from Malmö, such as brothers Karl and Peter Van Damme, Samuel Peter Mattsson, Jonas Angelin, Carl Johan Krumlinde, Christian Petter Kockum, Christian and Robert Ruhe, and Karl Oskar, Otto, and Konrad Treffenberg. Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁷⁸ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁷⁹ *Norden*, 3 September 1904, p. 8.

⁸⁰ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

This was to have been a Society not bound by diplomatic strings but by the people themselves... One would have hoped that all Scandinavians in Australia, on hearing a call, would rush to give a hand to a brotherly association and stand under the Scandinavian flag. Where else do you need *togetherness* if not in a foreign country?⁸¹

Even in retrospect, Cronqvist's choice of wording here is significant as it directly explains his motives of fellowship, "togetherness" and macro-national unity that he hoped to achieve by gathering his migrant compatriots "under [an imaginary] Scandinavian flag". Despite the short lifespan of this first *Norden*, Cronqvist's enterprise is therefore very important in demonstrating the early experimentation of united pan-Scandinavian community creation in Australia, and the beginnings of a migrant press that would attempt to survive within. Beijbom and Martin regard *Norden* as remarkable for two reasons:

Firstly, it began at such an early period before the consolidation of the specifically Swedish or general Scandinavian communities. The only earlier representatives of foreign-language press in Australia were some German newspapers. Secondly, *Norden* represented an incredible work of one man who laboured with his journalistic endeavour under the most primitive conditions on the Victorian gold-fields.⁸²

After investing so much energy and romantic idealism in this pan-Scandinavian endeavour, Cronqvist's inability to rally the local Scandinavian expatriate community around *Norden* destroyed any remaining sense of initial optimism he felt towards the social, cultural and journalistic opportunities available to his migrant contemporaries. He had also proven to be ill-suited to the bush lifestyle, as he found "the climate of Ballarat especially unpleasant, with its constant change of weather, sudden flooding, searing summer winds and humidity".⁸³ Such harsh weather conditions and the limited social and intellectual possibilities available in a place like Ballarat confounded Cronqvist's hopes of success. Following the collapse of *Norden*, Cronqvist moved back to Melbourne in early 1858 and, after travelling extensively to the gold-fields of Bendigo and McIvor during this time to gather material for a planned book – to salvage what good remained of his experiences and profit from its publication – he eventually gave up on the Australian gold-fields entirely.⁸⁴

By March 1859, Cronqvist had moved to Sydney, where he completed *Wanderings in Australia* and was contemplating travelling to California to seek further fortunes.⁸⁵ In its pages, Cronqvist downplayed his role in the failed *Norden* and the Scandinavian Society – instead writing extensively of the Australian cities and gold-fields to produce his own emigrants guide for prospective Swedish gold-miners.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45; also cited in Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 14. [My emphasis.]

⁸² Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 65, 85, 106.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁶ In May 1859, the Swedish newspaper *Norrköpingskuriren* (*Norrköping Courier*) drew attention to Cronqvist's "interesting stories from Australia", which had been published in the *Göteborg Handelstidning* (*Gothenburg Trade Journal*). *Norrköpingskuriren* specifically mentioned Cronqvist's

He disappears from historical sources for some eight years, so he may indeed have made the voyage to “visit the world’s other large gold colony, California,” and to try his luck afresh.⁸⁷ Despite his presence in the Australian press, the Californian newspapers of the time fail to mention him. Only the fact that his book was self-published in California gives any indication that he made the journey to the United States for at least a time.⁸⁸ Instead, it seems likely that he spent some of this time in a Sydney gaol, as his failing optimism gave way to despair and drink. Where he could not make a living through journalism or clerical work, Cronqvist proceeded through petty crime, his disreputable exploits being sensationalised in the ensuing years by New Zealand’s colonial newspapers:

Finding no scope in the mechanical application of ‘type snatching’ for an exuberant intellect such as his, Corfitz determined to strike out another track, where [in Sydney] he was employed in the capacity of merchant’s clerk, but mistaking his master’s cash box for his trousers pocket, received two years as a reminder of his mistake.⁸⁹

Cronqvist reappeared in New Zealand in the late 1860s, lured there by new gold discoveries. In 1867, he passed through the Otago gold-fields, giving public lectures on phrenology whilst charging for private consultations.⁹⁰ He became somewhat of a celebrity in the ensuing years and was proposing lectures in the Lawrence region two years later in March 1869.⁹¹ Cronqvist’s phrenology tour was disrupted following the discovery of a spate of petty thefts, which sparked a period of his constant movement across New Zealand and the Pacific. Arrested for forgery and passing valueless cheques in Dunedin, he became proof-reader for *The Sun*, a newly established morning newspaper, upon release from gaol.⁹² Losing this position due to a misprint that accidentally insulted a town official, he “left the office, but not till he had indulged his mania for petty larceny, stealing even the suppers of his fellow *employés*”.⁹³ Escaping New Zealand for Fiji, he also found trouble for stealing a hotel owner’s cashbox.⁹⁴ After “several disreputable episodes, the authorities having no gaol, declared him a vagabond in the *Fiji Times*, whereupon he took sail to Sydney”.⁹⁵ While involved in his troubled sojourn, Cronqvist continued to send

intention “to now take himself to California and from there to Utah, where he will be closer to learn of Mormon practices and industry”. *Norrköpingskuriren*, 24 May 1859, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁸⁸ Both Martin and Gilson and Zubrzycki believed that Cronqvist had returned to Sweden in 1859, possibly due to his book *Wanderings in Australia* being primarily published in Gothenburg. Yet, there is no evidence to substantiate this, with the work being completed in Sydney in 1859 and published in not only Gothenburg but also in Melbourne and self-published in California. His links to the *Gothenburg Trade Journal* strengthen the idea that he did not return home, instead publishing via his friends back in Sweden. Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Martin, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia’, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

⁸⁹ ‘Adventure and Vicissitude’, *Wellington Independent*, 26 May 1871, p. 3.

⁹⁰ ‘Lecture on Phrenology’, *The Oamaru Times and Waitaki Reporter*, 13 August 1867, p. 2;

‘Advertisements’, *The Oamaru Times and Waitaki Reporter*, 13 August 1867, p. 3.

⁹¹ ‘Tuapeka districts’, *Bruce Herald*, 24 March 1869, p. 3.

⁹² ‘An Accomplished Forger’, *Colonist*, 24 October 1882, p. 3.

⁹³ ‘A Very Hot Member’, *Otago Witness*, 13 March 1875, p. 17.

⁹⁴ Cronqvist was reported to have stolen a cashbox from an inn and found guilty. His punishment, due to a lack of gaol on Fiji, was the publication of his crime in the *Fiji Times*, which Cronqvist denounced as a “malicious, mean, and dastardly allegation”. ‘The Fiji Islands’, *South Australian Register*, 16 May 1871, p. 3.

⁹⁵ ‘An Accomplished Forger’, *Colonist*, 24 October 1882, p. 3.

articles back to the Swedish press, and was reported as a news correspondent for the *Nerikes Allehanda* (*Närke Journal*) in 1871.⁹⁶ He had also been promoting himself at varying times as an agent and correspondent for the *Sydney Mail*, the *Town and Country Journal*, and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, but his actual employment in these positions is unsure.⁹⁷

By 1875, Cronqvist was reported back in Sydney, where he had been sentenced to a three-year imprisonment for stealing a £5 bank draft from a colleague after losing all his money whilst on a drinking spree.⁹⁸ According to Cronqvist's self-defence, he:

had been on the "spree" and had spent £150 while on it; that while drunk he had missed his passage by the *Cyphrenes* to San Francisco, after having paid for it; that he had delirium tremens three times successively, and that in order to satisfy his craving for drink he had, when his own money was gone, stolen the draft in question from his "friend" Mr Blitz.⁹⁹

The New Zealand newspapers, which followed the ex-celebrity phrenologist closely, noted that "by no means deficient in ability, and gifted with persuasive powers and a facility of speech of more than a common order, he seems possessed by a mania for thieving and defrauding".¹⁰⁰ Upon release he wrote several articles concerning the prison system for the *Sydney Bulletin*, but was ironically caught forging the editor's name on a cheque and was promptly "recommitted to his dungeon cell where he now pines. Such is part of the history of a confirmed criminal, although a well-educated man".¹⁰¹ Cronqvist's tragic later years marred his earlier endeavours and his remarkable attempts to establish the first Scandinavian foreign-language publication in Australia. He died, unknown and penniless, in Melbourne Hospital on 1 June 1895.¹⁰²

Unravelling the full life of an early Scandinavian-Australian journalist shows the immensely problematic nature of a migrant finding success in colonial Australia, let alone establishing a newspaper. Originally an optimistic and naïve young man upon his arrival, Cronqvist's determination and desires to forge a new and successful journalistic life on the Australian gold-fields were shattered with the failings of the Scandinavian Society and his own newspaper. His later life spiralled out of control as he was gripped by alcoholism and petty criminality; the sense of opportunity felt by Cronqvist upon his arrival and espoused by the much admired 'go-ahead system' was finally lost after countless setbacks. In this way, Cronqvist can be seen as an exemplar of the very type migrant that John Capper attempted to dissuade from

⁹⁶ Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁹⁷ Upon being arrested in 1875, Cronqvist was listed as being previously convicted for misrepresenting himself in Orange as an agent for the *Sydney Mail*. The court also doubted his connections to the *Town and Country Journal*, and his current position with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, where he was due to travel to California as special correspondent. 'A Very Hot Member', *Otago Witness*, 13 March 1875, p. 17.

⁹⁸ 'The Sequel of a "Spree"', *Westport Times*, 23 February 1875, p. 4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ 'A Very Hot Member', *Otago Witness*, 13 March 1875, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ 'An Accomplished Forger', *Colonist*, 24 October 1882, p. 3.

¹⁰² 'No. 6365: Corfitz Cronqvist', *Deaths in the District of East Melbourne, 1895*, Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 1895. Cronqvist is listed as 65 years, being overcome by Bright's disease and heart failure. Beijbom and Martin note him passing in a Melbourne hospice for the poor in 1895. Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

coming to Australia – well educated and optimistic, yet wholly unsuited and ill-prepared for the trials to be faced here.

Cronqvist's later failings are also important in showing how his account of early Scandinavian developments cannot be taken as complete fact, which is startling when one perceives how much early knowledge of the Scandinavians in this period are built on his account alone. Lyng, Gilson and Zubrzycki, Koivukangas and Martin and Beijbom have all used Cronqvist's writings as a major source and developed their greatest opinions of his significance.¹⁰³ Underlying this history is a very troubled immigrant and his early optimism and validity as a source must be balanced with his later life. While continuing to be involved in journalism wherever possible, his weakened character and propensity for crime and dishonesty raise questions as to the accuracy of *Wanderings in Australia*. The over-exaggeration of Scandinavian migrant life on the diggings, his thoughts over the Scandinavian Society, even his reasons for *Norden's* failings, must be considered as somewhat untrue given that Cronqvist attempted to blame everyone but himself for the first *Norden's* demise. While certainly a remarkable figure in Australian migrant and press histories, one cannot help but feel his negative experiences were shared by countless other dreamers who, unlike Cronqvist, left no written trace of their shortcomings.

Pan-Scandinavian communities and the ephemeral nature of migrant publications, 1870-1890

Like many other early migrants with hopes for starting foreign-language newspapers in Australia at this time, as Lyng explains, "the difficulty of making such a venture a success did not always occur to them till they had been taught by bitter experience".¹⁰⁴ Sharing a similar fate to Cronqvist's *Norden*, the French community's *Le Journal de Melbourne* (*Melbourne Journal*) lasted only three weeks before disappearing after its 11 December 1858 issue, while the German community's earlier founding newspaper, *Die Deutsche Post* (*The German Post*), failed after 37 issues on 12 September 1850.¹⁰⁵ While the German language press was able to continue quite strongly under various other publications throughout the later nineteenth century, the Scandinavian newcomers were forced to languish without a foreign-language press for the next few decades.¹⁰⁶ Persistent links to the Nordic homelands suffered greatly without such an important purveyor of Scandinavian news, culture and identity, and earlier migrants began to assimilate into colonial society as a result.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ See, for example: Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Beijbom and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Koivukangas also points out how bitterness seems to discredit Cronqvist's historical account, yet the severity of Cronqvist's failings and character flaws was not fully known at the time of Koivukangas' own study. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁴ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁵ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, pp.8,15.

¹⁰⁶ Sharing many similarities to the Scandinavian press, the French press struggled through with only two short-lived trade journals before the creation of a successful *Le Courrier Australien* (*The Australian Courier*) in 1892. Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Anny P. L. Stuer, *The French in Australia*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1982, p. 150.

¹⁰⁷ As Koivukangas argued, "the gold-rush Scandinavians interspersed amongst the mixed populations of Victoria and other colonies [and] even those few group settlements assimilated quickly by the end of the century". Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

After Cronqvist, the Scandinavian press remained dormant, unable to be seriously considered viable without a stable migrant community that desired, and was able to support, regular printed news services. This was largely due to the fact that migrants of the 1860s and 1870s did not congregate together in sufficiently high concentrations to warrant migrant publications, as the gold-rush had allowed in Victoria, and were often rural in focus or from low socio-economic backgrounds and occupations.¹⁰⁸ According to Martin and Koivukangas, until the 1880s, most Scandinavian social meetings occurred in private homes and stores owned by fellow countrymen, and only those interested in the Church attempted to form viable formal congregations at this time.¹⁰⁹ This period therefore remained as one of largely informal networks; that is, smaller social groupings and local friends, who came together to help each other and socialise in their mother-tongue, often around migrant operated hotels and stores.¹¹⁰ As Claus Grønn's experiences show, familial micro-communities built around small groups of Scandinavian friends formed important informal social structures:

Several Danish friends put their shoulders to the task and helped us as they saw to our needs. Andrea Bernd, from South Jutland, vacated his hut for us moving into an old shed until Christian Moller and Thomas Petersen finished building a house for us. Two others, Jorgen Sandersen and Hans P. Moller loaned us money enough to set up a general store and this proved a splendid success. Soon I paid off all creditors, bought land across the street, on which I build another house, and could now continue my own affairs.¹¹¹

During a period of isolation and pioneering spirit, the close knit ties of small social groups built on parochial and cultural ties of kinship might indeed have been a benefit in order for migrants purely to survive. From the end of the gold-rush period until the next wave of Scandinavian immigration to Australia would commence in the 1870s, ideas of pan-Scandinavianism and foreign-language news services remained out of reach for most pioneering Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians.

The 1870s, however, marked the beginning of a period of increased numbers of both migrants and so-called 'Scandinavian' associations, starting with establishment of the Scandinavian Association *Heimdal* in Brisbane in September 1872.¹¹² These early associations grew from the desire for migrants to join forces under the practical umbrella of pan-Scandinavianism, to promote an environment of friendship, co-operation, support and social welfare for migrants of all three nationalities. They also mirrored the experiences of those migrants who had arrived in the United States between 1840 and 1890, where the early years of mass migration had seen concerted efforts to create a sense of pan-Scandinavianism within North American communities due to relatively small numbers of Scandinavian immigrants, the natural tendency for Danes, Norwegians and Swedes to seek each other out in an

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.182-185.

¹⁰⁹ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹¹⁰ Martin, *Ethnic Identity and Social Organisation in the Scandinavian Community in Melbourne 1870-1910*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹¹¹ MS, State Library of Victoria: MSB 453, Claus Grønn, 'Memories from Days as a Gold Digger [English translation of pp. 89-146 of Unpublished Autobiography]', 1906, in *Papers, ca. 1895-ca. 1906*.

¹¹² Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-118.

unknown and alien society, and the remnant influences of pan-Scandinavian cultural and political ideologies from the originating homelands.¹¹³ Across Queensland, the influx of assisted migrants from 1871 onwards allowed for the formation of Scandinavian associations in the migrant-laden townships of Maryborough, Rockhampton, and Charters Towers.¹¹⁴ Often beginning as friendly societies to provide sickness benefits to members, most of these early Scandinavian societies evolved into social associations after realising their inability to compete with larger Australian benefit funds.¹¹⁵ In this newly adapted social role, the associations of Queensland enjoyed a high level of membership for a brief period, with Maryborough and Charters Towers maintaining approximately 60 and 40 members, respectively, at their peak in the late 1880s.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, the still very fluid nature of Queensland's migrants – continually searching for viable economic opportunities – meant that many of these organisations could not rely on a stable membership base. Rockhampton and Charters Towers in particular suffered from the same malady as Ballarat's community of some forty years before – gold fever and the ever problematic migrant-as-miner.

The result of this continued instability of Queensland's pan-Scandinavian societies was their surprisingly limited involvement in the migrant press in Queensland over this period. In fact, prominent Scandinavian proprietor, editor and publisher of the *Mount Morgan Argus*, J. H. Lundager (1854?-1930) is really the only known Scandinavian involved in the Queensland press industry during the late nineteenth century, before eventually becoming Mayor of Mount Morgan for two terms.¹¹⁷ Apart from Lundager's achievements in the local press, community and government, a Scandinavian publication was rarely even discussed and only one record indicates the desires for a migrant newspaper in Queensland. In Brisbane in 1881 and possibly in response to *Heimdal's* success as a Scandinavian association, a Danish resident, known as Mr. Jensen, proposed the idea of creating a new pan-Scandinavian publication, to be called *Den Skandinaviske Queenslander* (*The Scandinavian Queenslander*). Despite good intentions however, the idyllic Jensen abandoned his plans before an issue was even published.¹¹⁸ With the exception of *Heimdal*, all of Queensland's Scandinavian organisations had disbanded by the turn of the twentieth century, as founding migrants left their original townships and the associations were unable to garner new members.¹¹⁹ This instability and the widespread nature of smaller, disconnected migrant communities account for limited imaginings for a Queensland-based Scandinavian migrant press, despite the increased numbers of migrants in a period of assisted immigration.

Across the Tasman Sea, New Zealand's more concentrated populations of newly arrived Scandinavian migrants were more hopeful of creating lasting social networks than the dispersed societies of Queensland and, on two occasions during the 1870s,

¹¹³ Blanck, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹⁴ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹¹⁷ 'Mr J. H. Lundager', *The Central Queensland Herald*, 13 March 1930, p. 27; Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹¹⁸ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹¹⁹ Rockhampton's society was founded in 1873 but only lasted a few months; Maryborough's was disbanded in late 1890s, and Charters Towers' ran from 1880s-1897. Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

attempted to establish their own newspapers. In February 1875, Norwegian missionary E. Nielsen and printer R. C. Harding began publishing a religious monthly periodical, known as *Brevduen* (*The Carrier Dove*), in Napier.¹²⁰ Containing sixteen pages in Dano-Norwegian, Nielsen's publication appealed to:

those interested in the spread of evangelical literature to aid in circulating this periodical – the only one of its kind in the Australian colonies, and which appeals to a large and increasing class who are but imperfectly acquainted with the English language, and who are in most cases cut off from the those religious advantages to which they have been accustomed in their own country.¹²¹

Due to Nielsen's missionary travels, the journal was available in not only Napier but also Wellington and Auckland, where he later came to be based.¹²² The publication, however, failed to find sufficient support, and no further evidence of its survival exists past 25 August 1875.¹²³ Around 1875-1876, Norwegian publisher H. Graff began to publish a secular journal called *Skandia* (*Scandinavia*) in Palmerston North, but it too met with short-lived failure.¹²⁴ In a letter to the *West Coast Times* on 1 December 1875, Graff noted his new publication as being "the first Scandinavian newspaper published in the Southern Hemisphere".¹²⁵ The fact that publishers, such as Graff, were often unaware of earlier or concurrent attempts to establish Scandinavian foreign-language publications gives some idea of the isolation and limited research carried out by such founders. Regardless, *Skandia's* aims demonstrated the growing need for a vehicle to inform and link migrants to both each other and their new home, and promote integration rather than assimilation:

To those who may have any doubt as to the wisdom of establishing a journal printed in a foreign tongue, we will explain that *Skandia* aims, not in separating, but in amalgamating the English and Norse elements of New Zealand. It will be the main object of the Editor, through the medium of his journal to make his countrymen acquainted with the language, laws, business, and events of their new and promising home; of which the greater number are and would continue to be ignorant, unless some help were given them in the manner we have indicated. By using all the means at our command, we hope to be able, not only to point out, but to lead our countrymen to that path of prosperity which is the inevitable result of honest and assiduous labor in the Britain of the South, and thereby show to them, so that they may appreciate, their new home and the efforts made by the New Zealand Government o[n] their behalf.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ 'Scandinavian Religious Magazine', *Wanganui Chronicle and Patea and Rangitikei Advertiser*, 4 March 1875, p. 2; 'Interprovincial news', *Westport Times*, 25 June 1875, p. 4.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² 'To Scandinavians in Auckland', *New Zealand Herald*, 25 August 1874, p. 4; 'Subscriptions to *Brevduen*', *New Zealand Herald*, 19 August 1874, p. 4.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, op. cit., p. 90; 'Literary Column', *Evening Post*, 20 July 1907, p. 13.

¹²⁵ 'The *Skandia* – A Norse Newspaper', *West Coast Times*, 1 December 1875, p. 2.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

The exact lifespan of *Skandia* is uncertain, but it is estimated to have only survived somewhere between a few issues to six months.¹²⁷ By 1907, Lyng's first English-language study of *The Scandinavians in Australasia* noted specifically that these New Zealand newspapers had failed because the Scandinavian settlers to New Zealand were too recent in arriving and not sufficiently established financially to aid such ventures, despite their heavy concentrations and relatively strong numbers.¹²⁸

In other Australasian colonies, the short-term success of Queensland's pan-Scandinavian associations was quickly emulated by migrants in the metropolitan centres of Melbourne and Adelaide. In Melbourne, the first small Scandinavian Society arose and then quickly disappeared in the early 1870s.¹²⁹ During the 1880s, two Scandinavian associations were established in Melbourne, one spawning from a group drawn to the city in 1881 following the International Exhibition who for the duration of their stay enthusiastically formed a Scandinavian social association. When the exhibition closed, the group morphed into a choral society before eventually reverting to a Danish and then Norwegian-led Scandinavian Society, finally collapsing in 1887 when a Swedish Club was formed instead.¹³⁰ A rival Scandinavian Club, made up of mainly Swedes and Norwegians, also existed at this time, but it was also disbanded in 1891 after Church temperance pressures.¹³¹ In South Australia, the Scandinavian Society was founded in Adelaide in 1883 after discussions with the Scandinavian Society in Sydney. It lasted eight years, disbanding in 1891.¹³² In 1891, another attempt was made by establishing the Scandinavian Club of South Australia, this time at Port Adelaide, but the lower class status of the majority of its members – dock workers and seamen who were now accustomed to operating in English and were already quite mixed into local society – meant that they were just as happy socialising and drinking in the local hotels; this club also folded shortly after its founding.¹³³ While no newspapers were attempted in these centres, an understanding of the Scandinavian societal activities over these years gives an idea of why they were not viable, despite the strong 'Scandinavian' emphasis of social gatherings in Melbourne and Adelaide during the 1880s.

Whereas the migrant organisations of the major centres of Brisbane, Melbourne and Adelaide were predominantly centred on disorganised pan-Scandinavian co-operation throughout the 1870s and 1880s, Sydney provides an example of how nationalist groupings were deemed more successful for migrant associations almost from the outset, and how this was deleterious to the production of a united Scandinavian publication – one of which, *Skandinavien* (*Scandinavia*) (1887), surprisingly arose in the midst of national reorganisation. In Sydney, the first Scandinavian Society was founded in 1874 and a separate Friendly Society in 1880, but both were dissolved by 1883.¹³⁴ Instead, in the vacuum left by a lack of prosperous Sydney Scandinavian clubs, national organisations were floated earlier

¹²⁷ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹²⁸ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹³⁰ Martin, *Ethnic Identity and Social Organisation in the Scandinavian Community in Melbourne, 1870-1910*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹³¹ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ According to the Koivukangas and Martin the Sydney Scandinavian society collapsed after spending its funds on an exuberant tour and picnic of Sydney Harbour. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

and much more frequently, with marked factionalisation of the migrant community. The larger Swedish population of Sydney had formed a society called *Valhalla* as early as 1877, which lasted one year, and after the 1883 failure of the Sydney Scandinavian Society, the Swedes formed a new club called *Vikingen* (*The Viking*). Lasting seven years, *Vikingen* had attempted at one point to allow other Scandinavians to join, but friction caused them to repeal this after some time.¹³⁵ While Scandinavian co-operation was deemed a noble pursuit, given the need for early groups to join together and form numerically viable organisations, Sydney's migrants were quite happy to segregate themselves by nationality in order to avoid hostility in their social groupings.

Despite the early change from pan-Scandinavian to national organisations in Sydney, however, a united Scandinavian publication was attempted there in the late 1880s. In 1887, T. Søderberg and Seth Abraham Franzén (1850-1929), a Dane and a Swede respectively, set up the bilingual *Skandinavien* in Sydney.¹³⁶ While little is known of Søderberg, Franzén was from a strong literary family and was notable as a grandson of famed Swedish poet and Bishop Frans Michael Franzén.¹³⁷ In the late 1870s he had married and been a storekeeper in Deniliquin, but in 1880 he moved to Sydney after being declared insolvent.¹³⁸ Both with intellectual inclinations and most likely well-educated men, Søderberg and Franzén decided to go into newspaper production and, as a result, *Skandinavien* was designed as a fortnightly publication, produced in the Swedish and Danish languages by an English printing firm.¹³⁹ *Skandinavien* was apparently circulated throughout Australia and was also advertised in Swedish newspapers. In September 1887, Falun's *Dalpilen* described the newspaper as being in an eight-paged "halfwide" format with "a neat typographical outfit... the text is a third in Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish".¹⁴⁰ Despite a strong start, the newspaper faced financial and leadership difficulties as Søderberg abandoned the venture after only a short time. Significantly, the fact that Sydney's Scandinavians were in the midst of abandoning pan-Scandinavian ideals for more practical nationalised associations, such as the Swedish club *Vikingen*, severely limited community support for the macro-national *Skandinavien* while accounting for its eventual failure. Furthermore, Franzén's only son was born in November 1887 – only months into the newspaper's production – and the added pressure placed on the Swede to find an alternate method of supporting his family might have become a more important priority than reuniting Sydney's Scandinavians through a struggling migrant press.¹⁴¹ Soon after Søderberg's abandonment of the newspaper, Franzén and Søderberg's

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia', *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹³⁷ 'A Scandinavian Newspaper in Australia', *Dalpilen*, 7 September 1887, p. 6.

¹³⁸ 'Insolvency Court', *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 21 August 1880, p. 12.

¹³⁹ Søderberg later became a member of Sydney's Theosophical Society, where in 1894 he gave a lecture on socialism and theosophy, arguing that 'the social condition of large masses of men and women was so wretched that became almost impossible for them to properly develop their physical, moral, and spiritual qualities, [and] that selfishness never could remain the normal state of society' – perhaps a belief developed from his failed newspaper that had been damaged by financial woes and the selfish state of nationalised migrant societies. 'Lectures', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 August 1894, p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ 'A Scandinavian Newspaper in Australia', *Dalpilen*, 7 September 1887, p. 6.

¹⁴¹ 'Seth Abraham Franzen (1850-1929)', in Cole-Jensen Collection, Salt Lake City, Utah: Filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1984, Binder 37, Pedigree chart no 7W-983, FHL microfilm 1,358,007. Available: <http://histfam.familysearch.org/getperson.php?personID=I31633&tree=Cole> (Accessed 31/01/2013).

replacement, a Danish compositor called Christensen, discontinued *Skandinavien* indefinitely.¹⁴² According to Lyng, the newspaper “should have stood some chance of final success if the proprietors had been backed up with capital. As it was, it never survived teething, dying in its first year of existence”.¹⁴³

Skandinavien’s short existence might have been somewhat influential in reigniting pan-Scandinavian co-operation amongst later Sydney migrants. In 1890, a new Scandinavian Society was created and a failing two-year-old Scandinavian literary society was quickly merged with it; Sydney’s Scandinavians appear to have been far more interested in social events rather than the high cultured, literary pursuits of the latter and it had done poorly. This new amalgamation only lasted a short time, however and, in 1895, the Society was replaced by a Danish organisation, *Thor*, which admitted other Scandinavians but with limits on non-Danish membership numbers. According to Martin and Koivukangas, of all these late nineteenth century organisations, only *Thor* survived to see Federation.¹⁴⁴ Despite the short return to sentiments of pan-Scandinavian co-operation following *Skandinavien*’s printing, Sydney’s migrant population returned to the fragmented and national situation that had existed from the mid-1870s, and all of Sydney’s migrant societies were quite short-lived as a result.

As Sydney’s migrant organisations have indicated, the failure of some pan-Scandinavian organisations easily made way for national clubs as early as 1877. What is important to note here, however, is that a clear move from Scandinavian to national clubs did not exist and, instead, the 1870s to 1890s can be seen as a period of social experimentation for both the migrant social organisations and the foreign-language press. While many of the above associations in Brisbane, Melbourne and Adelaide organised themselves along a pan-Scandinavian profile, nationality-based clubs simultaneously tried to establish themselves during this period – often with little success but with increasing nationalist fervour as the nineteenth century continued. But these attempts to nationalise Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian migrant groupings were sufficient to erode the united membership of the Scandinavian clubs and to contribute to a fragmented sense of social community.¹⁴⁵ In short, a direct handover from pan-Scandinavian to nationality-based clubs did not occur in all situations and the formation of any new migrant clubs right through the late 1870s to 1900s was really based on the founders’ own desires and views; what worked and what did not. In many cases, both attempts at founding Scandinavian or nationality-based associations met with quick enthusiasm, but proved largely unsustainable for longer than a few months. In terms of the pan-Scandinavian nature of the foreign-language press, the isolated and disconnected nature of the second wave of permanent Scandinavian migrants during the 1870s to the 1890s continued to be a problem for aspiring editors, and only where sufficient numbers of Scandinavians existed to form social groupings, such as around the aforementioned

¹⁴² Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Christensen’s first name is not mentioned in any sources, and given the commonality of both Christensen and Söderberg’s surnames amongst Danes in Sydney, it is difficult to locate any further concrete evidence concerning their names or background.

¹⁴³ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁴⁴ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁴⁵ In Brisbane, for example, Swedish-Norwegian societies were attempted in 1879 and 1898, and two purely Danish societies failed to eventuate in 1879 and 1887. *Ibid*, p.76.

social organisations as well as Scandinavian Church congregations, were the short-lived migrant newspapers of the nineteenth century also founded.

Scandinavian Church congregations of late nineteenth century Australia were – much like the Scandinavian secular associations – often unable to form lasting and worthwhile communities based on a shared language, heritage or culture.¹⁴⁶ Between 1870 and 1900, minimal migrant numbers and a lack of ministers and support from home forced migrants to join in pan-Scandinavian and Lutheran communities, which were anything but vibrant religious organisations.¹⁴⁷ According to Lyng, the situation was dire and, while “non-descript lay-preachers plodded wearily on, to the best of their ability heartening the dispirited Scandinavian Christians... the Scandinavian congregations in Queensland had become a disjointed collection of small, leaderless, groping units”.¹⁴⁸ Across the colonies, similar problems occurred that limited the efficacy of Scandinavian migrant churches, most often linked to issues of distance and the inability for the few Scandinavian pastors to properly service isolated pioneering migrant populations.

To reach their scattered congregations, several preachers instead turned to the migrant press to absolve the spiritual needs of Scandinavian migrants through journalism. Apart from missionary Edward Nielsen publishing *Brevduen* in New Zealand in 1875, Napier was also the centre of another effort by Pastor Georg Sass, who in 1881 was based there while building Napier’s church.¹⁴⁹ Sass, who had originally come to Australia to make his fortune, arrived in Maryborough in 1873, but had quickly decided to become a minister and, by 1880, had crossed the Tasman to build churches in Makaretu, Napier and Norsewood, and later would go on to build others at Palmerston North, Holcombe, Mauriceville, Dannevirke and Hastwell.¹⁵⁰ The only minister for a wide region, Sass attempted to publish a periodical to see that all congregations were reached, however only two issues were printed. Even the name of Sass’s publication, only remembered later as having “a long and cumbersome title”,¹⁵¹ is not known.

By the early 1890s, several Church periodicals in Australia began to appear in response to the desire for Scandinavian preachers to promote their churches and inform their congregations about church services in their own national languages, the most well-known being *Hjemlandstoner (Voices from Home)*.¹⁵² In Melbourne, Pastor Hans Søren Pedersen of the United Scandinavian Church wanted a bi-annual publication and, to meet these ends, established the Norwegian language

¹⁴⁶ For an overview of Scandinavian Church life in Australia, see: *Ibid*, pp. 76-79 and Håkan Eilert and John Stanley Martin, *Northern Light in Southern Skies: Scandinavian Church Life in Victoria 1883-1983*, Melbourne, Swedish Church, 1983.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁸ With the dissolution of the United German and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod of Queensland and the departure of its overworked and ill mastermind Pastor C. Petersen back to Denmark in 1889, Lyng posits this as the end of a united Scandinavian Church in Queensland. “The story of the next decade,” wrote Lyng “is one of decay – of disintegrating congregations – of Scandinavian churches disposed of or standing empty”. MS, Lutheran Archives of Australia: Jens Lyng, ‘Scandinavian-Lutheran Church Work in Queensland’, in *Scandinavian Congregations: Scandinavian Pastor Information*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴⁹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-176.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*; MS, Lutheran Archives of Australia: ‘Pastor Georg Sass’, *New Zealand Lutheran*, August 1972.

¹⁵¹ ‘Literary Column’ *Evening Post*, 20 July 1907, p. 13.

¹⁵² Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Hjemlandstoner.¹⁵³ According to Eilert and Martin, Pedersen was not simply a formidable scholar, but he:

had [also] gained a brilliant reputation as a preacher and journalist. He had published a collection of sermons (1880 and 1887), translated Spurgeon's sermons (which were published in 1889) and he had been co-editor of a periodical *For Fattig og Rig* (For Rich and Poor) until his departure.¹⁵⁴

Upon his arrival in 1889, Pedersen had been shocked by the issues facing Scandinavian migrants, especially those who had fallen upon hard times due to alcohol abuse.¹⁵⁵ In reaction, he went on a strong campaign against Melbourne's Scandinavian social clubs, decimating the membership of the Club *Dannebrog* and forcing another popular Scandinavian Association to disband.¹⁵⁶ A stalwart defender of the Melbourne Scandinavians' welfare, Pedersen was instrumental in setting up strong support organisations, including a youth group with a full social calendar, the Scandinavian Blue Ribbon Association, a temperance society, a church library, and a successful employment agency that aided over 100 young Scandinavians in finding work during hard economic times in 1892.¹⁵⁷

To reach his growing flock, Pedersen originally began distributing *Hjemlandstoner* as a handwritten newsletter read at temperance society meetings, but in July 1893 he began printing it, with himself as editor.¹⁵⁸ With such a busy schedule, he could not devote sufficient time to the publication, which was most likely a main reason that it was only published twice per year. In 1894, he invited a young Danish migrant, Jens Lyng, to edit the publication, which the latter used to promote ideals of Scandinavian co-operation.¹⁵⁹ However, Lyng was continually frustrated by the Church periodical, as he found the publication to be too limited in readership and frequency. Aimed directly at the United Scandinavian Church's followers, *Hjemlandstoner* was only really able to act as a Church newsletter and reach limited local Scandinavian parishioners only twice a year. Furthermore, the economic depression that had begun to cripple Melbourne proved too much for even the hard working Pedersen, whose parishioners eventually could not afford to continue his already modest wage.¹⁶⁰ With a growing family to support, Pedersen was forced in March 1895 to return to Norway and his congregation, his support networks, and his publication were plunged into an uncertain future.¹⁶¹ When Lyng left the periodical to start his own venture at the end of 1895, *Hjemlandstoner* folded after just three years.¹⁶²

Beginning with Corfitz Cronqvist, those Scandinavians who attempted to establish early migrant newspapers in the Antipodes had several things in common. First, they

¹⁵³ Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia', *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁵⁴ Eilert and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25. The other major church periodical, *Kirketidende* (Church News) is discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.26

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p.178.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Eilert and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

were mostly well-educated migrants with backgrounds in journalism, publishing or intellectual thought, who wished to continue their trade in a new society that was showing signs of rapid development. Largely, they were elitist in their attitudes and perhaps did not see the great societal differences between their homeland populations and those that constituted the Scandinavians of Australasia. They strongly hoped that their fellow Scandinavians both within Australia and abroad would assist them in making their newspapers a success. However, they failed to take into account the necessary readership numbers and levels of interest that such niche market publications would require to be successful in a culturally pluralist colonial settler society. Strongly influenced by economic trends, the Scandinavian newspapers were susceptible to a lack of original funding and the inability to grow and survive the crucial first year of production. Despite the growing number of united pan-Scandinavian associations and Churches from the 1870s onwards that should have provided a strong base of support for such periodicals, the isolated nature of these groups – and internal nationalisation pressures within them – caused instabilities amongst this migrant readership that could not be overcome. One such printing pioneer did not blame his failures on his own foibles alone, as the case of Cronqvist shows; he felt betrayed by his fellow countrymen and believed the task of a viable Scandinavian newspaper to be a lost cause. As Cronqvist had commented in 1859, he had failed for three reasons, which are valid in describing the failures of many other later Scandinavian publications:

To tell the truth both the publisher and public were to blame. In the first place because the publisher attempted such an enterprise without finding out more about the social position [*sociala ställning*] of the Scandinavians. He did not have correspondents in all parts of the country which seems absolutely necessary and, last of all, could not afford to spend a couple of hundred pounds.¹⁶³

Given the social, geographic and economic conditions in which these editors found themselves, it was simply too early – as well as being insufficiently financed and networked – for a Scandinavian migrant newspaper to be able to find its feet. Such conclusions were backed up as late as 1939 by Jens Lyng, who posited the failure of early newspapers and his own continuing problems as being caused by the scattering of Scandinavians widely across Australia, the associated difficulty in attracting sponsors and advertising revenue, and the lack of early investment capital.¹⁶⁴

These early newspapers' failings demonstrate not only the constant problems faced by those attempting to form viable 'imagined communities' around the migrant press, but more importantly the continual desires of migrants at least to *try* and re-establish networks of communication between fraternal Scandinavians and foster the necessary sense of "togetherness... in a foreign country" that Cronqvist had so adamantly believed was necessary (See Plate 4).¹⁶⁵ Following societal developments that would shift the national focus towards modern tensions concerning migration, citizenship and ethnic expression, the 1890s would consequently provide Scandinavian migrants with suitable conditions and finally realise their dormant dreams of establishing a successful Scandinavian-Australian press institution.

¹⁶³ Cited in Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁴ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁶⁵ Cronqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45; also cited in Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Plate 4: 'A Page of our History', *Norden*, 21 August 1901, p. 1.



Description: A sample issue of *Norden*'s Federation-era content, indicating the Scandinavian migrant community's interest in chronicling their past while being involved in Australia's future. Here, *Norden*'s collection of previous Scandinavian-Australian publications, including *Skandinavien*, *Hjemlandstoner*, and *Kirketidende*, contrast with an article concerning the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration fund. Such previous newspapers' failings also provided an important lesson as to how *Norden* must operate if it was to survive – the cultivation of a networked sense of pan-Scandinavian co-operation. They also embedded in the community the responsibility of continuing such proud traditions of migrant identification, groupism and interaction through readers' support of the migrant press.

Chapter 4

FOUNDING *NORDEN*: JENS LYG, 1891-1906

Following the failures of earlier migrant newspapers, the 1890s marked a period of social, political and economic change that would enable the realisation of a successful Scandinavian-Australian publication. Against a backdrop of economic uncertainty, increased numbers of non-British migrants jostled with a growing native-born population as ideas of impending nationhood predominated.¹ In 1896 a new publication, also named *Norden* by a founder remarkably unaware of Cronqvist's earlier attempt, broke the cycle of short-lived failure eminent in previous Scandinavian-Australian newspapers and sought to gather an united readership before it was lost to the ravages of assimilation.² Under the energetic leadership of Jens Sørensen Lyng (1868-1941), this *Norden* would succeed where others had failed.

The complex social climate of Melbourne during the 1890s provided the impetus behind *Norden*'s establishment and survival. As the newspaper grew in response to the pan-Scandinavian vision of an enthusiastic founding editor, the ethnicising side-effects of identity-driven Federation (1901) and the Second Boer War (1899-1902) drew more migrants to the newspaper's united and pluralist cause. Enacting greater links between the supportive migrant organisations of Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne – and by providing more isolated readers with an imagined sense of connection and migrant fraternity – *Norden* championed the continued value of Scandinavian heritage, languages and culture to those now firmly rooted within the Australian environment. While the fragmentary forces of Norwegian independence (1905), diminishing immigration prospects from Scandinavia and the exhaustion of its founding editor threatened the continuation of the newspaper, by 1906 *Norden* had proven itself as a necessary element for ethnic community maintenance and Scandinavian migrant communication.

¹ As Ann Curthoys explains, the significant number of late-nineteenth-century non-British migrants such as the Germans “precipitated serious debate about the proper composition of the population” during the 1890s, especially as they “had become a thriving prosperous community, integrated yet distinctive, constituting the largest group of non-British”. Scandinavian migrant numbers were also at their peak. Ann Curthoys, ‘History and Identity’ in Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton (eds) *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History*, St Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp. 26-27.

² While Lyng later discovered information about Cronqvist's efforts of 40 years before and included this in his later writings, such as *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (1939), he was not aware of it on writing his first history of *The Scandinavians in Australasia* in 1907, in which he wrote little of Cronqvist's *Norden*: “As to what he called it, and how long it existed, nobody knows, which certainly does not speak well for its success”. Jens Lyng and O. N. Nelson, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, Melbourne, West Melbourne Printing Works, 1907, p. 90; Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939, p. 61. The title, *Norden*, is therefore deemed to be a coincidence based on similar goals, as both Cronqvist and Lyng tried to unite migrants from all three states of the geographical Norden to their causes.

Significantly, the period, 1896-1906, provided *Norden* with a suitable atmosphere of economic and political uncertainty to enable the Swedish, Danish and Norwegian migrants of Australia to embrace *Norden*'s core idea that "strength lay in unity".³ Furthermore, the newspaper was influential in solidifying the 'Scandinavian' aspect of readers' non-British identities while arguing for united group participation in the larger nation-building process that was increasingly anti-foreigner and exclusionary towards first-generation non-British migrants. In doing so, *Norden* grew to encapsulate the Scandinavian-Australian ideal of migrant co-operation for the purposes of continued ethnic expression, the resistance towards cultural homogenisation pressures and the Scandinavians' desired promotion of their own role as a valid and desirable ethnic group, capable of contributing to the development of a strong, pluralist Australian nation.

The 1890s was an exciting, yet uncertain time for new Scandinavian immigrants to arrive in the Australian colonies. In July 1891, as part of the cresting second wave of Scandinavian migrants to reach Australian shores, 23 year old Jens Sørensen Lyng (1868-1941) disembarked in Melbourne after the long voyage from Hamburg aboard the German-Australian Line's *Barmen*.⁴ Born in Hasle, Denmark, Lyng had enlisted in the Danish military after completing school, yet limited promotional prospects caused him to seek career opportunities elsewhere. After reaching the rank of lieutenant, he travelled to the Australian colonies as an unassisted migrant in the hope that the Antipodes held better fortune for a man of his varied talents.⁵

For Lyng, the Melbourne of 1891 held many similarities to the booming cosmopolitan city experienced by Corfitz Cronqvist some 34 years before. Financially, a period of steady economic growth from the 1860s had encouraged a boom of materialism within the Australian cities, particularly in "Marvellous Melbourne" where, by "the early 1880s[,] thousands of young Melbournians were coming of age, marrying and establishing new households in the suburbs".⁶ The decline of the Victorian gold-fields had also encouraged the remnant Scandinavians of an earlier wave of pluralist mining settlement to return to the cities, as new employment opportunities opened during times of economic boom.⁷ As Olavi Koivukangas' analysis of historical census data suggests, the last two decades of the

³ MS, State Library of Victoria: Microfilm 8437, Reel No. 2 (May 1902- December 1906), 24 December 1904. Loose Wall Calendar for 1905, included as an unpaginated flyer within *Norden*'s 24 December 1904 issue. Similar sentiments of "Union is Strength" had been earlier touched upon during *Norden*'s founding in 1896, as detailed later in the chapter. *The Mercury*, 9 July 1896, p. 2.

⁴ Lyng arrived under the name of 'Jens Sorensen', a clerical error most likely due to the substitution of his middle name for his surname. Public Records Office Victoria, *Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923*, http://prov.vic.gov.au/search_results?searchid=23&format=freetext&FamilyName=sorensen&GivenName=j&Ship=barmen&Month=0&Monthto=0&Year=0&Year=0&SearchSortField1=&SearchSortField2=&SearchRecords=50&x=53&y=28 (Accessed 20/03/2012).

⁵ Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1986, pp. 156-157.

⁶ Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2004, p. 14; Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 3: Glad, Confident Morning 1860-1900*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 44-45.

⁷ For example, in 1877, Claus Grønn moved his family to Melbourne to work first as a brewer and, by 1881, open a butchers shop in Carlton as well as a greengrocery. Following the failure of the butchers shop, he spent the next 15 year working various jobs, from brewer to gas lamplighter and window-washer. Cora McDougall (ed.), *Gold! Gold! Diary of Claus Grønn: A Dane on the Diggings*, translated by Gullivi Ubbersen, Melbourne, Hill of Content Publishing Company, 1981, pp. 152-156.

nineteenth century were marked by a significant increase in the proportion of those Scandinavian-born residents who preferred to live in the colonial cities rather than in smaller rural towns or on the land.⁸ While certainly not in the majority, a small number of Scandinavians also established businesses in Melbourne, Sydney and, to some extent, Brisbane by this time.⁹ Involved in merchantry, retail and manufacturing as well as technical trades, a select type of wealthier, middle class migrant began to appear within such metropolitan environments.¹⁰ Scandinavian-owned businesses capable of extending patronage to the wider migrant community would prove critical if a foreign-language publication, such as *Norden*, was to be even remotely successful. Furthermore, these socio-economic developments – and the heightened number of city-based Scandinavians living in close proximity to each other – enabled the increasingly metropolitan migrants of Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane to spend more of their spare time and money participating in the cities' vibrant Scandinavian social organisations.¹¹ These organisations would prove influential in affording any new foreign-language publication with an immediate source of potential readers and news-worthy activities, as well as a visible community presence.

However, economic depression in the early 1890s severely limited the ability for migrant newspapers to gain a foothold in a troubled market. According to Beverley Kingston, the decades of constant economic growth in Melbourne ended in financial collapse in 1891-1892.¹² The end of the land boom brought the banking sector to its knees by 1893 and many migrants lost their savings; “like countless others,” lamented Claus Grønn, “we lost every penny we’d striven so hard and long to put by”.¹³ Others, like *Hjemlandstoner*’s founder Pastor Søren Pedersen, were forced to abandon Victoria entirely and return home to Europe.¹⁴ “The ensuing depression swiftly reversed the metropolitan surge of the 1880s”, wrote Graeme Davison: “For several years the city ceased to grow and in the worst years, 1892-95, it recorded a net loss of 56 000 people”.¹⁵ As Koivukangas notes, even the Scandinavian population of Melbourne was negatively affected by such economic depression, with the total Victorian percentage of Scandinavian-born migrants living in the city dropping from its peak of 43.4% in 1891 to 41.8% by 1901.¹⁶ Melbourne’s fortunes had quickly been reversed through economic depression and, as such, the city was no

⁸ Queensland continued to draw large numbers of lower-class rural assisted migrants until 1901 and this may account why Koivukangas’ detailed analysis downplayed the impact and percentages of educated city migrants. Olavi Koivukangas, ‘Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II’ PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974, pp. 151, 166, 183-185.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

¹⁰ In terms of the businesses owned by such migrants, the advertisements in *Norden* give a strong indication of those who were able to support the publication, obviously those involved most heavily in retail and light industrial manufacture, wholesalers, tailors, and storekeepers, as well as one or two photographers and dentists. ‘Advertisements’, *Norden*, December 1897, p. 12.

¹¹ The preponderance of Scandinavian social activity beginning in the cities from the 1870s became heightened during the 1890s. In linking with these associations, *Norden* could fulfil an important social function. Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-4, 57, 75-6, 82, 83-5, 92, 133-4, 140-1.

¹² Kingston, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹³ Grønn, cited in McDougall, *op. cit.*, p. 156-157.

¹⁴ Håkan Eilert and John Stanley Martin, *Northern Light in Southern Skies: Scandinavian Church Life in Victoria 1883-1983*, Melbourne, Swedish Church, 1983, pp. 29-30.

¹⁵ Davison, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

longer a hospitable centre for extended migrant activities – nor for experimentation with a new incarnation of the Scandinavian-Australian foreign-language press.

The languishing economy was not the only cause for concern during the last decade of the nineteenth century, as increased social pressures conspired against the cosmopolitan atmosphere of earlier decades while promoting the creation of a unified and homogenous Australian nation. As James Jupp and Barry York have indicated, the pluralist nature of 1890s Melbourne was still quite strong, with birthplace being particularly “important in Victoria because of the cosmopolitan society produced by the gold discoveries”.¹⁷ Scandinavian migrants in particular had continued to arrive during the 1870s and 1880s to reach their numerical peak in 1891, assisting in continued ideals of cultural variety between European denominations and enabling the growth of their own individual ethnic communities within the city centres of Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane.¹⁸ As well as the presence and growth of Scandinavian, German, Chinese and other non-British minority communities within the late-nineteenth century colonies, Ann Curthoys notes that this sense of pluralism was further embodied by the many Australian intellectuals of British descent who held a considerable fascination “with things French, Jewish, Italian and German in much of Australian cultural life, suggesting a dissatisfaction with inherited English identifications”.¹⁹

Yet, this pervading cosmopolitan feeling within the late-nineteenth century Australian colonial cities was increasingly under threat. At the same time as Scandinavian migrant numbers reached their peak, a growing Australian national consciousness strengthened the resolve for a “new society and national culture”.²⁰ Australian native-born nationalists began to argue for a uniquely Australian voice and identity, while old-guard British cultural imperialists desired the new Australia to remain an extension of British culture.²¹ Pro-Federation journals, such as *Progress*, stressed in November 1899 the importance of the naturalisation of European migrants into a tolerant, yet predominantly British, society:

The English are a tolerant race. Wherever the Union Jack flutters in the breeze the men of all civilised nationalities are equally welcome and enjoy equal rights... In these colonies we open every road to distinction and wealth to the people of every race – there is no position which a born Britisher may aspire to which is not within

¹⁷ James Jupp and Barry York (eds), *Birthplaces of the Australian People: Colonial & Commonwealth Censuses, 1828-1991*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1995, p. 2.

¹⁸ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 6. As noted in Chapter 1 (Table 3) there was a rapid increase in Scandinavian migrant numbers over the 1880s to peak at just over 16,000 by 1891. In Victoria the number of Swedes and Norwegians doubled (from 1,375 to 3,214), and the Danes increased by another third (from 1,039 to 1,389 Danes) in just one decade. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-151.

¹⁹ Curthoys, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁰ Stephen Alomes and Catherine Jones, *Australian Nationalism: A Documentary History*, North Ryde, NSW, Angus & Robertson, 1991, p. 74.

²¹ Late-nineteenth century radicals, artists and writers, such as second-generation Scandinavian Henry Lawson, began to champion the radical Australian dream, the result being that an increased number of native-born Australians “were encouraged by the rise of unionism and labour and the burgeoning of Australian writing and painting to hope that Australia was creating a new society as well as finding its voice in literature and art”. *Ibid*, pp. 74-86.

reach of the naturalised subject from France, Germany or Holland.
But we insist, and rightly insist, upon *naturalisation*.²²

Ultimately, non-British migrant minorities were to be disenfranchised from the nation-building exercise by the native-born and proponents of British Australia, who both required not just political naturalisation of such migrants but also a related level of cultural homogenisation.²³ In response, some form of ethnicising agent was needed to enable the increasingly city-based Scandinavian migrants to focus upon their own concerns regarding community ties and expressions of cultural pluralism, so as to retain the cosmopolitan lifestyle of earlier decades while negating increased assimilation pressures.²⁴ Despite economic turmoil, they were also prepared to fund a migrant press enterprise that was unlikely to return an economic profit for the sake of greater connections and interactions.²⁵

Arriving in a Melbourne on the verge of economic turmoil and social unease, Jens Lyng's early years as a European migrant in the British colony had an enormous impact on his worldview and later writings, especially as ideas of Federation began to proliferate, questioning Australia's future and who should be included in – and excluded from – the nation-building exercise.²⁶ After stints as a labourer, land-clearer and shearer, his officer training and multilingual abilities – he was fluent in German and English in addition to his native Danish – were noticed by influential migrant and botanist Baron Ferdinand von Müller, who offered him employment as his private secretary.²⁷ German-born von Müller was part of the aging continental migrant population who had pioneered notions of Australian development but, by the turn of the century, were being replaced by the native-born as the dominant feature in Australian society.²⁸ Employment with such an important migrant figure as von

²² *Progress: A Journal Devoted to the Advancement and Prosperity of Queensland as a Colony and as a State of the Australian Commonwealth*, Brisbane, 4 November 1899, cited in Raymond Evans, Clive Moore, Kay Saunders and Bryan Jamison, *1901: Our Future's Past*, Sydney, Macmillan, 1997, pp. 50-51.

²³ Neither native-born, nor British in outlook, these migrants had little way to form bonds with either group, both desiring their assimilation into the dominant culture rather than the amalgamation of their cultural baggage into a new hybrid identity. *Ibid*.

²⁴ Ellen Paulsen, 'Scandinavians in Queensland,' in M. Brändle and S. Karas (eds), *Multicultural Queensland: The People and Communities of Queensland*, Ethnic Communities Council of Queensland, Kangaroo Point, Qld, 1988, p. 196; Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 166, 183-185.

²⁵ While Lyng notes that "Norden was never a paying concern", the community acknowledged its importance by continually contributing funds into the newspaper to keep it operating. Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, *op. cit.*, p. 91; 'The Australian-Scandinavian Newspaper Company Limited: Balance Sheet for Period from June 1st to December 31st 1897', *Norden*, December 1897, p. 7; 'Norden', *Norden*, 14 April 1906, p. 8.

²⁶ Lyng would go on to write several works of interest regarding migration and Australian development and was a proponent of the benefits non-British migration could bring, particularly to economic growth. See: Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1927; Jens Lyng, 'Racial Composition of the Australian People', in P. D. Phillips and G. L. Wood (eds), *The Peopling of Australia*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press 1928, pp. 145-164.

²⁷ John Stanley Martin, 'Lyng, Jens Sorensen (1868-1941)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2005, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lyng-jens-sorensen-13059/text23615>, (Accessed 20/03/2012).

²⁸ Müller arrived in Australia in 1847 and was instrumental in the fields of botany, exploration and the promotion of Australian scientific research to the international community until his death in 1896. Deirdre Morris, 'Mueller, Sir Ferdinand Jakob Heinrich von (1825-1896)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2005, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mueller-sir-ferdinand-jakob-heinrich-von-4266/text6893>, (Accessed 25/10/2012).

Müller was heavily influential on the young Dane's future direction as an intellectual, journalist, statistician and historian.

While employed by Baron von Müller in Melbourne, Lyng became involved with the Scandinavian community of Melbourne and was interested in chronicling migrant exploits. Intrigued by earlier Scandinavians' tales of Australian life, Lyng's hobby to research the pioneering endeavours of these earlier migrants grew to encompass ideas of later publishing their stories for perpetuity.²⁹ In seeking out other Scandinavians for social endeavours and his own historical interests, the religiously-indifferent Lyng had become involved as the editor of Søren Pedersen's Church periodical *Hjemlandstoner*, persisting with the small publication during the height of the economic downturn.³⁰ From 1894 financial prosperity was slowly restored to the city, yet high levels of unemployment remained well into 1896.³¹ The slow recovery of the Victorian economy came too late to halt the forced emigration of *Hjemlandstoner*'s Pastor Søren Pedersen, but this unfortunate event would ultimately provide its editor, Lyng, with an opportunity to rethink his situation. It became clear to him that the economic collapse had only delayed, not destroyed, migrants' desires for a Scandinavian-Australian newspaper, particularly as the threat of Australian nationalism challenged their right to express ethnic associations. After *Hjemlandstoner*'s demise in 1895, Lyng decided that a new migrant newspaper, one that was truly Scandinavian in focus yet secular and separate from the Church, was the best way to reconnect with other migrants, promote mutual interests, and share stories as part of an inclusive ideological social network.

The foundation of a Scandinavian-Australian institution

While typically short-lived and narrow in focus, *Hjemlandstoner* was successful in stirring the desires amongst Melbourne's Scandinavians for "a more frequently appearing national paper", which encouraged Lyng to seek aid from within the community.³² He even went so far as to seek out the editors of the failed *Skandinaviens* of a decade before, from whom he hoped to glean insight into how best to approach the venture.³³ However, here he received a warning rather than aid. "I can only give you one piece of advice", the other Dane had answered: "Don't do it".³⁴ Not to be discouraged by this response to his enquiries, Lyng obtained the signatures of 20 of the better-known Scandinavians in Melbourne and convened a public meeting in early 1896 to discuss the issue.³⁵ At the meeting, those present

²⁹ These migrant tales would be included in early copies of *Norden*, and later compiled in two books from 1901. Jens Lyng, *Emigrantnoveller og Skitser (Emigrant Stories and Sketches)*, Melbourne, Lyng & Scheele's Forlag og Trykkeri, 1901; Jens Lyng, *Skandinaverne i Australien i Det Nittende Aarhundrede: Artikelserie i Norden (Scandinavians in Australia in the Nineteenth Century: Article Series in Norden)*, Melbourne, Lyng & Scheele's Forlag og Trykkeri, 1901.

³⁰ Lyng had been influential in shifting *Hjemlandstoner* from a mere self-printed newsletter towards an actual newspaper in 1894, holding a meeting at the Collingwood Coffee Palace to gauge interest in revamping Pedersen's publication. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

³¹ Kingston states that employment levels reached their lowest point in 1896, the same year as *Norden*'s establishment. Kingston, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³² Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

³³ *Ibid*; Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p.178.

³⁴ Cited in *ibid*. It is unsure whether the Dane in question was Söderberg or his replacement, Christensen, as he is not mentioned by name, but most likely the former, who had remained in the area.

³⁵ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

decided to establish a fortnightly Scandinavian newspaper and elected six people to form a committee from all three nationalities: two Danes, Henry Olsen and Lyng; two Norwegians, T. Faroe and H. Ottesen; and two Swedes, R. Albrecht and Axel Nilsson. Remarkably, this event mirrored the pan-Scandinavian establishment of the Ballarat Scandinavian Society some four decades earlier. Yet, this new venture would achieve more than the failed Scandinavian Society's simplistic ideals in uniting to provide for the isolated Scandinavian miners' social and spiritual needs; instead, it would usher in a revitalised period of growing macro-national unity for a new group of increasingly metropolitan Swedes, Danes and Norwegians, whose ultimate goal was to create a strong ethnic community worthy of their sustained place within the new Australian nation. At a subsequent meeting of Scandinavians on 16 April 1896, a constitution was adopted and those present unanimously voted in favour of establishing the newspaper as soon as could be managed.³⁶ A new Scandinavian-Australian newspaper, labelled *Norden* in honour of the pan-Scandinavian spirit of its committee and potential readership, was founded.

At the same time a public company – the Australian-Scandinavian Newspaper Company Limited – was formed, as stipulated in the constitution, with an attempt to operate the newspaper as a proper commercial enterprise through the sale of 200 ten-shilling shares, payable in quarterly instalments.³⁷ By founding a company it was hoped that the new venture would be financially stable, given the economic crises of the previous five years and the failure of earlier editor-owned and operated newspapers, such as *Skandinavianen*. Regular auditing by local Scandinavian accountants, such as Gustav Hornemann, and the publication of biennial balance sheets would ensure a high level of fiscal transparency between readers, shareholders and company directors.³⁸ In this way, *Norden* had a financial safety net to ensure that it did not flounder. Advertising the new venture in local news services such as *The Mercury*, the committee declared: "We hope all Scandinavians will support this movement as it deserves, and we need not point out that 'Union is Strength' – a most excellent motto".³⁹

Despite the original plans for *Norden* to be a fortnightly newspaper, it was at first produced as a monthly, mostly in the Danish and Swedish languages.⁴⁰ At this time, literary Norwegian was very close to written Danish, so the literate Norwegian audience was not disadvantaged by such a decision.⁴¹ Indeed, the fact that Lyng, as a Dane, had edited the Norwegian *Hjemlandstoner* prior to this was a strong demonstration of the ability of Danes and Norwegians to communicate openly through the print media. Despite many Scandinavian migrants being from lower socio-economic backgrounds, which may have precluded them from literate activities such as their involvement in the migrant press, Koivukangas' research indicates that, by 1911, many Scandinavians had attained relatively high literacy

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 62; 'Balance Sheet for the Australian-Scandinavian Newspaper Company Limited', *Norden*, December 1897, p. 7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *The Mercury*, 9 July 1896, p. 2.

⁴⁰ John Stanley Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia' in Abe (I.) W. Ata and Colin Ryan (eds), *The Ethnic Press in Australia*, Forest Hill, Vic., Academia Press, 1989, pp. 71-72.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

levels in both their mother tongue and the increasingly dominant use of English.⁴² Koivukangas notes that most early Scandinavian immigrants were unable to read and write even in their own language due to low socio-economic upbringings, limited schooling and that the similarities between the Scandinavian languages to English caused the quick adoption of English amongst many isolated migrants shortly after their arrival.⁴³ Yet by the turn of the century, this was changing. The 1911 Census showed that 86.4% of Danish males could read and write English (as could 82.6% of Swedish males and 77.7% Norwegian males), 7.7% Danish males could only read and write in their mother tongue (9.2% of Swedish males and 12.8% Norwegian males), and only 1.1% of Danes (1.65 Swedish males and 1.4% Norwegian males) stated that they could not read at all.⁴⁴ This assisted *Norden* in not only acquiring sufficient numbers of readers from a small pool of Scandinavian immigrants, but also fuelled the later demand for English-language articles amongst *Norden*'s audience. *Norden* could therefore still be seen to cater to all three nationalities, in spite of a clear majority of the text being in Danish and, much later, English.

Norden's first issue appeared on 6 June 1896 and, shortly after, Lyng was sent by the committee to Sydney and Brisbane to garner further support from the migrant communities in each region and expand the newspaper's network.⁴⁵ In Sydney, Lyng was able to advertise his venture sufficiently in daily broadsheets to secure a public meeting with the city's Scandinavians.⁴⁶ Though disappointed by the poor turnout, his plan was avidly supported by those in attendance through the sale of company shares and subscriptions for future issues.⁴⁷ In Queensland, Lyng met individually with members of the Brisbane community, reporting a good level of reception for the newspaper and its goals.⁴⁸

Norden's early success in Queensland was primarily the result of enduring support from the Scandinavian Association of Brisbane's Oscar Ferdinand Youngberg (1857-1923).⁴⁹ When Lyng approached the Brisbane community in 1896 for support for his newspaper, Swedish Youngberg proved a most valuable contact. He was recruited to act as *Norden*'s representative in the area, aware of the mutually beneficial role a newspaper could play in strengthening his own society's membership rates while fostering ties of fellowship to the societies of Melbourne and Sydney.⁵⁰ Lyng also saw the benefits of inter-state co-operation; with a strong, wide-reaching network

⁴² Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-280. Chapter 5 further discusses this changing demographic.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁴⁵ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Swedish-born Youngberg became a leading figure in the Scandinavian Association shortly after his arrival in Brisbane in the late 1880s "and many of the important undertakings of the association are due to him, such as the library system and the publishing of a catalogue". 'O.F. Youngberg: *Norden*'s Representative in Brisbane', *Norden*, August 1898, p. 8; 'The Danish Consulate', *The Brisbane Courier*, 16 July 1889, p. 5; '1923/B39895 Youngberg, Oscar Ferdinand,' *Queensland Historical Death Records Index*, Available:

<https://www.bdm.qld.gov.au/IndexSearch/querySubmit.m?ReportName=DeathSearch>, (Accessed 22/02/2013).

⁵⁰ 'Norden's Representatives and Agents', *Norden*, February 1898, p. 1. Other early agents included Mr Gundersen in Sydney, I. Simonsen in Bundaberg, H. Hendricksen in Gympie, H. Lundager in Mt Morgan, George Wood in Mackay, L. P Christesen in Wellington and A Nielsen in Inglewood, which identify *Norden*'s main networks stemming from Queensland and New Zealand contacts.

radiating out from the three east-coast cities, *Norden* would be able to negate the loss of subscriptions caused by constant migratory movements, something that earlier Scandinavian-Australian newspapers had been unable to do. It could also do a far better job of fulfilling its initial goal, which Lyng described as being:

To form a connecting link between the widely scattered Scandinavian residents in Australia and New Zealand, and to keep them in touch with their native land.... in reaching the most remote places of Australasia and the South Sea Islands, [it] has, I believe, done some good by making the absence from our native land less felt.⁵¹

On his return from these meetings in Sydney and Brisbane, and with his intended audience properly gauged, Lyng established *Norden*'s headquarters at 17 Church Street in Melbourne, where he set to work.⁵² According to Lyng, establishing *Norden* was a troublesome affair, mainly because of its production being in several foreign languages. With no Scandinavian compositor, the company originally was required to have the newspaper set in type by an English printing firm at double the normal cost. The unfamiliar languages caused breakdowns in communication and, as a result, "proofreading required no end of patience".⁵³ These production problems explain why the newspaper remained a monthly publication until the middle of 1899, slowing income and limiting exposure to the community at a crucial time.⁵⁴ Furthermore, there were difficulties sourcing unique Scandinavian letters for the printing, so rare that the Swedish letter, 'å', actually had to be imported from Sweden.⁵⁵ Even though Lyng shouldered more duties to keep expenditure as low as possible – working as compositor and sharing typesetting with Swedish committee member Axel Nilsson – printing costs alone were too much to balance the books. These problems and unexpected costs also explain the downfall of Franzén and Söderberg's *Skandinavien* a decade beforehand.⁵⁶ Such troubles were expensive setbacks for the fledgling *Norden* and, fearing the further erosion of funds – by early 1897 all the subscribed share capital had been depleted – Lyng purchased a small second-hand press in order to do everything in-house.⁵⁷ According to Lyng, "a temporarily disabled Danish sailor whom I had befriended became *Norden*'s machinist".⁵⁸ Using the small press capable of only printing one page at a time, Lyng and his unknown assistant limped through the crucial first year of production.

From the beginning, Lyng had been concerned about community fragmentation and the alienation of his readership base, due to his time editing *Hjemlandstoner*.⁵⁹ The conflict between *Hjemlandstoner*'s founder Pastor Søren Pedersen and Melbourne's Scandinavian clubs was certainly a negative and fragmentary force that he wished to

⁵¹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australasia*, op. cit., p. 91.

⁵² *Norden*, 8 January 1898, p. 8.

⁵³ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 64.

⁵⁴ *Norden*, August 1899, p.1. This is the last monthly issue on record before the newspaper moved to fortnightly publication.

⁵⁵ Other Scandinavian letters such as ö and ä were also in short supply, making typesetting difficult and expensive. Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 64.

⁵⁶ They also relied on costly English printers, despite the later compositing assistance by Christensen, and it was these financial constraints that ended *Skandinavien*'s life so prematurely.

⁵⁷ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 64.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia' op. cit., p. 73.

be minimised above all other concerns, as it was further deleterious to his need for a united readership. “To guard against friction”, Lyng wrote, “religious and Scandinavian political controversies were banned from [*Norden*’s] columns”.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, his secular policy still cost *Norden* the support of the most religious church-going Scandinavians, many of whom were upset that the newspaper did not focus its attention on migrants’ spiritual needs and instead was seen to profit from hard working parishioners through the sale of shares and subscriptions.⁶¹ Lyng struggled to maintain his readership amongst the clergy, particularly in New Zealand, despite the hard work of his New Zealand contacts.⁶²

Regardless of such troubles, *Norden*’s united readership slowly began to develop through content that focused on the similarities between Scandinavian migrant groups, the sharing of common experiences and the fostering of united goals, and the cultivation of a sense of pride in one’s own migrant heritage. Articles justifying the choice to immigrate tried to assuage feelings of guilt perpetuated by readers’ leaving of the Scandinavian homelands, while arguing for continued connection between now isolated Scandinavian expatriates rather than the abandonment of old-world contacts, traditions and culture.⁶³ In February 1898, *Norden* confronted this issue directly, asking readers the question: “Have we won or lost by exchanging our homeland with Australia?”⁶⁴ Contributor, ‘F. L.’, was affirmative that Scandinavians, on the whole, had benefited from the emigration experience:

Thousands of our compatriots have left their land of birth to seek a more comfortable residence in Australia, and I dare that the majority of them have found that their choices not only gave them experience, but also the possibility of earning fortunes... By a stay in these colonies rather than [remaining in] in Denmark one gets his ideas expanded: one grows, so to speak, out of the provincial shell that surrounded them when they were at home. One travels amongst strangers and studies different peoples’ languages, embassies and customs, social and political conditions – often one takes perhaps a little trip to another colony, and it ends with a trip home to Scandinavia – but will one remain there? Down one goes after a short stay back to Australia, where they now have their second home. It follows of itself that one does not lose the old country of sight... but I believe that it is completely proven that one wins by leaving his country of birth for Australia.⁶⁵

Contrasting the need to keep the old country within sight against the benefits of migrants’ new Australian life, *Norden* was able to satisfy an audience that

⁶⁰ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁶¹ This may have been a reaction from Pedersen’s old parishioners, who saw *Norden*’s alignment with the clubs instead of the church as a travesty to the pastor’s efforts to support the downtrodden. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁶² *Ibid.* One of *Norden*’s New Zealand agents, L. P. Christesen, was acknowledged by Lyng as a significant assistant to the newspaper’s growth, even if the New Zealand clergy were hampering his efforts: “Although the result of [Christesen’s] hardy efforts to spread the newspaper are perhaps not quite up to what we require we are sanguine enough to wait, standing by our national enterprise and we all are very grateful to him [for his efforts]”. ‘L. P. Christesen’, *Norden*, February 1898, p. 9.

⁶³ *Norden*, February 1898, pp. 1, 6.

⁶⁴ ‘Have we won or lost by exchanging out homeland for Australia?’, *Norden*, February 1898, p. 1.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

uncomfortably straddled two homelands.⁶⁶ In January 1898, Hobart contributor Mr Bjelke-Petersen had already posited *Norden* as the main facilitator of bridging the gap between old-and new-world memories, noting that “in *Norden* we can once again build our childhood snowhouse... we can once again, like in the old days, fight with snowballs” and fondly reminisce about the earlier life back in Scandinavia.⁶⁷ But Bjelke-Petersen also noted the need for his “dear Scandinavian compatriots” to work together towards a common goal of united community support within the new land:

[*Norden*] is the voice, our only one in Australia for preparation towards enlightenment and education. Do not forget the motto: equal rights for all in its columns. The light came to the darkness, even if the darkness could not understand it. Do not forget the newspaper’s address.⁶⁸

Norden facilitated the sharing of migrant memories while allowing readers like Bjelke-Petersen to reconnect with “the genuine flesh and blood of my blood. I feel as if I am at home when I read *Norden*’s columns... We are all brothers, and this is the reason not to let the flame go out”.⁶⁹ Some subscribers clearly saw *Norden* as an important vehicle for group education, continual communication, and the spread of specific ideals to the burgeoning readership.

To further this function, historically-focused Lyng began to provide established migrant exemplars that the Scandinavian community could emulate, in turn driving participation within migrant organisations and *Norden*’s own developing community.⁷⁰ According to Håkan Eilert and John Martin, “the Scandinavians of Victoria developed a great interest in those of their compatriots who were successful in the community at large”.⁷¹ Lyng used this to draw potential readers to his cause while promoting stronger interaction from an interested community. It also engendered ideal migrant values such as co-operation, involvement and pride, within the Scandinavian-Australian community. In November 1897, for example, the life of prominent Brisbane pharmacist and dentist, Jacob Christensen, was detailed. Christensen’s unwavering involvement and support for Brisbane’s Scandinavian Association *Heimdal*, which he joined a year after arriving in “Sunney Queensland” in 1893, was a prominent theme.⁷² The article describes how Christensen:

has a winning attitude and stands up well with all his compatriots, is inventive in all areas that can benefit the cooperation between Scandinavians, and although not what might be called wealthy, his purse is always open for national enterprises and tight-end countrymen. Under his leadership, the Scandinavian Association has

⁶⁶ In providing old-world news and new-world instruction, while also commenting on migrant affairs and serving as an outlet for the airing of grievances and complaints, *Norden*’s early content was significant. Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *The Foreign-language Press in Australia 1848-1964*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1967, p. 156.

⁶⁷ ‘A Letter to Norden’, *Norden*, January 1898, p. 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Lyng’s focus on historical material during the early years of the newspaper gave many migrants an insight into the lives of earlier compatriots and migration developments in other areas, such as Queensland. See for example: ‘Some of the leading Scandinavians in Maryborough’, *Norden*, March 1898, p. 7; ‘Scandinavians in Queensland’, *Norden*, July 1898, pp. 1, 7.

⁷¹ Eilert and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁷² ‘Jacob Christensen, c. ph.’, *Norden*, November 1897, p. 9.

grown in membership, and several attempts have been made by the association to mend the old misunderstandings between the association and the Scandinavian church, and it seems to have been successful.⁷³

The newspaper celebrated Christensen and other notable migrants as paragons of Scandinavian leadership and co-operation, people who invested in the growth of pan-Scandinavian clubs and in fostering goodwill between groups while forgetting old animosities. *Norden* positively noted how:

‘[Christensen’s] warm patriotism and ready sacrifice is greatly well-received by *Norden*. In many ways he has encouraged and supported us, and when the history of the newspaper is written, his name as a natural follower will stand amongst the first.’⁷⁴

Such deep-seated Scandinavian patriotism required exemplars like Christensen if it was to be taken up by the majority of migrants and if the newspaper was to recruit more avid readers. Importantly, Lyng saw *Norden*’s role as one where the continued encouragement of migrant patriotism and what he called “*nationalfölelse*” (*national sentiment*) would be beneficial in enabling the formation of a viable Scandinavian ethnic community in Australia.⁷⁵ In January 1898, Lyng tried his best to emphasise the importance of such patriotic ideals to his readership, writing that:

National sentiment is reflected in different ways. In people who represent large and powerful nations, the idea is frequently associated with a certain penchant for great wellings of pride, whereas in other people, living and breathing in a conscious need for their nation’s insignificance and powerlessness, [national sentiment] manifests itself in a nervous way that [his/her] nation not be ridiculed or despised by strangers... [ultimately] a force that brings together individuals of a society that inflames the enthusiasm and strengthens the resolve.⁷⁶

Here, it is quite remarkable to see Lyng reflect on the reasons why developing of state-based nationalisms had such increased importance to the lives of his late-nineteenth century contemporaries, as well as how he could use such rising national sentiments to bring more migrant readers closer to *Norden*’s cause. Noting the expression of national sentiment as usually being the result of either “great wellings of pride” by dominant groups or the “nervous” attempts by minorities to limit the ridicule of their homelands in the face of persecution, Lyng’s discussion echoes the later ideas of Benedict Anderson in trying to explain “the *attachment* that peoples feel for the inventions of their imaginations”.⁷⁷ Lyng described his fellow Scandinavians as those who lacked a sense of ‘living’ national pride or unity and argued for their need revitalise the pride in their heritage for the sake of stronger ethnic associations abroad:

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ ‘National Sentiment’, *Norden*, January 1898, p. 1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York, Verso, 1983, p. 141.

In regards to the Scandinavians in Australasia, it is probably not missing in the national sense, but it mostly exists as something dead, something they themselves find inconceivable. It is the living national feeling which bears fruit. Otherwise, would not our racial differences override our beloved national institutions so that they virtually beg for their existence[?]⁷⁸

The swellings of patriotic political love for one's homeland through a vocabulary of kinship, as well as the use of communal vernacular languages to express national sentiments through "the cultural products of nationalism – poetry, prose fiction, music" and, of course, the foreign-language migrant press – were significant themes that required Lyng's attention, especially while frustratingly acknowledging the apathetic nature of Australia's Scandinavian migrants to such national sentimentalities.⁷⁹ Much in the same way as Anthony D. Smith notes the need for ethnic communities to develop a sense of solidarity built on the dimensions of a collective name, common myth of descent, shared history, a distinctive shared culture, and an association with a specific territory,⁸⁰ Lyng was well aware that *Norden's* success hung on his Scandinavian community's ability to forge "a collective consciousness (or feeling of being a community) based on a belief in shared language, traditions, religion, history and experiences".⁸¹ The importance of cultivating national – and as the below passage suggests, macro-national – sentiments in the Australian context, wrote Lyng, was on united efforts, and patriotic Scandinavian sentiments worthy of rallying behind for greater representation and political power within the new Australian nation:

If the Scandinavians, who through unforgivable short-sightedness did not underestimate the importance of unity, we should stand connected and not completely impotent. Calling on nearly 25,000 people, the total shall strengthen and encourage.⁸²

If that sense of "living national feeling" could not be cultivated, wrote Lyng, and all that divided the Scandinavians from other British-Australian groups was race, the Scandinavians were certain to quickly and irreversibly assimilate.⁸³

Norden's early articles incited its readership to grow in terms of developing pan-Scandinavian national sentiments while expressing pride for their migrant experiences and successes. However, such education through *Norden's* pages also increased tensions between readers of the various Scandinavian nationalities, who began to see inequalities within organisations based on so-called 'pan-Scandinavian' co-operation. Wherever possible *Norden* attempted to dampen or outright deny views that threatened to fragment its readership or the success of pan-Scandinavian societies, such as Brisbane's *Heimdal*. On 24 September 1898, for example, the growing domination of Danish members within the strongly Scandinavian Association of Brisbane was brought to the public's attention in a letter first posted

⁷⁸ 'National Sentiment', *Norden*, January 1898, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁸⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1987, pp. 22-31.

⁸¹ Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 3rd edn, New York, NY, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 33.

⁸² 'National Sentiment', *Norden*, January 1898, p. 1.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

to Brisbane's *Evening Observer*.⁸⁴ In his attack on the pan-Scandinavian nature of the association, a disgruntled reader, known only as 'Scandinavian', noted that:

The whole thing was Danish from Top to Bottom, and not Scandinavian at all. The Danish Consul supports the chair, the toasts were 'the Queen' 'the Club' 'the Committee' and 'The Royal Danish House,' (very bad taste for the meeting anyway, to put themselves and their Committee before their own royal family). Sweden and Norway don't seem to come in anywhere, although they, and they only constitute Scandinavia, as any schoolboy knows. Also, they had a song printed in 'the mother tongue.' Was that song [not] also Danish? Allow me to point out that Denmark was never Scandi[n]avia, although 401 years ago Margaret was Queen over the three countries – Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Eighty-four years ago the connection between Norway & Denmark was cut, but in any case Denmark was never Scandinavia. Danes don't claim to be Scandinavians when in Denmark. Why should they in Queensland?⁸⁵

Norden assiduously rebutted the letter's claims of Danish dominion within Scandinavian-Australian organisations and the author's belief that "Denmark was never Scandinavia".⁸⁶ Under the title, 'What is a Scandinavian?', in February 1898, *Norden* published the original letter followed by a straightforward response from none other than Brisbane's secretary of the Scandinavian Association under attack – and *Norden*'s own representative – O. F. Youngberg:

It is now beyond all repute that all three Countries which [the 'Scandinavian'] refers to were populated by the same people, coming from eastward which they were divided into two tribes – namely, the Goths and the Svea branch, the former occupying Denmark, Southern Sweden, and a small portion of South-eastern Norway; the latter North and Middle Sweden and the far greater part of Norway. This matter has been exhaustively and critically dealt with by the great Norwegian historian Munch, of whom from all appearance your correspondent must be totally ignorant of.⁸⁷

Continuing to form an image of a historically united Scandinavia, Youngberg went on to argue a strong case for linguistic similarity between Norwegians, Swedes, and even Danes:

The tongue spoken in Denmark is no more different from that in Sweden than that of Robert Burns from that of Tennyson. The language of our old provincial laws is the most important monument in existence of the primitive dialects in Scandinavia, which proves what I have stated above.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ The letter was then reprinted in *Norden* several months later. 'What is a Scandinavian?', *Norden*, February 1899, p. 5.

⁸⁵ Most likely a Norwegian but possibly a Swede due to the writer's focus on language, the writer was visiting from Bundaberg and only signed the letter as 'Scandinavian'. *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, my emphasis.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

In regards to the complainant's claims of Danish domination, however, Swedish Youngberg was relatively silent, suggesting that he was aware of inequalities yet sided with his Danish counterparts to avoid inflaming the situation further. While the 'Scandinavian' may indeed have been correct in the perceived inequalities within such organisations and even *Norden* itself, the official position of promoting pan-Scandinavian unity for the good of society membership and newspaper subscriber numbers remained Youngberg's main focus. *Norden*'s editor Jens Lyng, himself of the Danish numerical majority yet highly sympathetic to the pan-Scandinavian cause, also resolved to ignore such direct criticisms of national inequality within the newspaper and associated pan-Scandinavian organisations, as this was indeed one of the 'conflicts' that he believed would do nothing but damage *Norden*'s readership. As such, the matter was dropped and no further mention of the event was printed to indicate further backlash from the minority element of the 'united' community. Rebutting any sense of fragmentation at all costs, *Norden* acknowledged the Danish dominance in terms of numbers, but saw no reason why such numerical inequalities would impact on the continued co-operation between Danes, Swedes and Norwegians.

Following *Norden*'s early focus on forging strong networks of united migrant readership, the encouragement of Scandinavian cultural and social achievements within the small community and the cultivation of macro-national sentiments while rebutting arguments of national inequality, the next few years led to several significant developments that enabled *Norden* to increase its activities and gather a sufficiently interested pan-Scandinavian readership. First, Lyng married Victorian-born Mary Eleanor Gertrude Burrowes on 28 October 1897, which helped to revitalise his journalistic efforts as she was drawn into the Scandinavian community.⁸⁹ Becoming acquainted with the Danish language, Gertrude Lyng aided her new husband and "in every branch of the business became a cheap and most efficient helpmate".⁹⁰ Second, in January 1898, *Norden* relocated from the original 17 Church Street residence to the larger office at 227 King Street, where Lyng also forayed into commercial printing to further the company's income on the side (See Plates 5 and 6).⁹¹ The new office was "more spacious, lighter, and better located than the old" premises.⁹² From this new location, Lyng began to advertise his printing services in *Norden* in an attempt to improve his business' profitability.⁹³ While subscription rates remained piecemeal during the first year, by late 1898 an increase in readers is evident. As subscriptions were fixed at six shillings per year, the published financial balance sheets provide an estimate of early subscriber numbers. Based on the funds from subscriptions received and owing (a total of £54.2.0 in June-December 1897), some 180 people subscribed to *Norden* in the second half of 1897.⁹⁴ By the second half of 1898, this had grown to 228 half-yearly subscribers (£68.11.6).⁹⁵ The number of readers, however, was most likely significantly higher,

⁸⁹ Martin, 'Lyng, Jens Sorensen (1868–1941)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2005, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lyng-jens-sorensen-13059/text23615>, (Accessed 20/03/2012).

⁹⁰ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 63.

⁹¹ *Ibid*; *Norden*, January 1898, p. 8.

⁹² 'From our own Circle', *Norden*, January 1898, p. 8.

⁹³ 'J. S. Lyng: Recommended for all your printing work – Cheap Prices – Good Work', *Norden*, January 1898, p. 6.

⁹⁴ *Norden*, December 1897, p. 7.

⁹⁵ *Norden*, December 1898, p. 6.

Plate 5 (below left): Jens Lyng, *Norden*, 26 May 1906, p. 1.

Plate 6 (below right): West Melbourne Printing Works,

Norden, 30 September 1905, p. 1.



J. S. LYG.



WEST MELBOURNE
PRINTING WORKS

Description: *Norden* founder Jens Sørensen Lyng in 1906, aged 38. From 1898, *Norden* was based at Lyng's printing business, West Melbourne Printing Works (or, as it was locally known in Danish as *Vest Melbourne Trykkeri*) at 227 King Street, Melbourne.

as paying subscribers shared *Norden* with family members and neighbours, and Scandinavian associations made copies available in reading rooms. At best, perhaps 400-500 Scandinavians had access to *Norden* in these first few years of publication.

Adding to the networks Lyng had made in 1896 within the Brisbane and Sydney Scandinavian communities, by January 1898 he had also made contact with established Scandinavians in the major regional migrant centres of Bundaberg, Gympie, Mackay and Mt Morgan in Queensland, as well as Wellington and Inglewood in New Zealand, and he asked these migrants to act as *Norden*'s representatives within their own communities.⁹⁶ Notable community leaders, such as L. P. Christesen, the chairman of Wellington's Scandinavian Association, were recruited to Lyng's cause and proved valuable allies.⁹⁷ As *Norden* reported, people like Brisbane's Youngberg, Sydney's Gunderson and Wellington's Christesen were vital for the newspaper's success, and that "it is not [Christesen]'s skill as a businessman that has been responsible for his popularity, but the importance he places on his warm patriotism, his sociability and his energetic efforts in the Society and the social life amongst the Scandinavians in Wellington, which for us is crucial".⁹⁸ The committee sought out those amongst the scattered population who could best deliver them a readership through strong collaboration and an embodiment of shared pan-Scandinavian ideals.

Complementing these larger agents, there were also smaller contacts who aided in the diffusion and financial obligations of the newspaper in Adelaide, Hobart, Townsville, Croydon, Charters Towers and Coolgardie.⁹⁹ *Norden* touted itself widely as "the only Scandinavian magazine published in the southern hemisphere" and, as such, was able to provide material marketed specifically to a captive audience.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, to ensure the fast transmission of news and post from Scandinavia to Australasia, *Norden* maintained a correspondent, a merchant by the name of W. Levin, in Copenhagen, who also acted to recruit subscribers from the homelands.¹⁰¹ Lyng was constantly looking for markets further afield to take up the newspaper's circulation and, in September 1898, he devoted the front page to advertise *Norden* to Scandinavian and American-Scandinavian periodicals abroad.¹⁰² Describing the Scandinavian-Australian community as one in great need of financial and ideological support, he invited countrymen in the three regions of Scandinavia and United States of America to subscribe to *Norden*: in doing so, they "will please themselves and help the Scandinavian newspaper farthest from home through a difficult childhood,

⁹⁶ 'From our own midst' *Norden*, January 1898, p. 8.

⁹⁷ Christesen had arrived in New Zealand around 1872 and by 1898 he owned a large tobacco wholesale business and a hairdressing salon in Wellington. He was influential in uniting 60 -70 Scandinavians in Wellington into an association, and carry out Scandinavian festivities. 'L. P. Christesen', *Norden*, February 1898, p. 9; 'Letter from Wellington', *Norden*, February 1898, p. 9.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ 'Norden's Representatives and Agents', *Norden*, February 1898, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ 'Norden's Goals', *Norden*, February 1898, p. 1. By 1900, *Norden* had gained representatives in Dannevirke and Bairnsdale as well, but had lost Hobart and Adelaide, possibly due to migrant movements or lack of interest. *Norden*, 10 February 1900, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ 'From our own midst' *Norden*, January 1898, p.8; 'Norden's Representatives and Agents', *Norden*, February 1898, p. 1. By September 1898 *Norden*'s subscription form included Levin as the main contact for those who had remained in Scandinavia but wished to read of the Australian migrant communities exploits. *Norden*, September 1898, p. 1.

¹⁰² Jens Lyng, 'Read! Please record this in Scandinavian and Scandinavian-American Newspapers', *Norden*, September 1898, p. 1.

to honour the fatherland and its culture”.¹⁰³ Connecting to the successes of Scandinavians in America was important in encouraging ethnic expression in Australia, and stories directly from the American newspapers throughout 1898-1902 helped to link them to a greater global ‘imagined community’ of transnational migrants.¹⁰⁴ In particular, *Norden* formed links to Chicago bookseller Martin Ackerman, who began to advertise his Scandinavian-language books to the Australian audience of *Norden* in 1899.¹⁰⁵ Ackerman would later become *Norden*’s American representative, for a time.¹⁰⁶

Norden’s strong networks enabled local clubs to advertise their existence to a wider community, emphasise their activities, and garner new membership.¹⁰⁷ The various Scandinavian social associations were well aware of *Norden*’s influence upon their constituents, such advertisements driving participation in meetings and festivities, as well as informing readers of social developments. “All kinds of Australian-Scandinavian news,” wrote the Brisbane Association, “are received with thanks from *Norden*”.¹⁰⁸ The newspaper advertised social clubs, representatives and official consuls in order to further inform readers of contacts in the community, driving the idea that the isolated migrants were not alone in this new land and could count on one another for support rather than ‘opting out’ of Scandinavian aspects of their identity.¹⁰⁹ Despite forming such strong networks and alliances with both consuls and migrant social clubs, *Norden* continued to struggle financially. Its business model relied predominantly on three sources of income: advertisements; subscriptions; and income derived from social entertainment, such as fetes, dances and balls. The balance sheets from *Norden*’s early years corroborate Lyng’s own recollections of *Norden* as not a money-making venture, but rather one that required constant input of funds from the community. In 1897, advertisements contributed approximately 27% of total income to the newspaper, entertainment 23% and subscriptions 37.5%, with shares, income from the affiliated Scandinavian labour office, a small loan and sundries accounting for the remaining 12.5%.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ ‘Scandinavian Books in Boston’s Library’, *Norden*, April 1898, p. 6; ‘Danes in America’, *Norden*, December 1898, p. 2; ‘Our compatriots in America and Australia’, *Norden*, January 1899, pp. 1, 5;

¹⁰⁵ ‘Advertisement for Martin Ackerman, 364 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago’, *Norden*, 27 July 1901, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Under Ackerman’s name, Lyng had written “more representatives desired”, indicating his need to move into the North American marketplace. ‘Norden’s Representatives and Agents’, *Norden*, 1 October 1904, p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ The advertisements for various club activities and collaborations, listed together in *Norden*, gives a sense of the simultaneous imaginings readers were able to discern by seeing migrant groups involved in social activities across Australia, united regardless of distance. *Norden*, November 1897, p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Advertisements for the major clubs, such as Brisbane’s Scandinavian Association, Melbourne’s Danish Association, and Sydney’s Danish Club, were often advertised together, and included statements such as the above to draw readers to their physical associations. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Early Consuls listed in *Norden* included important members of the readership, including Poul Poulsen, Danish Consul in Brisbane and Melbourne’s Danish General Consul F. W. Were. Swedish/Norwegian Consul for Victoria, Tasmania, and West Australia, H. Gundersen, also based in Melbourne, also maintained a wider network of vice-consuls in Launceston, Adelaide and Fremantle. Not all nationalities were represented in all cities in the early days of *Norden*, but the newspaper’s information encouraged many troubled Scandinavians to contact the closest consul for assistance regardless of nationality in the interest of bipartisan support. ‘Norden’s Directory: Scandinavian Consuls in Australia’, *Norden*, December 1897, p. 8.

¹¹⁰ *Norden*, December 1897, p. 7.

Melbourne in particular was the main region where advertisers' migrant businesses were based, due to their proximity to *Norden's* headquarters on King Street and a larger local readership base which drew them to expect a return on advertising investment amongst Melbourne's extant Scandinavian community.¹¹¹ Yet, the nature of the Scandinavian press was a two-edged sword for advertisers and Lyng was unable to attract continued financial support outside of the Melbourne area, nor from many English-speaking local clients: "Somehow advertisers have an unpleasant habit of asking questions regarding circulation, and where the bulk of the readers reside".¹¹² Lyng argued that the amount of advertising alone was not strong enough to keep *Norden* afloat. While the majority of the advertisements were for Scandinavian-owned businesses in Melbourne, few Scandinavians across Australia ever had a chance of visiting their stores. Despite a wide distribution network, *Norden* was also unable to reach the majority of Scandinavians who were still not aware of the fledgling publication, or simply uninterested.

As a result, *Norden's* sources of income were prone to fluctuation and only a year later, in 1898, both advertisements and entertainment income had dropped substantially to only 19% and 14%, respectively.¹¹³ Expenditure in both 1897 and 1898 was dominated by salaries and the repaying of old debts accumulated by the newspaper in its difficult establishment year, 1896.¹¹⁴ While shares in the Australian-Scandinavian Newspaper Company Limited grew slowly and demonstrated a small yet continued interest by readers to invest in *Norden* – from 180 shares in 1897 (worth £90) to 188 the following year (£94) – it was clear that shareholders were unlikely to see returning dividends from their investment in the community.¹¹⁵ Without lifting subscription rates and advertising revenue, *Norden* could not be seen as financially viable. Instead, Lyng continued to survive through his commercial printing ventures and charity from the community. As he wrote in 1907:

Norden, nevertheless, has never been a paying concern, and has only been kept afloat at a sacrifice. This is partly due to religious bigotry on the part of a great section of the Scandinavians and partly due to the same adverse circumstances which have hampered the growth of clubs and societies – the immense distances, the gradual

¹¹¹ Names like Rasmus Parelius, an importer of Norwegian and Swedish produce, and G Ahlström, a Swedish tailor, or the large butter manufacturing firm of Holdenson & Neilsen, demonstrate the influence of all three Scandinavian nationalities and their desire to focus on their fellow countrymen for business. Many advertisements were written in the business owners' respective language, which also shows the importance advertisers placed on getting migrant customers through their doors. 'Advertisements', *Norden*, December 1897, p. 12. Also see Chart 3, Appendix 1 which details the nationality and place of advertiser's businesses, corroborating Lyng's account.

¹¹² Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹¹³ The slack was taken up by an increase in subscriptions (up from 37.5% the previous year to 51% in 1898), the remaining 16% from shares, fundraising raffles, donations and a substantial loan of 7.4.7 (approx. 7.3% of the total half-yearly income) from Jens Lyng himself to keep the books balanced. *Norden*, December 1898, p. 6.

¹¹⁴ By December 1898, the balance sheets no longer include printing fees and instead show an increase in salaries, which marks Lyng's decision to print the newspaper in-house with the assistance of a Danish machinist, rather than the printing assistance of a Mr Unger. *Ibid*; *Norden*, December 1897, p. 7.

¹¹⁵ *Norden*, December 1897, p. 7; *Norden*, December 1898, p. 6.

denationalisation of the Scandinavians, and the want of new arrivals to fill the gaps caused by general decay.¹¹⁶

For Lyng, this “gradual denationalisation of the Scandinavians” was his greatest concern as *Norden*’s audience were expected – even by Lyng and the migrants themselves – to slowly assimilate into dominant British-Australian society after isolation and limited migrant contacts caused their abandonment of the cultural and national differences that made his Nordic readership so unique. Lyng had already noted the limited sense of *nationalfølelse* (*national sentiment*) amongst the Scandinavian-Australian group, arguing for stronger pride in migrant heritage, languages and culture to avoid the early decay of this ethnicising community and its voice, *Norden*.¹¹⁷ If his newspaper was to be successful over the long-term, Lyng needed to use all the resources at his disposal to move towards the creation of a viable Scandinavian-Australian culture for his migrant readership.

***Norden*’s encouragement of an inclusive and connected readership**

Fortunately, the need to support *Norden* financially also gave the readership one of the most important reasons to come together physically, and an emerging migrant culture was cultivated by *Norden* through its encouragement of social events, such as the Danish-led *Fugleskydning* (*Birdshoot*), *Norden*’s annual pan-Scandinavian *Aarsfest* (*Yearly Party*), as well as regular Scandinavian picnics, balls and carnivals (See Plates 7, 8, 9, 12 and 13).¹¹⁸ An atmosphere of visible co-operation was cultivated by Lyng’s newspaper on both national and pan-Scandinavian levels, as he attempted to draw interested readers together through events that encouraged a flowering of *nationalfølelse* (*national sentiment*) and a wider sense of migrant community linkage. In terms of encouraging an active sense of Danishness and migrant unity across Australasia, *Norden*’s promotion of the *Fugleskydning* is perhaps the most interesting development – and invented ethnic tradition – made by *Norden*’s migrant readership.

The *Fugleskydning* – a target-shooting event designed to celebrate the shooting prowess of the local and often rural community – had its origins in the smaller provincial towns of nineteenth century Denmark, yet the event migrated to Australia as cultural baggage of rural immigrants wishing to re-establish the traditions of their homelands.¹¹⁹ In Australia, the sport was first re-introduced to Brisbane’s

¹¹⁶ Lyng and Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in Australasia*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹¹⁷ ‘National Sentiment’, *Norden*, January 1898, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ The birdshoot was a favourite pastime of Scandinavians in Australia, particularly Danes, and was a good reason for clubs to come together physically. It was often communicated via *Norden* as the ‘national sport’, especially around 26 January to commemorate both English arrival and Scandinavian culture in Australia. ‘From our own Circle’, *Norden*, March 1898, p. 7; ‘Birdshoot in Sydney’, *Norden* February 1899, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ The Birdshoot’s origins may have stretched back even further, with *Norden* later mythologising the event as a very old custom, one that they believed dated back to the Spring festival of Aalborg in 1517 when “8 men demanded that a popinjay be raised on St Valborgsday, and when the brothers had crowned their Count May in Lunden, would go down to the popinjay and shoot her down, to be followed to the city by both the Bird King and Count May”. ‘Fugleskydning’, *Norden*, 12 January 1929, p. 4. According to another account, the event was one of large celebration and merriment, the records of Brisbane’s *Heimdal* stating that “the riflemen march to the sports ground with bands playing, and the prize winners are escorted home in a similar manner, the festival generally ending with a banquet and dance”. MS, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland: R526, ‘Newspaper

Scandinavian community by Danish cabinet maker Peter Thomle in 1882.¹²⁰ By 1890, Melbourne too had experimented with the event as a social and cultural outing worthy of reproduction.¹²¹ Generally, on the day of *Fugleskydning* festivities, the local migrant community would gather for a picnic in a local field by the invitation of a Scandinavian land-owner. A hand-crafted wooden target in the shape of a large bird, “with a crown on its head, outstretched wings, and a lemon in its beak”, would be hoisted to the top of a tall pole.¹²² Participating riflemen would then take turns to attempt to dismember the bird in the correct order; first lemon, then the crown, the head, the right wing, the left wing, the tail, and finally the heart. Awards were given for each shooter who hit the target in accordance with these rules, and penalties applied if parts were accidentally dismembered out of order. The rifleman to take out the last piece, the metal plated ‘heart’, was awarded the first prize and highest honour as well as the title of *Fuglekong* (Bird King) for the coming year, as well as being expected to contest his title at the next event.¹²³

After its early introduction in Brisbane, the *Fugleskydning* was carried out locally as an annual event throughout the 1880s and 1890s, and by the time of *Norden*’s establishment in 1896, it had become an important focal point on the Brisbane Scandinavian community’s social calendar. While predominantly a Danish tradition, its beginnings in Australia as part of Brisbane’s pan-Scandinavian Association *Heimdal* enabled it to act above national boundaries and is believed to have also included interested Swedes and Norwegians while remaining predominantly Danish.¹²⁴ In March 1898, *Norden* brought news of Brisbane’s annual *Fugleskydning*, held at a Mr Sørensen’s property, Mt. Gotha, to the attention of the wider Scandinavian readership as a demonstration of what could be achieved socially by the migrant community: “It was a good muster of members, and the atmosphere was animated”,¹²⁵ wrote the *Norden* correspondent. Describing the masses of flags and pennants amongst the happy Scandinavians and their “mighty eagle”, *Norden* painted an impressive picture of Brisbane’s migrants coming together to recreate the culture of their past while connecting both rural and urban migrants.¹²⁶ Not

clipping’, in *Scandinavian Association Heimdal Shooting Rules for Bird Shooting, 1917-1926*, *Heimdal* Danish Association Records.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*; ‘Under the Southern Cross’, *Norden*, 9 March 1918, p. 5.

¹²¹ ‘Under the Southern Cross’, *Norden*, 9 March 1918, p. 5.

¹²² MS, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland: R526, *Scandinavian Association Heimdal Shooting Rules for Bird Shooting, 1917-1926*, *Heimdal* Danish Association Records.

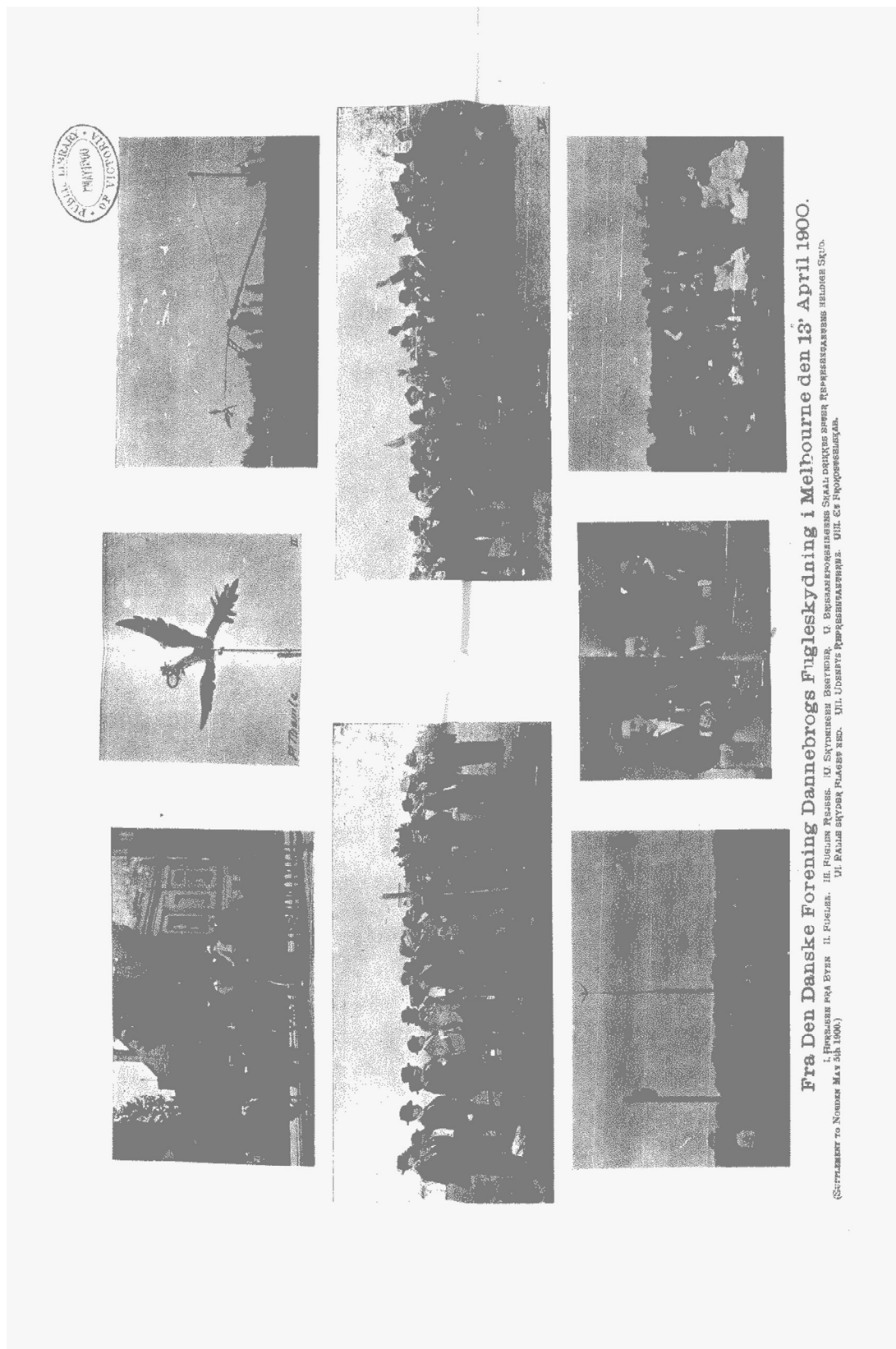
¹²³ The day was taken very seriously by the organising clubs and participants, with *Heimdal* maintaining a shooting rules book that stipulated general rules such as shooting distance as well as the shooting committee who were in charge of organising and running the event. Crafting the bird was also deemed an honourable effort, as much attention and time was spent on creating the cultural masthead for the community; a symbol of the traditions of the homeland being carried forth in a migrant context. *Ibid*.

¹²⁴ ‘From our own Circle’, *Norden* March 1898, p. 7. Such reports make no mention of the birdshoot being a purely Danish tradition in Queensland, noting it as a day for all “happy Scandinavians” – a result of the Brisbane society’s continued pan-Scandinavian ideals. The names of competitors, however, are dominantly Danish, so the realities may differ from *Norden*’s reports.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*.

¹²⁶ Encouraging children and families to get involved, Brisbane’s community also used the event to hold a traditional children’s carnival event called *Katten af Tønden* (*Cat in a barrel*), where like their fathers the children must liberate treats from a decorated piñata-like barrel, with the chance of being named King or Queen of Cats. A fun day celebrating the old country and culture through tradition, it seems, was had by all.

Plate 7: 'From the Danish Association *Dannebrog's* Birdshoot in Melbourne, 13 April 1900', supplement to *Norden*, May 1900.



surprisingly, the cultural and social impact of the *Fugleskydning* on Brisbane's vibrant Scandinavian community was quickly recognised as a desired element to be brought to other Scandinavian centres.

Significantly, *Norden*'s ability to relay news to an interested yet widespread migrant readership was crucial in the spread of culturally-specific social activities, such as the *Fugleskydning*, further enabling united ethnic expressions to flourish across Australasia. Despite existing in Brisbane for some 15 years, it was only after *Norden* was established in 1896 that the *Fugleskydning* spread rapidly to other centres as other readers rushed to emulate the reported success of Brisbane's community. Only one month after Brisbane's March 1898 event, for example, clearly influenced by an article in *Norden* and the impressive efforts of their Brisbane counterparts, Sydney's Danes held their first known *Fugleskydning* in April 1898.¹²⁷ Considered a founding father of the *Fugleskydning*, Peter Thomle, who was now a resident of Sydney and had travelled up to Brisbane to take part in March's event, was also a driving force in organising the Sydney shoot. Through both *Norden* and the physical migrant connections of Thomle, word had indeed spread fast. "This first experiment in birdshooting in Sydney got such a good reception", wrote *Norden*'s Sydney correspondent, "it will probably generate an annual reunion point for the Danes in this colony".¹²⁸ While the Danish character of many club-based bird-shoots is clearly evident from such statements, the most impressive character of the *Fugleskydning* was its role in bringing migrant communities together in a physical location for networking and cultural activities, while sharing similar experiences with those in other locations via written reports in *Norden*.

Building a sense of camaraderie and competitiveness between the Danish-dominated associations and clubs of the east-coast cities, *Norden* used the *Fugleskydning* to demonstrate to readers the benefits of continued connection and collaboration across vast distances – and, as such, the importance of the publication to network such groups together and co-ordinate activities as part of a united readership. On 13 April 1900, *Norden* drew further interest to the large *Fugleskydning*, held by Melbourne's *Dannebrog*, through a rare full-page photograph supplement (See Plate 7).¹²⁹ Significantly, this event also included several visiting Brisbane representatives from *Heimdal*, eager to forge stronger connections with their southern relatives. In April 1901, another large event was scheduled again in Brisbane, involving the shooters, their families, as well as representatives from Sydney and a visiting Norwegian ship's captain.¹³⁰ The inclusion of a Sydney representative was of great importance to Brisbane's community, as the *Fugleskydning* provided these isolated communities a rare opportunity to connect – and brag about their successes – with other migrant groups.

The spread of the *Fugleskydning* to other parts of Eastern Australia is an important example of how reporting in *Norden*, and the interconnection of people through migrant movement and club interaction, influenced the spread of culture and social

¹²⁷ *Norden*, April 1898, p. 9; 'Under the Southern Cross', *Norden*, 9 March 1918, p. 5.

¹²⁸ *Norden*, April 1898, p. 9.

¹²⁹ 'From the Danish Association Dannebrog's Birdshoot in Melbourne, 13th April 1900', *Norden*, 5 May 1900, p. 5.

¹³⁰ 'Birdshoot in Brisbane', *Norden*, 6 April 1901, p. 6. With over 700 shots fired at this event alone, *Norden* was also impressed by the 25 second-generation migrants taking part in children's activities, as they attempted to promote a full family atmosphere and a sense of ethnic continuity.

events to separated migrant communities. The *Fugleskydning* was an important social event, where every year migrants could come together, “when old memories were relived and new friendships were founded”.¹³¹ The annual event also promoted cross-club participation and involvement on a national scale, with delegates from various clubs visiting each other in Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney to partake in each other’s festivities, and it was an important unifier of migrant communities and culture through the emulation of successful social events.¹³² This was very important to *Norden*’s own goals of forging a strong ethnicised readership, and as such Lyng used such binding activities that emphasised similarity of interests, cultural heritage and purpose between geographically separate groups to unite segments of his readership, particularly the Danish element. Over time, an old homeland tradition took on new levels of migrant meaning, and eventually became a new Danish-Australian tradition.¹³³ A constant reminder of the culture of the old country, *Norden*’s promotion of the *Fugleskydning* functioned as a yearly meeting to celebrate this past, but to also locate it in a new landscape.

As well as *Norden*’s support of the *Fugleskydning*, the other significant event in promoting the Scandinavians’ united ethnic efforts was *Norden*’s own fundraising vehicle, the *Aarsfest* (*Yearly Party*), which began in Melbourne to celebrate the anniversary of the newspaper’s founding. A unique event created purely for *Norden*’s fiscal and subscribers’ benefit, the pan-Scandinavian nature of the *Aarsfest* is much more evident than adopted traditions such as the Danish *Fugleskydning*. From 1897, most *Aarsfest* celebrations entailed two parts: first a concert with musical and dramatic acts from 8 pm to 10 pm, performed by contributing members of the community, and then an ensuing dance from 10 pm until the early hours of the next morning, often 2 am.¹³⁴ It was at the second annual *Aarsfest* in Melbourne’s Protestant Hall on 22 April 1898, in the interlude between the concert and dance, that the importance of both *Norden* and pan-Scandinavian unity was emphasised to the gathered migrant community. Taking the stage after the last act, notable community leader Gustav Hornemann gave what the correspondent referred to as “a short, yet clear and thoughtful speech”:

He referred to the evening’s importance for Scandinavians in Australia. *Norden*, he said, had been partly established to link the Scandinavians in Australia closer together, and this goal had already come to pass. We have so to speak federated and although such federation seems quite indifferent to Australia’s political developments, it too began with small mergers which then paved the way for the great Federation of the Australian colonies. He said that through goodwill and appreciation were Scandinavians to be compared with emigrants from other countries, and the world is not

¹³¹ ‘Under the Southern Cross’, *Norden*, 9 March 1918, p. 5.

¹³² MS, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland: R526, ‘Newspaper clipping’, in *Scandinavian Association Heimdal Shooting Rules for Bird Shooting, 1917-1926*, Heimdal Danish Association Records.

¹³³ The *fugleskydning* would continue to be held for the remainder of *Norden*’s life, and reports of successful birdshoots can be found throughout *Norden*’s pages, emphasising its important status as a tradition for its readers over four decades. See for example: ‘Thor’s *Fugleskydning*’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 19 (See Plate 7); ‘*Fugleskydning*’, *Norden*, 12 January 1929, p. 4; ‘Birdshoot Ball’, *Norden*, 25 June 1938, p. 3; ‘*Fugleskydning*’, *Norden*, 11 February 1939, p. 5.

¹³⁴ ‘*Norden*’s *Aarsfest*’, *Norden*, March 1898, p. 9.

wrong that the last Governor in N.Z. described Scandinavian emigrants as the cleverest colonists.¹³⁵

Ensuring that his own Melbourne community was well aware of the united front being formed by Scandinavians across Australia due to *Norden*'s efforts, Hornemann ended his speech by connecting them to those migrants further afield. Reading out telegrams from well-wishers, such as A. Andersen of Bairnsdale, Victoria, O. F. Youngberg of Brisbane and A. Hattesen – the then secretary of Brisbane's Scandinavian Association – the reality of what *Norden* was trying to achieve in the imagined realm could finally reach the Melbourne audience through the physical medium of the *Aarsfest*.¹³⁶

Following such successes in both fundraising and fuelling pan-Scandinavian interaction, the *Aarsfest*, like the *Fugleskydning*, quickly spread to other centres. By 1899, *Norden*'s fiscal dilemma had become severe enough for the community to create a *Norden* Fund and appeal for direct donations from readers.¹³⁷ This further galvanised readers in all three metropolitan centres to get behind the newspaper's goals of increased connection and social interaction in the hope of generating much needed revenue and avoid *Norden*'s early collapse. On 23 May 1899, a complementary benefit concert and ball was arranged in the Brisbane Trades Hall to commemorate *Norden*'s third anniversary, being orchestrated by the Scandinavian Association *Heimdal* and the Consuls of both Denmark and Sweden/Norway.¹³⁸ Following the event, *Norden* happily reported the party had been a success:

[W]hether the pecuniary dividend received is large or small, *Norden*'s gratitude is equal, and commensurate to the ever tireless, patriotic and devoted Mr Youngberg and the ladies and gentlemen who so willingly assisted with the party – just great.¹³⁹

Simultaneous to Brisbane's activities, Sydney's community became involved through a large function in late July 1899, with Danish Consul L. W. Marcker sending a telegram on 27 July stating: "Nordens Social great success. – Substantial cheque assured".¹⁴⁰ Another "Grand Social", specifically designed to raise funds for *Norden*, occurred in Melbourne a few days later on 4 August 1899.¹⁴¹ Clearly, such united fiscal support of *Norden* in all three cities demonstrated the growing importance of the publication to a now connected and co-operative community of Scandinavian migrants that wished to see it flourish.

¹³⁵ 'Norden's Aarsfest', *Norden*, May 1898, p. 8.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ The fund would recoup donations from Sydney, Bundaberg, Adelaide, Tackaringa and Gympie, noting the newspaper's significance further afield than Melbourne. See: *Norden*, July 1899, p. 6.

¹³⁸ The main organisers were O. F. Youngberg, Consuls P. C. Poulsen and A. J. Carter, Major Vilhelm Larsen and fellow members of the Brisbane Scandinavian Association. The organisers charged 2/- for men and 1/6d for women in attendance, the proceeds to be sent south to assist in funding the newspaper's continued existence. 'A Complimentary Benefit Concert & Ball Tendered to the Australian-Scandinavian Journal Norden', *Norden*, April 1899, p. 5.

¹³⁹ 'Norden's Aarsfest in Brisbane', *Norden*, June 1899, p. 8.

¹⁴⁰ 'Party in Sydney: Telegram (to Norden)', *Norden*, July 1899, p. 6. Sydney's Scandinavians eventually raised some £59.1.6 from the event. *Norden*, August 1899, p. 7.

¹⁴¹ 'Grand Social in favour of Nordens' Fund', *Norden*, July 1899, p. 6.

Support of *Norden* via the *Aarsfest* grew in Brisbane and Melbourne especially over the next five years. Brisbane held an *Aarsfest* in June of 1900,¹⁴² coinciding roughly with Melbourne's several weeks later, but by 1901 both cities' festivities were more synchronised. Linked together to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the newspaper, both events were advertised as one party in two locations – both occurring on 26 June, at 8 pm.¹⁴³ Such physical events, orchestrated by an overarching newspaper organisation, lent greatly to the idea that, by participating, patrons of either celebration were involved in the clocked and simultaneous expression of one united readership – revelling in a Scandinavian physical festivity that extended its influence over thousands of miles, yet with the same purpose and character. Clearly, the *Aarsfest* was established as a public expression of the growing network of migrant communities that were forming close bonds and, as Hornemann had noted, attempting to federate into one macro-national Scandinavian-Australian community through *Norden*'s assistance.

Norden's reports of social festivities like the *Fugleskydning* and *Aarsfest* promoted both co-operation and friendly rivalry between the Scandinavians of Australia's cities, enabling each smaller isolated group to see the efforts of their fellow migrants on a larger scale. The January 1898 report from the Brisbane Scandinavian Association's Annual General Meeting, for example, noted specifically *Norden*'s role in strengthening their events, drawing readers' attention to the relationship between *Norden*, the Brisbane community and other migrant centres, all of which were linked through common goals: "Among the correspondence [presented at the meeting] were three letters of thanks for *Norden*, [Brisbane's Scandinavian Association] joining with the societies of Sydney and Melbourne for its demonstrated involvement in organising the 25 year anniversary Jubilee".¹⁴⁴ *Norden*'s reportage therefore allowed individual communities to synchronise their activities, linking migrants together as a group of organised and united 'imagined communities' worth supporting due to the tangible social and cultural benefits events offered to participants. *Norden*'s pan-Scandinavian emphasis, particularly related to the united support of the *Aarsfest*, further assisted in enabling Swedish, Danish and Norwegian migrants to interact with one another and foster a greater level of collaboration, even if only ideologically.¹⁴⁵ By inclusively amalgamating smaller denominations' activities under a pan-Scandinavian umbrella, *Norden* forged connections between and then supported the physical Scandinavian associations, in turn creating a widespread sense of togetherness and community spirit capable of financially supporting the newspaper.

Through *Norden*'s strong social calendar, based around well-organised, synchronised and often multi-spatial social events that emphasised the benefits of co-operation and

¹⁴² 'Norden's Aarsfest in Brisbane', *Norden*, 2 June 1900, p. 7.

¹⁴³ *Norden*, 15 June 1901, p. 7; 'Norden's Aarsfest', *Norden*, 29 June 1901, p. 7.

¹⁴⁴ 'Letter from Brisbane (From our own Correspondent)', *Norden*, January 1898, p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ The *Aarsfest* was always promoted as an event for all *Scandinavians*, not simply Danes, as *Norden* continued to focus on uniting all nationalities as interested readers. See, for example: 'Norden's Aarsfest', *Norden*, March 1898, p. 9. Most parties involved cultural pieces taken from all three nationalities, as the 1901 *Aarsfest* program indicates, the result being an event which attracted over 150 participants drawn from Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish backgrounds. 'Norden's Aarsfest', 29 June 1901, p. 7. Others noted specifically the contributions of each nation, such as the Norwegian Society of Melbourne's input to the 1911 Aarsfest, as indicated on the 'Aarsfest Programme', *Norden*, 30 September 1909, p. 9.

pan-Scandinavian unity to its migrant constituency, the newspaper began to reap the benefits of a widespread, but well-connected and supportive, macro-national community. However, the growing stability and influence of Lyng's publication was soon tested by the arrival of competition. *Norden* was not the only Scandinavian-Australian newspaper to appear during the 1890s and, as the earlier *Hjemlandstoner* had suggested, the religious sector of the migrant community also desired a public forum for their own Church needs. In early 1898, Melbourne's Heinrich Lauritz Nielsen had the idea of founding a Church newspaper, one that would "further the Lutheran [C]hurch's interests and form an interface between the Danish and Norwegian Christians in the various colonies".¹⁴⁶ To be called *Kirketidende* (*Church News*), he hoped to fill the void left by the demise of *Hjemlandstoner*, one that had not been occupied by the popular but staunchly secular *Norden*. In April 1898, spurred on by *Norden*'s apparent early success and business model, Nielsen attempted to form his own newspaper company and sell 250 shares at ten shillings each through advertisements in *Norden* itself.¹⁴⁷ As Lyng's secular stance had been stipulated from the outset, *Kirketidende* meant to have very different themes and content, thereby gaining support from *Norden*'s religious readers without eroding the base of the larger audience.¹⁴⁸

Nielsen founded his newspaper in May 1898 as a fortnightly periodical in the Danish language.¹⁴⁹ Quick to acknowledge the need to involve as many migrants as possible in his venture and, mirroring Lyng's pan-Scandinavian focus, Nielsen re-envisioned *Kirketidende* shortly after establishment as "the organ for the *Scandinavian* congregations in Australia," rather than his initial restrictions to a Dano-Norwegian audience.¹⁵⁰ Regardless of its title, apparent pan-Scandinavian leanings and religious focus, the newspaper was run independently by Nielsen and without involvement by the local Swedish pastor of the United Scandinavian Church.¹⁵¹ Instead, the periodical relied on letters from New Zealand pastors, in particular Danish Pastors Hans Madsen Ries and Carl Bjelke-Petersen, for input.¹⁵² Despite his early assertion that the newspaper was not to be a competitor to *Norden*, *Kirketidende* soon moved away from covering Church news and into a competitive sphere, publishing general news and migrant information, and obtaining much needed advertisements – straining the relationship with Lyng.¹⁵³ After enjoying a two-year run, however, by

¹⁴⁶ Heinrich Nielsen, 'Prospectus for the Danish-Norwegian-Australian Newspaper Company', *Norden*, April 1898, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Lyng was initially encouraging of Nielsen's venture, even passing on the details of subscribers interested in *Kirketidende*'s religious news. Nielsen noted "a heartfelt thanks to them and all other friends for their thoughtful co-operation and assisting in the newspaper's dissemination". *Kirketidende*, 26 June 1898, p. 43.

¹⁴⁹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 62, Lyng states that *Kirketidende* became a monthly publication, but it was actually fortnightly until February 1900, after which time it began to operate as a monthly. The ten-page format of *Kirketidende* was quite a well-printed publication, containing editorial content written by Nielsen, hymns and bible passages, as well as the titular church news, interspersed in later issues with illustrations and lithographic images. *Kirketidende*, 15 May 1898, p. 1; *Kirketidende*, 29 May 1898, p. 1; *Kirketidende*, 7 October 1898, pp. 1, 7-10; *Kirketidende*, February 1900, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia', *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁵² *Kirketidende*, 10 July 1898, pp. 2-3, 7-8.

¹⁵³ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 180. Nielsen's newspaper even took its section titles direct from *Norden*. 'From our own Circle', *Kirketidende*, 24 July 1898, p. 7.

May 1900 *Kirketidende* was in serious trouble, following the withdrawal of all but two of his advertisers.¹⁵⁴ With its April issue several weeks late and half the usual size, Nielsen called “to the newspaper’s friends to urgently send him money”.¹⁵⁵ He desperately moved the venture to Brisbane, where the newspaper had been more popular, in an attempt to find a stronger readership and new advertisers.¹⁵⁶ However, unable to rally support for a purely religious publication within the small Scandinavian community that was already investing heavily in *Norden*, Nielsen published his last issue in October 1900.¹⁵⁷

On the demise of *Kirketidende*, Lyng attempted to reconcile the needs of religious readers by creating a special religious issue of *Norden* and sending it to old subscribers of Nielsen’s newspaper.¹⁵⁸ A religious supplement was also promised if the newspaper could gain 50 interested subscribers, but when only two *Kirketidende* readers responded favourably, the move to include religious material in *Norden* was abandoned.¹⁵⁹ As Lyng had originally believed, religious issues were more deleterious to the community and his newspaper than their worth in subscriptions and revenue. The failure of *Kirketidende* demonstrated the inability of the community to fund more than one Scandinavian publication in Australia at a time, particularly one that only relied on the religious element of the community. His niche audience was, indeed, too small and he could not locate sufficient advertisers or interested community members to pay for *Kirketidende*’s continuation. As such, his venture failed at the first sign of crisis.

By *Kirketidende*’s collapse in October 1900, *Norden* had strengthened its readership through the promotion of Scandinavian migrants’ links to their heritage and, significantly, to each other. Notably, Lyng had used the newspaper to foster a greater sense of purpose and pride within this small readership and demonstrate the tangible benefits of a united Scandinavian-Australian community by providing exemplars of migrant success to be emulated, as well as connected social activities built around pan-Scandinavian co-operation. Despite issues of financial strain, competition and limited paying subscriptions, *Norden* had become a valued feature of the Scandinavian-Australian experience – a social connector, cultural advertiser and proponent for ethnic community expression as well as a tailored migrant news source – that gained its support from a strengthened readership acting as a unified cultural unit. This was the reason for *Norden*’s initial support and continued survival. Continual donations and the fundraising efforts of Lyng’s readership, through events such as the *Aarsfest*, were significant in ensuring that the newspaper remained sufficiently financed to avert collapse while also providing a good indication of how important *Norden* was to a young ethnic community in need of its communicative services. In 1899, for example, Sydney’s Scandinavians arranged yet another

¹⁵⁴ *Kirketidende*, April 1900, p. 9. Prior to this issue, *Kirketidende* had received advertising sponsorship from three small Scandinavian businesses in the Melbourne area, a tobacco company, Pastor-Bjelke Petersen’s Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Brisbane, and two businesses in Dannevirke, New Zealand. After April, only the tobacco advertiser and one merchant business remained. *Kirketidende*, March 1900, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵⁵ ‘From our own Circle’, *Norden*, 19 May 1900, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Martin, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia’, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.

¹⁵⁷ The last issue of *Kirketidende* continued to ask readers for money, but to no avail. *Kirketidende*, October 1900, p. 20.

¹⁵⁸ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

carnival in Paddington town hall to raise funds to furnish *Norden* with a new and bigger printing press, and through these efforts Lyng remarked that “the position was much improved”.¹⁶⁰ *Norden* had cemented its claim to a supportive community of readers who were also benefiting socially from the newspaper’s unifying and ethnicising capabilities. In focusing on the social and cultural concerns of its migrant audience, *Norden*’s widespread macro-national community grew and began to ethnicise as a result.

The Boer War, Federation and Norwegian Independence

The turn of the twentieth century provided its own unique opportunities to *Norden* and its fledgling Scandinavian-Australian ethnic community, which would be bolstered by the social impacts of both the Boer War and Federation. Stronger migrant community growth was evident in the continued success of re-occurring events such as the *Aarsfest*, and in August 1899 Sydney’s Consul Marcker noted that “the present time is most opportune to increase the Capital of the company as well as perhaps enlarge the paper”.¹⁶¹ After several years of advertising the social and cultural benefits of migrant community events, such as the *Aarsfest* and the *Fugleskydning*, as well as demonstrably forging closer links between readers and various Scandinavian social organisations, *Norden*’s now proven position as a warranted migrant institution enabled the recruitment of the more cautious element of the Nordic population to its growing readership. According to a resident of Mackay, subscriber C. P. Mau, *Norden* had needed to prove itself to the majority of his compatriots before they would come to its aid:

There are many of our countrymen who have held back, saying ‘It is really good to have a Scandinavian newspaper in Australia, but it will probably not be for long, let us wait and see how it goes first. I would ask any fellow with his heart in the right place to remember that *Norden* has already passed the test of time, has proven itself, and is valued and supported by the Scandinavians of Australia.’¹⁶²

As such, *Norden*’s own growth mirrored that of the surrounding immigrant communities’ increased participation and co-operation. In September 1899, Lyng went into partnership with a Swedish printer, Christian von Scheele. Von Scheele had experience working in several large publishing houses and newspapers in Stockholm and had been working in Fremantle since his arrival in Australia in January 1897.¹⁶³ The newly formed firm, Lyng & Scheele, was “[e]quipped with a large selection of new and modern types” and advertised their printing services in *Norden*. Von Scheele’s influence also emphasised a renewed focus on pan-Scandinavian co-operation at this crucial time, as the Swedish printer joined Danish editor Lyng in a more co-operative style of newspaper production that would limit further negative perceptions of *Norden*’s Danish dominance. Lyng and von Scheele invited the entire Scandinavian public to support their efforts through the commissioning of any printing work the community needed.¹⁶⁴ As a result of these other activities, Lyng was able to stay in business, printing *Norden* as a side project

¹⁶⁰ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁶¹ *Norden*, August 1899, p. 8.

¹⁶² ‘Correspondence’, *Norden*, August 1899, p. 6.

¹⁶³ ‘New Partnership’, *Norden*, 23 September 1899, p. 6.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Advertisement for Lyng & Scheele: Printers’, *Norden*, 7 November 1899, p. 2.

rather than the money-making venture that it certainly was not. Furthermore, following the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 and increased discussions over the impending Federation of the Australian Commonwealth, *Norden* began to experience an increased readership as the surrounding Scandinavian community sought greater connection and solidarity to combat the increasingly negative and non-accepting perceptions of non-British migrants within a wider Australian society.¹⁶⁵

Remarkably, *Norden*'s readership was not only strengthened by its positive demonstrations of the social benefits of Scandinavian migrant unity but also due to the negative pressures of heightened Australian nationalism, anti-foreigner sentiment and cases of mistaken identity, all of which worked together to isolate many Scandinavian migrants from the majority and cause them to seek out the positive social groupings that *Norden*'s networking capabilities could provide. As mentioned earlier, discussions of Federation during the 1890s created a population bent on forging a new nation and, with it, a dominant Australian identity. The native-born, espousing a strong dislike of British cultural imperialism and sharing a growing sense of colonial nationalism, began through publications, such as *The Bulletin*, to produce dubious 'nationalist' racial types that were anti-foreigner and pro-Australian in outlook.¹⁶⁶ However, the move towards Federation and its voluntary involvement in the British-led Second Boer War instead strengthened Australia's position as a white, culturally homogenous and ultimately *British-Australian* nation, especially in terms of migration.¹⁶⁷ In the envisioned nation of Federation's founding fathers, state Evans, Moore, Saunders, and Jamison:

There was no such thing as a separate Australian nationality, for which the British immigrant would need eventually to apply. Rather, Australian nationality equalled and was subsumed by British nationality, and thus only European migrants would need to apply to become naturalised British subjects. European migrants were less happily received in Australia than English, Irish, Scots and Welsh.¹⁶⁸

Consequently, both sides of this heated ideological conflict between the native-born and their old-world British-Australian counterparts forged a strong sense of anti-foreigner sentiment towards first-generation, non-British migrants, which became inflamed following the outbreak of the Second Boer War in October 1899.¹⁶⁹ Following contingents of Australian soldiers volunteering to go to South Africa, the war became popular on the home front, "especially given fears that continued defeat in South Africa might prompt Russia, France or Germany to attack the British Empire and pick off its isolated colonies".¹⁷⁰ As Australians became embroiled in

¹⁶⁵ As balance sheets were no longer published, it is difficult to attain exact subscription numbers during 1899-1904. Yet, Jens Lyng was adamant that subscriptions reached their peak due to the Boer War's influence in particular. 'Norden', *Norden*, 14 April 1906, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶ John Docker, *The Nervous Nineties: Australian Cultural Life in the 1890s*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press Australia, 1991, pp. 67-68.

¹⁶⁷ Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 4: The Succeeding Age 1901-1942*, South Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 125.

¹⁶⁸ Evans, Moore, Saunders and Jamison, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁹ Craig Wilcox, *The Boer War: Australians and the War in South Africa, 1899-1902*, Canberra, National Archives of Australia, 1999, p. 6. Some 25,000 Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians volunteered to assist the imperial motherland defeat the non-British Boer threat. See: Byron Farwell, *The Great Boer War*, London, Allen Lane, 1976, p. 40.

¹⁷⁰ Wilcox, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

assisting Britain fight a war against a white European – yet foreign and anti-imperial – enemy, cases of mistaken identity on the home front gave Scandinavian migrants cause for concern. For example, on 17 September 1900, *The Evening Post* reported a brawl at the Melbourne docks, which started when:

John Thompson, an apprentice on the ship *Loch Katrine*, taunted the Scandinavian crew of another ship with being Boers. A general melee resulted, in which two seamen were badly injured. Thompson's dead body was afterwards found in the harbour.¹⁷¹

The ignorance of Australians in differentiating between white minorities caused headaches for those naturalised and loyal migrants, such as Scandinavians and Germans, who matched the imperial enemy's description. Such confusions and a growing sense of the foreigner-as-enemy pervaded Australian society in light of overseas developments, and *Norden* reaped the benefits of stronger associations between its members.

Both to combat anti-foreigner sentiment and to solidify the Scandinavian migrant readership as an important and valid ethnic group within Australian society, *Norden* was often quick to republish articles from Australian papers that demonstrated such hostile adversity or discriminatory remarks to its readership. It also attempted to ensure that migrant readers understood that not all Australians were against them. On 27 January 1900, *Norden* published a letter, first seen in the *Herald* on 15 January 1900, entitled 'Defending Danes'. In the letter, the writer – "A more modest Englishman" as he called himself – admonished a magistrate who publicly stated that the Danes "are not wanted here, and had better behave as Englishmen".¹⁷² In reprinting the letter, *Norden* drew its readers' attention to a society that increasingly abhorred all things foreign and un-British, yet also noted that it was important to stand up against such unfounded bigotry. Lyng, as editor, wryly commented that, despite recent donations from the Danish Club to The Victorian Contingent Fund, designed to show the migrant community's aligned support with their adopted homeland's wartime efforts, such "virtue is always rewarded" with some form of negative criticism.¹⁷³ As the negative repercussions of the Boer War and Federation overwhelmed Australian political and social life, more Scandinavians saw *Norden* as their champion and voice within an increasingly hostile and often unreasonable society. In February 1900, *Norden* published several letters concerning Australia's increased anti-foreigner sentiment, which to Lyng was deemed the most important – and threatening – development that the war posed to his community:

Currently there is a lively controversy taking place in the Australian capital city newspapers, between private correspondents, concerning the war and its causes. Most are of no interest, and only those which are labelled "The Foreigners" or are signed by those we know, are paid any heed.¹⁷⁴

Calls to limit all foreign immigration in the circumstances, especially to Queensland, were loudly challenged in *Norden* by Brisbane's community as an infringement of

¹⁷¹ 'Fatal Brawl at Melbourne', *Evening Post*, 17 September 1900, p. 5.

¹⁷² 'Defending Danes', *Norden*, 27 January 1900, p. 6.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ 'From our own Circle', *Norden*, 10 February 1900, p. 6.

good sense and of serious concern to the Scandinavians who required fresh immigrants to maintain their communities. O. F. Youngberg wrote in the same issue that such jingoism did nothing but cause “a certain unkind wrath against an acknowledged law-abiding and industrious populated portion of the colony”.¹⁷⁵ Another letter to the *Herald* by *Norden* subscriber Valdemar Bannow argued that the Australian distrust of *all* foreigners was grossly misplaced and that many migrants were not only supportive of the British-Australian war effort, but also either a direct or indirect supporter in the conflict:

In the contingents of volunteers raised in Cape Colony and Natal there are for instance several hundred Scandinavian colonists, and even in some of the Australian contingents you will find Scandinavians. To the Imperial War Fund foreigners have subscribed freely, and never have I heard any ill-feeling expressed towards England, not even by those who think that Great Britain unjustly caused the war... None of [the foreign soldiers] can hope to gain anything from voluntarily risking their lives, but the satisfaction of knowing that they are doing their duty towards their adopted country. Are not men of that type to be trusted?¹⁷⁶

The need to establish visible roots and combat this troubling rise of anti-foreigner sentiment was especially important for *Norden*'s readers as Federation became a talking-point. Lyng had already done much ground work with his biographical material in promoting Scandinavian immigration as significant to Australian development, but during this time of nationalist fervour and anti-foreigner sentiment, he increased his focus substantially.¹⁷⁷ Ultimately, Lyng subtly used *Norden* to acknowledge the role that his own people had played and would continue to have in the development of Australia. During this time, Lyng was prolific in the amount of material he produced, publishing not only news articles and biographies in *Norden* but also serialising his own early histories. In 1901, Lyng self-published two books in Danish about the migrant experience, *Skandinaverne i Australien i det Nittende Aarhundrede* (*Scandinavians in Australia in the Nineteenth Century*) and *Emigrantnoveller og Skitser* (*Emigrant Stories and Sketches*).¹⁷⁸ Mythologising the Scandinavian-Australian experience while placing notable migrants on pedestals, *Norden* gave readers the modern heroes that they should emulate as well as the cultural and social qualities an ethnicising community desired. Combined with the networking possibilities of *Norden*, united and widespread social events began to champion integration and co-operation with wider society rather than the undesirable alternative of assimilation. Activities, such as the Scandinavian Commonwealth

¹⁷⁵ O. F. Youngberg, ‘Letter to the Courier’, reprinted in *Norden*, 10 February 1900, p. 6.

¹⁷⁶ Valdemar Bannow, ‘Letter to the Herald’, reprinted in *Norden*, 10 February 1900, p. 6.

¹⁷⁷ *Norden*, November 1898, p. 1. Articles on prominent success stories followed in later years, beginning with stories of *Norden*'s representatives and then others. ‘O. F. Youngberg’, *Norden*, August 1898, p. 8; ‘Sir Edward Knox’, *Norden*, 10 February 1900, pp. 1, 7; ‘P. C. Poulsen’, *Norden*, 22 December 1900, p. 1; ‘Many happy days in Brisbane’, *Norden*, 3 May 1902, p. 1. By 1924, Lyng would publish a serialised encyclopedia of these Scandinavian ‘Deeds and Doings’, as discussed in Chapter 7. See for example: ‘Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australia’, *Norden*, 26 January 1924, p. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Jens Lyng, *Skandinaverne i Australien i Det Nittende Aarhundrede: Artikelserie i Norden*, Melbourne, Lyng & Scheele's Forlag og Trykkeri, 1901; Jens Lyng, *Emigrantnoveller og Skitser*, Melbourne, Lyng & Scheele's Forlag og Trykkeri, 1901; Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230.

Commemoration Fund, were implemented and promoted by *Norden* as ways for Scandinavians to partake in the nation-building exercise in a positive manner, arguing for their place in the new Australian society and strengthening their resolve to blend past with future.¹⁷⁹

Following the Boer War and Federation, the period, 1902-1904, was relatively relaxed as the newspaper continued to report a strong number of community events and a general ethnicising sentiment built upon ideas of pan-Scandinavian solidarity. The *Aarsfest* and *Fugleskydning* continued strongly and a myriad of others balls and festivities were held during this time.¹⁸⁰ It was not uncommon for entire pages of the newspaper to be filled with reports of various Scandinavian clubs' exploits as they vied with each other to be the most vibrant on the Scandinavian social scene.¹⁸¹ Melbourne's Scandinavians were, in particular, focused on celebrating their cultural heritage through social activity and, in 1903, a Scandinavian Masquerade Ball and Carnival was organised, which by all reports in *Norden* and other local newspapers was a great success (See Plates 2, 8 and 9). Promoting their culture to a wider Australian audience, migrants mixed amongst a crowd of "original costumes from all the world's regions... Erik Jacobsen clad in a Bearskin from top to tail, G. Andersen, Wijnbladh and Bratlie as Vikings, [and] L. Lauritz as a Danish Priest".¹⁸² The event also involved a mixing of Scandinavian- and Australian-themed songs and tableaux, demonstrating the already important sense of cultural hybridity felt by such migrants. At the following event in 1904, the assemblage of even more costumed vikings and bushmen amongst the national costumes of Europe once again demonstrated the growing complexity of how to express one's national culture¹⁸³ – especially when, as a migrant, one often had more than one sense of national identity. Judging from the way articles and speeches promoted the group more frequently as 'Australian-Scandinavians' rather than the old moniker of 'Scandinavian-Australians', the impact of Federation caused many to emphasise the Australian aspect of their identities in order to limit further alienation.¹⁸⁴

Yet, this period, marked by a remarkably strong and vibrant social atmosphere amongst Australian-Scandinavian migrant groups, was not without its issues as *Norden* battled fragmentation within both the readership and the newspaper's organisational structure. In September 1902, Christian von Scheele decided to part ways with Lyng, as tensions regarding the profitability of Lyng & Scheele's business increased. In *Norden* on 6 September 1902, Lyng cynically wrote that "printing will be continued by Lyng alone. Mr von Scheele is thinking of starting [a printing

¹⁷⁹ 'The Commonwealth Fund', *Norden*, 21 August 1901, p. 1; 'The Scandinavian [sic] Commonwealth Commemoration Fund', *Norden*, 10 January 1903, p. 6.

¹⁸⁰ *Norden*, 31 May 1902, p. 7. In June 1903, Brisbane's Scandinavian Association even held a "Crowning Party" and ball to celebrate the coronation of recent *fugleskydning* champion C. Neilsen. 'Crowning Party in Brisbane', *Norden*, 13 June 1903, p. 7. 'Scandinavian Masquerade Ball', *Norden*, 3 October 1903, p. 6.

¹⁸¹ 'Christmas Parties', *Norden*, 10 January 1903, p. 7; 'From the Scandinavian Carnival', *Norden*, 17 September 1904, p. 1. 'Many Parties in Brisbane', *Norden*, 11 June 1904, p. 6.

¹⁸² 'Carnival', *Norden*, 3 October 1903, p. 1.

¹⁸³ 'Scandinavian Masquerade Ball', *The Argus*, 3 September 1904, p. 16.

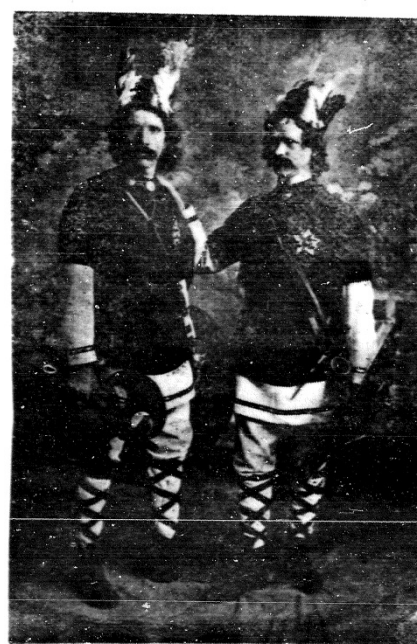
¹⁸⁴ *Norden*, November 1897, p. 7; 'A Complimentary Benefit Concert & Ball Tendered to the Australian-Scandinavian Journal Norden', *Norden*, April 1899, p. 5.

Plate 8: 'From the Scandinavian Carnival', *Norden*, 17 September 1904, p. 1.

Plate 9 (below right): 'The Carnival' *Norden*, 3 October 1903, p. 1.



Description: *Norden's* pan-Scandinavian community was particularly involved in social events during Lyng's editorship, such as the Scandinavian Carnival, that physically united the local community. Other cultural events, such as the yearly *Aarsfest* and *Fugleskydning* (see plates 7 and 12) similarly aided *Norden's* readership to interact with one another and contribute to a sense of belonging and a Scandinavian-Australian ethnic community. The *Fugleskydning* (following page) was a particularly popular invented tradition that spread between migrant communities with the aid of *Norden's* pages.



von Wijnblad

G. Anderson

works] for himself, by which he hopes to more quickly earn a million".¹⁸⁵ Clearly, the break-up of the partnership centred on Lyng's financial woes which drove a wedge between the two printers.

Significantly for *Norden*'s united readership and ideas of a burgeoning 'Australian-Scandinavian' ethnic group, divisive political events back in Scandinavia – especially the collapse of the 91 year-old Union between Sweden and Norway by 1905 – began to have widespread implications for destabilising *Norden*'s own pan-Scandinavian community in Australia. Byron Nordstrom believed that, "by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the union question lay behind every major political decision in Norway", especially in terms of the right to an equal voice in the conduct of foreign affairs.¹⁸⁶ This inequality had reverberations amongst the diasporic communities of Australia and the United States and, in the larger communities of North America, relations between Swedes and Norwegians became strained despite their physical removal from the home states.¹⁸⁷ Unlike the independent Norwegian-American Press, which kept its readers well-informed about the happenings in the homeland and attempted to involve interested Norwegian-Americans in "Norway's political battles between liberals and conservatives about constitutional principles", the inclusive *Norden* could not afford nationalist fragmentation of its readership and instead argued for continued calm and co-operation.¹⁸⁸ Despite the growing impact of Norwegian nationalism from 1884 to 1905, *Norden* had deliberately avoided reporting on events that would inflame its readership and negatively impact on subscription rates.¹⁸⁹

However, the Norwegian migrant community had other ideas and *Norden* unwittingly aided in the promotion of Norwegian-Australian nationalist events. On 31 May 1902, for example, *Norden* reported its own successful and inclusive Brisbane *Aarsfest*, while also promoting Melbourne's Norwegian celebration of their constitution day, *Syttende Mai* (17 May).¹⁹⁰ Unlike other events which focused on Scandinavian inclusivity, B. A. Bendixsen reported on the nationalistic character of the *Syttende Mai* event, organised by the small Norwegian Association of Melbourne, and its ties to other Norwegian associations across Australia. Telegrams were sent back and forth, with "the Norwegians in Melbourne, assembled for the 17 May celebration, send[ing] their countrymen in Sydney their fraternal greetings on the occasion of the day".¹⁹¹ In response, their Sydney colleagues responded:

The Norwegians here united for the same occasion thank and pray that their countrymen in Melbourne receive our hearty message of congratulations for the day. Long live 17 May.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ 'Have you heard?', *Norden*, 6 Sept 1902, p. 8.

¹⁸⁶ Byron J. Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p. 196.

¹⁸⁷ Ulf Jonas Björk, 'An End to Brotherhood? Swedes and Norwegians in America Discuss the 1905 Dissolution', in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, p. 150.

¹⁸⁸ Odd Lovoll, *Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2010, pp. 206-207.

¹⁸⁹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁹⁰ '17 May Celebrations', *Norden*, 31 May 1902, p. 6.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

Such developments heralded a stronger involvement of separate, smaller ‘imagined communities’ of Norwegian migrants, intent on promoting their own struggles for independence from the Union, that were forming within the larger pan-Scandinavian community of *Norden*. In doing so, these migrants’ own national interests were beginning to overshadow *Norden*’s need for macro-national unity.

Despite such evidence of Norwegian nationalism driving wedges between Scandinavian societies and events – or at least a growing sense of Norwegian, Danish and Swedish national interests being more important than pan-Scandinavian collaboration – there are also signs that co-operation between Norwegians and Swedes in Australia continued relatively amicably within certain situations, and here *Norden* tried to report on events that would increase understanding between them and limit the fragmentation.¹⁹³ In June 1904, only one year before the dissolution, Sydney’s Swedish-Norwegian club, *Skandia*, celebrated the 17 May without conflict and as a much more inclusive affair with even members of the Danish Club taking part. *Norden* reported that “it is surely the first time in Sydney’s history, that a Swedish-Norwegian club stands united... evidence of the good relationship that exists between fraternal peoples”.¹⁹⁴ The inclusive nature of this Norwegian 17 May celebration was, however, the result of limited numbers of actual Norwegians in Sydney and their need to open the festivities to others. The stronger Swedish numbers within *Skandia*’s membership undoubtedly limited the ability of Norwegian nationalists to stage forceful protests regardless. Yet, later that year, *Norden* reported on *Skandia*’s continued role in uniting its members rather than fragmenting under the impending pressures of Norwegian nationalism. On 4 November 1904, *Skandia* celebrated the anniversary of the Union, clearly meant to encourage continued co-operation. Inviting the Presidents of the Danish Club and the Scandinavian Association as well as Danish Consul Marcker, the master of ceremonies, H. G. Hummelstad:

gave highly figurative and interesting snippets of the most important historical events that culminated in the Swedish-Norwegian Union, on 4th November 1814. Toasts were also drunk for our brotherland Denmark, for our adopted country, for the Danish Club, and many others... All those present felt a large amount of brotherly love, which is now so distinct at home between our fraternal peoples.¹⁹⁵

In Melbourne, such ideas of reconciliation amongst Scandinavian groups arose simultaneous to Hummelstad’s efforts in Sydney. Spurred on by *Norden* and Jen’s Lyng’s pan-Scandinavian focus, the local community as a whole began to discuss the idea of joining forces into one Scandinavian club, rather than separate nationality-based societies. Not only was this an issue of increasing Scandinavian co-operation, but also a logistical concern as, according to Koivukangas and Martin “the Danes had an active society but inadequate accommodation, whereas the Swedes had far

¹⁹³ This was also the case in the United States, but as Ulf Jonas Bjork noted, negative relations were not permanent after the union crisis subsided with equality restored to both proud groups. Björk, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹⁹⁴ A forward thinking event, it was also the first to include women – their participation in the previously all-male event had only been recently adopted in Norway – although only two Norwegian women were present, with the majority being English-speaking wives. As a result of such a mix of Scandinavians and English-speakers, the language of the event was also English by the decision of the majority. ‘17 May Celebrations’, *Norden*, 11 June 1904, p. 6.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Union Celebrations in Sydney’, *Norden*, 24 December 1904, p. 6.

superior premises in Russell Street”.¹⁹⁶ At a general meeting of all three national clubs in 1904, a vote was cast to decide the issue of amalgamation into one Scandinavian organisation. National friction, however, caused the proposal to be cast in the negative, with the Danish intellectual leadership influencing the vote heavily to remain separate.¹⁹⁷ National hostility between the Norwegians and Swedes over homeland sovereignty issues, as well as the recent Swedish takeover of Melbourne’s United Scandinavian Church, were also decisive factors in the clubs deciding that segregation was the better path.¹⁹⁸ While the benefits of a united Scandinavian community certainly were strong in terms of social activities, nationality and the small chafing issues between each group began to take precedence ideologically, even with *Norden*’s continued efforts to promote macro-national unity.

Despite such attempts to reconcile, the dissolution of the Union was settled in mid-November 1905, with the Norwegian Storting electing Danish Prince Carl as King Haakon VII.¹⁹⁹ Shortly after, in an attempt to limit the damage, *Norden* reported on Hummelstad’s continued interest on the matter, as he had clearly been a driving force in *Skandia*’s efforts to remain united. On 26 June 1905, Hummelstad convened a public historical lecture in Sydney concerning the dissolution, “drawing attention to a lot of false insertions and comments from Sydney-newspapers”.²⁰⁰ Ultimately, however, 1905 marked the turning-point as nationalised clubs began to dominate even the most staunchly Scandinavian-Australian institutions. *Norden*, while doing its best to maintain strong pan-Scandinavian links between fragmenting groups of Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, began to lose ground, displacing Lyng’s hope that his dream of a true Scandinavian-Australian community would continue. The difficulties in recruiting new waves of Scandinavian migrants, needed to refresh the community, further disheartened his efforts.

Lyng resigns as *Norden*’s editor

After receiving £250 in donations from Scandinavians across Australia during this period of heightened Scandinavian social activity and co-operation, Lyng ill-advisedly purchased a cheap monoline-style typesetting machine.²⁰¹ However, the press was wracked with costly problems that proved too much for him. “What with the responsibility of a growing family, a paper, and a labour bureau that did not pay, and my inability to compete for commercial printing effectively with older and better-equipped printing houses...”, he reminisced over 30 years later, “I was eventually worked to a standstill”.²⁰² Consequently, in April 1906, ten years after establishing *Norden*, an exhausted Lyng resigned from the editorship to take a background role.²⁰³ Selling the printing element of the business in 1906, in November 1907 Lyng embarked with several other Danish families to rural Kinglake, distancing himself somewhat from the stresses of the last decade to

¹⁹⁶ Koivukangas and Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ The first independent Norwegian monarch since the late fourteenth century settled the issue once and for all. Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²⁰⁰ ‘Union Lecture’, *Norden*, 22 July 1905, p. 6.

²⁰¹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 64. The date of purchase is not known.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Norden*, 26 May 1906, p. 1.

experience the simple pioneering life he had longed for.²⁰⁴ Unlike Cronqvist, Lyng was not disillusioned nor broken from his experiences but simply worn out. He would continue to support the newspaper with letters and stories for years to come, lessening the impact of his departure significantly.²⁰⁵

Disappointed but well aware of the strains that the newspaper had placed on him, *Norden*'s committee commended Lyng's significant contribution to *Norden* and the surrounding Scandinavian-Australian community. According to founding member Henry Olsen, "the reason that *Norden* has existed for 10 years is due entirely to him... the man who now for over 10 years has stood as a symbol of the Scandinavian ideal among Austral-Scandinavians".²⁰⁶ From humble beginnings, Lyng alone had tabled the idea of the newspaper and it was through his pronounced pan-Scandinavian sympathies and great enthusiasm, coupled with a steadfast hand and a gentle mind, that Olsen believed Lyng had succeeded.²⁰⁷ "His diligence and perseverance deserved better results," wrote Olsen, who also noted that "few amongst us has done as much as he to produce unity between the three Nordic peoples in their adopted fatherland; most have not done a tenth as much".²⁰⁸ *Norden*'s offices and the combined Scandinavian labour bureau had become the physical centre of the networked Scandinavian-Australian community, in the same way that Gilson and Zubrzycki would later note that the typical foreign-language newspaper's "editor's office looks more like a social agency than a newspaper office".²⁰⁹ Olsen acknowledged that:

It is a matter of course that Lyng was the best-known Dane out here, everyone who came to Melbourne visited *Norden*, and thus he had ample opportunity to start a friendship with everyone that meant something within our narrow circle.²¹⁰

The unexpected resignation of Lyng caused a crisis for *Norden*'s committee members who recognised the founding editor's significance as a uniting figurehead of the community. Worried that the change of editorial team would spell the end to the newspaper, Olsen and the committee attempted to reassure their "honourable subscribers and advertisers" of *Norden*'s continual importance:

Well, an editorial change is a fairly perfected pretext to terminate their subscription or to withdraw one's advertisement, but we hope this excuse we will not be used extensively in this case. *Norden* is the only Scandinavian magazine in Australia, which I think contains nearly 21,000 Scandinavian residents, and it would be anything but flattering in terms of the unity between our fraternal peoples if we were so lax

²⁰⁴ *Norden*, 21 September 1907, p. 5; Jens Lyng, 'Letter to Norden', *Norden*, 3 October 1908, p. 10.

²⁰⁵ As Koivukangas states, Lyng then "faded into the background, remaining, however, still one of its strongest supporters and contributors". Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

²⁰⁶ *Norden*, 26 May 1906, p. 1.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* [Paraphrased from Olsen's original sentiments].

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* Another translation of this passage appears in Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia', *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²⁰⁹ Gilson and Zubrzycki, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

²¹⁰ *Norden*, 26 May 1906, p. 2.

that we are not sufficiently united in force to be able to keep a single newspaper alive.²¹¹

Significantly, Olsen called on *Norden*'s readership to emphasise the Scandinavian aspects of their identities and resist assimilation, and to celebrate a united sense of pan-Scandinavian culture and migrant heritage as espoused by *Norden*'s pages:

Furthermore, when all is said and done, we are still Scandinavians, our childhood impression firmly Nordic, and the memories that span our childhood and youth are, for the most part, dearer and more beautiful than everything we have later experienced. These considerations should not be interpreted as meaning that we will rebuke Australian conditions, and with our Australian citizens. The British are wonderful people, but they are not Danish, Norwegian or Swedish, have not their traditions, mindset, or ideals.²¹²

This appeal for continued support of Scandinavian-Australian unity and culture marked an acknowledgment that Lyng had succeeded in his goal of uniting a readership, linked by shared heritage and pan-Scandinavian co-operation, and one that was now interested in remaining differentiated from mainstream British-Australian society. It was the responsibility of *Norden*'s committee and the ethnicising readership to further the success of the newspaper in the coming decades, as Olsen implied:

My sincere thanks to the many who over the last ten years have faithfully supported the newspaper, their numbers must continue to increase, so that *Norden* can itself grow strong enough to be not only the embodiment of Scandinavian patriotism, ideals and traditions, but also to have a practical use... But first and foremost it must be a true and beautiful link between the wandering descendants of Gorm the Old, Olaf the Holy and Gustaph Adolfus.²¹³

Olsen's rousing encouragement of further pan-Scandinavian patriotism and migrant co-operation through *Norden*'s persistence was bolstered by the fact that a suitable replacement for Lyng had already been located, and doubts over the newspaper's future had been assuaged. In early April 1906, *Norden*'s committee had gathered a dozen of its Melbourne shareholders to discuss the newspaper's uncertain future. It "had been brought to the Board's attention that a resident Danish Lady, Miss Olga Clausen, was willing to assume the post on favourable terms for the newspaper," and she was interviewed by Henry Olsen and Gustav Hornemann for the position.²¹⁴ Olsen and Hornemann greatly praised Clausen's response to the newspaper's cause, aware of the non-profitability of *Norden* yet still prepared to take on the venture if a small fund for machinery maintenance was established. *Norden* reported that as "only one person of national sentiment was interested in the matter, she was likely to assume the position on the terms the company could offer".²¹⁵

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ 'Norden', *Norden*, 14 April 1906, p. 4.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

This proposal was not well received by all members, who deemed *Norden*'s life to be over with founder Lyng's resignation. "Mr Kunig rejected the case that interest for the newspaper was large enough to make it worthwhile to keep things going. He would be happy if the opposite were true," stated *Norden*'s report of the meeting, but for him it was pure folly to continue.²¹⁶ Even Lyng admitted that "interest for the newspaper had undoubtedly been on a downward trend ever since the Boer War, when it was at its highest," but he blamed his own lethargy and a readership tired of his long editorial reign as reasons for a "decline that was of no disturbing nature".²¹⁷ Yet, the majority of the other shareholders were optimistic and, despite the difficulties, they wanted to push ahead with *Norden* under a new editorial team. C. W. Olsen remarked that "it would be a shame if the Scandinavians in Australia were so careless of heart to let their newspaper go under".²¹⁸ Olsen agreed with C. Broberg's suggestion that the prospective editor should at least be given a chance and might even turn the newspaper into a profitable enterprise. Lyng stated that this was unlikely, given his own experiences, noting that the newspaper might gain some further revenue if the newspaper was run more commercially, "but no lucrative source of income it would be, unless a new, strong stream of emigrants from home arrived. Scandinavians were currently in short supply, and scattered across the whole continent, which lastly made it difficult to get advertisements".²¹⁹

While the inclusive, pan-Scandinavian nature of *Norden* had been its strength during Lyng's editorial reign, the first decade of the new century had seen exceptional societal changes in Australia that were responsible for the weakening of *Norden*'s first-generation, male-dominated immigrant readership. Despite the fact that strong pan-Scandinavian associations had initially enabled *Norden*'s collaborative networks and the growth of Scandinavian-Australian ethnic identities during the 1890s, by the time of Lyng's resignation in 1906 it had become clear to the publication's organisers that *Norden* needed to adapt and to recruit a larger readership base if it was to drive its vision of a co-operative and united community forward. After hearing the arguments for and against *Norden*'s survival, the overwhelming majority decided to take up Olga Clausen's offer in the hope that their readership could be saved from disintegration and apathy. At the same time, the board was also revitalised through the election of E. Bredenberg, P. Holdensen, G. A. Hornemann, O. Kunig, H. Norrström, and H. Olsen. A new age of *Norden*, one that would attempt to revitalise the Scandinavian-Australian readership by adapting to social change and exploring new avenues of ethnic community collaboration, had begun.

²¹⁶ Cited in *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Cited in *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ Cited in *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ Cited in *Ibid.*

Chapter 5

REVITALISING A COMMUNITY: THE CLAUSENS, 1906-1913

The departure of *Norden*'s influential pan-Scandinavian founder, Jens Lyng, in 1906 allowed the publication to undergo a considerable transformation prior to World War I, as a new editorial team focused strategically on a wider gamut of readers and interests. For the first time, the publication sought to incorporate Scandinavian women's networks and reinforce *Norden*'s shrinking male migrant readership, as well as to attract the interest of the Scandinavians' Australian family members; all in the hope that subscriber stability could be achieved through wider community involvement. New networks were established that focused on these previously ignored elements of *Norden*'s surrounding community, as one such inspired female reader encouraged:

There are many well-informed, well-read women in the local Scandinavian colony. What [is] more natural than that they should occasionally meet to exchange opinions? By doing so, they would become better acquainted and this closer acquaintanceship would, as it were, enable each to find her affinity.¹

These significant developments were driven by the efforts of *Norden*'s first – and only – female editor, Olga Clausen (1868-1963), who was determined to ensure *Norden*'s survival not only as a patriotic publication for the continuation of Scandinavian migrant heritage, but also as an important social networker for both men *and* women regardless of their Scandinavian or Australian identifications.² Adapting to widespread societal changes, Olga Clausen sought a more inclusive, family-orientated market through *Norden*'s appeal to such women's networks, those brought into the community by marriage, and the second generation. The accommodation of these latter groups also heralded the greater inclusion of English language material, much to the chagrin of some older first-generation Scandinavian readers.³ At the same time, Clausen's older brother Hans (1859-1929) continued, with the help of Jens Lyng, to bind *Norden* to the older group of first-generation male subscribers and ensure content and discussion remained relevant to their needs.⁴ Assisted by Hans' musically gifted and community-active wife Esther (1860-?), the trio used their varied strengths to appeal to a much wider audience and consequently

¹ 'Letter to Scandinavian ladies residing in Melbourne or suburbs', *Norden*, 7 August 1909, p. 13.

² 'No 23648/63: Death certificate of Emily Olga Clausen', *Deaths in the State of Victoria*, Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 15 November 1963. Olga's family's records and birth dates are preserved in the family tree appendix to Sigfús Blöndal, 'Appendix' in Jóns Ólafssonar Indíafara *Ævisaga Jóns Ólafssonar Indíafara: samin af honum sjálfum (1661)* [Biography of Jóns Ólafssonar Indíafara; composed by himself (1661)], Kaupmannahöfn, Denmark, HJA S. L. Moller, 1909, p. 426.

³ 'From our own Circle', *Norden*, 12 June 1909, p. 8.

⁴ 'Our Album: Hans Clausen', *Norden*, 23 June 1923, p. 7; Blöndal, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

keep *Norden* in business.⁵ While pan-Scandinavian unity would remain a steadfast tenet during the early years of Clausen's reign, it would take less precedence than more salient community issues of family inclusion, wider societal involvement and with it, the readership's growing 'Australian' identity. Instead of Lyng's preoccupation with fostering stronger connections between Swede, Dane, and Norwegian to create an insular, yet united Scandinavian ethnic group, Olga, Hans and Esther Clausen looked to build greater bridges between their readers and Australian society in general – ultimately, to the detriment of macro-national co-operation while enabling Nordic migrants to assimilate further into a dominant, British-Australian culture.

A significant period of transition, 1906-1913 led to *Norden*'s realignment of purpose from being a vehicle for the male-dominated Scandinavian clubs to an inclusive, family-orientated publication that further assisted to tie Scandinavian immigrants and their families to the Australian social landscape; one that they now felt an even stronger affinity to than their distant Nordic homelands. During this time, dwindling numbers of new Scandinavian immigrants, strong levels of their intermarriage within wider society and increased assimilation pressures from British-Australian society – as well as the contemporaneous nationalist fragmentation of many pan-Scandinavian gentlemen's clubs and the fortuitous rise of Scandinavian women's networks through the encouraging Australian female suffrage movement – made it clear to *Norden*'s new editorial team that drastic change was necessary if the publication was to be viable into the future.⁶ Consequently, *Norden*'s requisite evolution and adoption of English-language material enabled the newspaper to meet, more suitably, the needs of a changing readership that was, despite best intentions, slowly assimilating into Australian society. Furthermore, the Clausens' editorship was also as a transitional period between pan-Scandinavian beginnings and its Danish-dominated, nationalist later years. With Olga's eventual resignation and Hans' rise to the position of editor, ideas of pan-Scandinavian unity were further tested as Hans' strong Danish national sentiments began to overpower the macro-national sentiments of Lyng's original vision.

By 1906, Australian society, as well as the Scandinavian migrant community surrounding *Norden*, had changed dramatically. Despite the enflamed sense of pan-Scandinavian unity and ethnic identity forged by Scandinavian-Australian readers in the wake of Federation, the years, 1901-1906, were a trying time for a fragmenting migrant population, especially given the Sweden-Norway Union dissolution and the disbanding of many metropolitan pan-Scandinavian societies in favour of smaller,

⁵ Blöndal, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁶ John Stanley Martin and Olavi Koivukangas note that "by the beginning of the twentieth century most of the schemes of assisted Scandinavian immigration had either ceased or were in their final stages. For the next half-century there was generally only a trickle of Scandinavian immigrants to Australia". Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1986, p. 110. Koivukangas' analysis of marriage patterns of Scandinavians noted that while in periods of high migration intake such as the 1870-75, "marriage within the same nationality or with another Scandinavian was a main feature," by 1907-1910 more than 90% of married Scandinavian males married persons of British origin – a strong change in the familial makeup for the community. Olavi Koivukangas, 'Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II' PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974, p. 242.

insular nationalised organisations.⁷ It was also increasingly difficult to encourage Scandinavian settlers to remain in Australia in the years after Federation, as political reforms and stringent immigration policies built on overarching desires for British-Australian cultural homogenisation hindered Scandinavian-Australian community development. As Alfred Deakin had noted in his Parliamentary speech in September 1901:

Members on both sides of the House and of all sections of all parties – those in office and out of office – with the people behind them, are all united in the unalterable resolve that the Commonwealth of Australia shall mean a ‘White Australia’, and that from now henceforward *all alien elements* within it shall be diminished.⁸

The implementation of the White Australia policy through the Immigration (Restriction) Act of 1901 caused non-European immigration virtually to cease overnight.⁹ While this was not a concern for the racially white Scandinavians – some of whom vocally supported White Australia through *Norden* and felt racially connected by blood to their British-Australian cousins¹⁰ – the catchcry of “Australia for the Australians”, made famous by *The Bulletin*, still affixed negative connotations to many migrant groups post-Federation, even white Europeans.¹¹ While *The Bulletin* was not responsible for inventing this phrase, in 1905 it would go further to change its credo to “Australia for the White Man”, even further reflecting the masculine racist thinking of the day. Still, the fact “that ‘united race’ was white, Australian and British” left little room for white, non-British migrants such as the Scandinavians unless they quickly assimilated.¹² Future immigration was believed by many Australians to be deleterious to White Australia’s protectionist and nationalist goals, and while Scandinavians were still free to immigrate during this time – and still did so in relatively substantial numbers – strong anti-foreigner sentiment may explain the high return migration levels then present within an unstable community.¹³

Stuart Macintyre notes the conundrum created by an increasingly protectionist White Australia that was also moving towards “the low-fertility-low-mortality pattern characteristic of economically advanced societies”, which meant that large-scale immigration was both championed and derided in the years directly after Federation.¹⁴ According to Macintyre, the inability for Australia to compete with

⁷ Koivukangas and Martin note the struggles of many Scandinavian clubs in the period, particularly in Melbourne. Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-134.

⁸ Alfred Deakin, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 12 September 1901, Vol. 4, p. 4817. [My emphasis.]

⁹ James Jupp and Barry York (eds), *Birthplaces of the Australian People: Colonial & Commonwealth Censuses, 1828-1991*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1995, p. 31.

¹⁰ For example, upon looking back on his life and his contribution to Australia through the production of 20 children and 26 Grandchildren, who had settled in various parts of the country, Claus Grønn proudly stated, “I have done my duty to my adopted country and my contribution to build a White Australia”. *Norden*, 14 March 1908, p. 8. For a contemporary analysis of Scandinavian perceptions of Scandinavian and British racial similarity, see: Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1927.

¹¹ Stephen Alomes, *A Nation at Last?: The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism, 1880-1988*, North Ryde, NSW, Angus and Robertson, 1988, pp. 32, 40.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 40.

¹³ See the below section on immigration patterns regarding return migration.

¹⁴ Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 4: The Succeeding Age 1901-1942*, South Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 34.

North America in attracting desired white migrants was also a problem, as “knowledge of the drought, and before that, the economic depression, deterred many prospective settlers from coming to Australia”.¹⁵ While Scandinavia and Germany were still important sources of white migrants when British numbers were insufficient in promoting Australian economic growth, some politicians, such as Labor’s W. A. Holman, believed that the government should focus on reversing the declining Australian birth-rate rather than encouraging further foreign-born immigration. On 19 September 1905, in answering the question of whether he favoured proposed immigration reforms designed to increase migrant numbers, Holman answered: “Certainly not in this way – or at present. I believe that the best of all immigrants is the Australian baby”.¹⁶ For leaders, such as Deakin and Holman, the “alien element” of Australian society needed to be controlled and limited as much as possible in favour of cultivating a respectable, Australian-born culture and identity, built on British respectability.¹⁷

To add to Australia’s negative attitudes regarding increased immigration post-Federation, future Scandinavian emigration was hampered by both improving conditions within Scandinavia itself and the growing desire for Scandinavia to retain its subjects rather than lose them to the emerging settler societies of the United States, Canada and Australia, where pull factors had substantially diminished.¹⁸ Following the industrialisation of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway during the late nineteenth century which had initially sparked the diaspora, conditions began to improve for Scandinavian workers who were encouraged to stay at home.¹⁹ In addition, by 1905 the Union crisis had caused Sweden and Norway to desire greater continuous contact with their expatriates and sought to lessen further migration from the homelands.²⁰ As a result, Swedish Consul Count Birger Mörner (1867-1930) was sent to Sydney in 1906 to take up his post as “Sweden’s first career diplomat in Australia”.²¹ Initially in favour of strong ties between Sweden and Australia in terms trade and industry, Mörner noted in his speech to the Swedish Club in Melbourne on 4 December 1906 that the biggest tie between Sweden and Australia was not Australian wool, Swedish timber or machinery, but Swedish emigrants themselves:

Sweden has sent to Australia something more valuable, more precious. It has sent sinews of its own – blood of its blood. How completely the Swedish emigrants adapt themselves to their new country, to their new relations but though they become the most

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney, 18 September 1905; ‘The Australian Baby’, *Evening News*, 19 September 1905, p. 4.

¹⁷ Raymond Evans, Clive Moore, Kay Saunders and Bryan Jamison, *1901: Our Future’s Past*, Sydney, Macmillan, 1997, p. 50.

¹⁸ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹⁹ From the 1880s, the establishment of industry-based trade unions, worker’s political parties and the rising Nordic socialist movement improved the wages and conditions of the working class, and coupled with the growth and diversification of the middle class, the entice of pull factors was lessened. Byron J. Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, pp. 247-248.

²⁰ Odd. S. Lovoll, ‘Preserving Cultural Heritage across Boundaries: A Comparative Perspective on Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt and Nordmanns-Forbundet’, in Philip J Anderson and Dag Blanck (eds), *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, St Paul, MN, Minnesota Historical Press, 2012, p. 51.

²¹ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

enthusiastic Australian subjects, every one of them is bound by the finest ties to the old country, where they passed their childhood, and where Father and Mother are sleeping under the snow.²²

An industrious consul in promoting trade and business, Mörner did, however, see the negative repercussions of unrestrained and unplanned Scandinavian immigration to Australian shores, as many of his Swedish compatriots in Australia were, in his view, out of work and impoverished. “Claiming that all his time was spent in helping unemployed and destitute Swedish immigrants”, he became quite vocal in his opposition against further Scandinavian emigration, unless such migrants were already financially secure.²³ As a result, Mörner travelled to Sweden in 1908-1909 to lobby against further Swedish-Australian immigration, drawing the consternation of the New South Wales government and the Scandinavian-Australian community.²⁴ The uncertain political atmosphere regarding Australian immigration concerns and the efforts of the Scandinavian states to halt future emigration gave *Norden*’s committee cause for alarm in terms of revitalising its Scandinavian-Australian readership through new arrivals. As Lyng had noted in 1906 when resigning, it was doubtful that many new immigrants would arrive to aid *Norden* into the future.²⁵

Despite such developments, both in Australia and abroad, Scandinavian migration to Australia was not completely stagnant during the first decade of the new century. Rather, it was quite robust at first glance. Olavi Koivukangas notes that arrivals data for 1901-1913 give the impression that considerable numbers of new Scandinavian immigrants reached Australia between Federation and World War I, but also states that this population was very unstable.²⁶ The period experienced exceedingly high levels of return migration within labouring and maritime occupations, so that, while many Scandinavians entered Australia to try their luck and work for a time, a significant number also left.²⁷ As Mörner had noted, the inability of such new migrants to find stable work at this time was a significant factor in these new arrivals returning home and a reason for his discouragement of further Swedish immigration.²⁸ Coupled with the increasing mortality of those earlier migrants who had arrived in the 1870s and 1880s, the Scandinavian-born population of residents engaged in the community continued to fall, and was well in decline by the census of 1911.²⁹

The declining number of Scandinavian-born immigrants to remain in Australia during 1901-1911 was indeed a cause for concern amongst *Norden*’s committee in terms of shrinking first-generational readership numbers, but more devastating to the publication’s ideas of continued ethnic expression were the high levels of intermarriage between the heavily male Scandinavian migrant population and English-speaking Australian women over the 1890s and early 1900s, as this endeared

²² ‘From our own Circle’, *Norden*, 15 December 1906, pp. 7-8.

²³ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Norden*, 14 April 1906, p. 4.

²⁶ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Cited in Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²⁹ Coupled with high mortality rates, the population actually lost some 1434 Scandinavians between 1901-1911, the census data dropping from 16,144 to 14,710 – an approximately 11 per cent reduction in the migrant community. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

a speedy assimilation of the Scandinavian men into English-speaking families.³⁰ Unlike the United States, full ‘Scandinavian’ families were rare in the Australian context and many migrants had been forced by necessity to marry outside of their ethnic group.³¹ Koivukangas notes that “as the majority of early Scandinavians to Australia were young single men with few commitments... chain migration was not as important as may have been the case to the United States” and Scandinavian women, arriving as part of families, were really only a product of the short-lived assisted migration schemes.³² While the strong gender imbalance persisted with a large majority of males within the community – which caused its own problems for ethnic continuity – the proportion of Scandinavian women to men actually increased between 1890 and World War I, allowing for Scandinavian-born women to seek each other out for companionship and networking more easily than before.³³

With Scandinavian-born settler numbers declining steadily and intermarriage with Australian spouses threatening ethnic community persistence, the greatest boon to *Norden’s* survival during 1906-1913 was aided by an increased focus on the importance of women to families, society and the nation. Importantly for *Norden’s* readership, the rising influence of the Australian suffrage movement enabled the shrinking, previously male-dominated Scandinavian population to acknowledge an overlooked yet immensely valuable resource in the propagation of their ethnic identities – their women, who were finally being recognised as a force to be reckoned with. As widely travelled American campaigner Jessie Ackerman would later write of the Australian suffrage movement:

Woman is now a real world problem because her new position has brought her into close competition with men in every walk of life. The economic value of women to the nation is involved in modern development. How best to utilise this force to the advantage of the home, and for the good of the country, is now the chief concern of thinking men.³⁴

During Lyng’s past ten years as editor (1896-1906), the suffrage movement had continued to grow as women across Australasia fought for – and slowly attained – political rights as well as a greater level of societal equality.³⁵ After South Australia’s enfranchisement of women voters in 1894, the next fourteen years saw Western Australia (1899), Tasmania (1903), Queensland (1905) and finally Victoria (1908) – most important in terms of *Norden’s* local community – acknowledge the rights of Australian women citizens, with Federal voting rights being attained in 1902 under

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 233.

³¹ Koivukangas drew attention to the high disparities of Scandinavian men and women in Australia in 1891, with noting that “before 1890 there were some three Danish males for each Danish female, ten Swedes and Norwegians for one female... between 1890 and World War I the same pattern continued, the proportion of women appearing to be somewhat higher among the Norwegians than the Swedes”. By 1911, the majority of these migrants were also over 40 years of age. *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, p. 229.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³⁴ Jessie Ackerman, *Australia from a Woman’s Point of View*, London, Cassell, 1913, p. 152.

³⁵ As early as the 1880s, each Australian colony had developed open suffrage societies which began to issue propaganda leaflets, organise debates and public meetings, and coupled with church and temperance organisations, formed active networks in both town and country. Following New Zealand’s enfranchisement of women as early as 1893, South Australia moved to do the same in 1894. Audrey Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia: A Gift or Struggle?*, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 14.

the Commonwealth Franchise Act (1902).³⁶ This significant social change was unsettling for many Australians. According to Graeme Osbourne and Glen Lewis, it was especially difficult for some men “not to feel that a shift had begun that might threaten a social system that had brought order, stability, and prosperity to a male-dominated establishment based in part, at least, on a firm sense of woman’s place in the home”.³⁷ Despite this, supporters of universal female suffrage, such as House of Representatives member Sir William Lyne, argued that these important changes were wholly necessary and beneficial to Australian society, as they would:

...elevate women of the community, and to cause them to take a greater interest than they have ever taken before in questions of the day which affect not only their husbands and their children, but also most vitally affect themselves... I believe that the effect of women taking an active interest in the political life of the community will be to purify it and, in addition, to cause a greater interest to be taken by all in public questions which affect the well-being of the community.³⁸

Yet, the female suffrage movement would do much more than simply allow women to take an interest in public life, as its male supporters such as Lyne had espoused. As Jessie Ackerman noted, the suffrage movement would also give women a greater opportunity to move into men’s occupations and control their communities’ destinies in a much more visible and direct manner.³⁹ For the Scandinavian-Australian community specifically, the empowerment of both Scandinavian and Australian women enabled not only a welcome extension to a readership that was struggling under the weight of shrinking male migrant numbers, high levels of societal intermarriage, and increased assimilation pressures, but also allowed a female editor to establish herself as *Norden*’s guiding force.

Encouraged by the contemporaneous rise of the Australian suffrage movement that highlighted the significant contributions of women to societal development, *Norden*’s committee had, in desperation but also ground-breaking support for female enfranchisement, allowed their flagship publication to be handed over to its first woman editor, Olga Clausen (See Plate 10). Clausen’s emergence at such a critical political, social and cultural juncture in Australian early Federation history is quite remarkable and marks *Norden*’s Scandinavian-Australian readership as one such pioneering group willing to place their trust in women’s abilities and support their equal interests for the good of their entire migrant community. It is perhaps equally significant that in this period of increased need for *Norden* to reach as many readers as possible through both new and old avenues of readership, that Olga Clausen was not alone in the task; assisted by her elder brother Hans and sister-in-law Esther, the collaborative publication could best meet the needs of the wider Scandinavian-Australian community and ensure its own survival.

³⁶ Kirsten Lees, *Votes for Women: The Australian Story*, St Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1995, p. xiii.

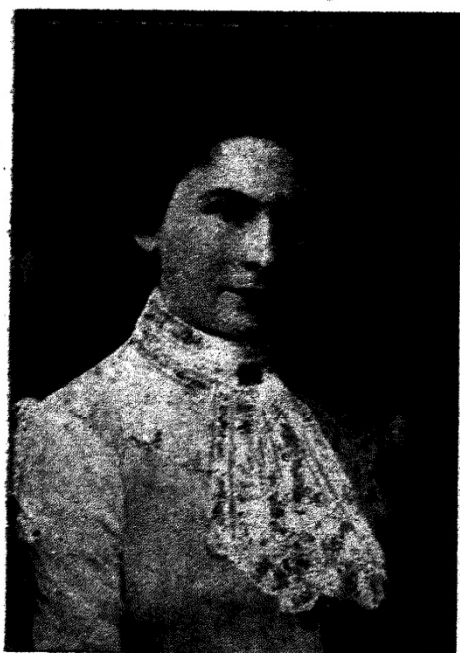
³⁷ Graeme Osbourne and Glen Lewis, *Communication Traditions in Australia: Packaging the People*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 14.

³⁸ William Lyne, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 23 April 1902, Vol. 9, pp. 11934-5.

³⁹ Ackerman, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

Plate 10 (below left): 'Miss Olga Clausen', *Norden*, 1 April 1911, p. 1.

Plate 11 (bottom): 'Norden's Committee, 1913', *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 3.



Frk. OLGA CLAUSEN.

Description: *Norden's* first and only female editor, Olga Clausen. For five years between 1906 and 1911, Clausen was integral in widening *Norden's* audience and introducing English-language content. After her resignation, her older brother Hans Clausen (below with *Norden's* board, 1913) became editor until shortly before the outbreak of World War I. His Danish leanings affected the publication's pan-Scandinavian credentials in favour of national sentiments.



"Norden's Committee 1913.

O. Aistrup, Th. Hauge, H. Sønnergren, B. Vijnbladh, J. Lyng, Emil Petersen, Aug. Bing. (Formand), H. A. Clausen, O. Kunig.

The Clausens

The new editorial team of Olga, Hans and Esther Clausen was dynamic in terms of their goals, experiences and ability to overcome the challenges to their community's shifting demographic. Despite hailing from one family, Olga and Hans Clausen had very different upbringings, and together with Esther each was able to bring about significant impacts to *Norden's* Scandinavian-Australian community. The trio, as Lyng would later write, were all "highly cultured and with literary interests, and desirous of rendering service to their countrymen and fellow Scandinavians".⁴⁰ Whereas editor Olga was only a recent immigrant at the time of taking over *Norden's* publication, her older brother and assistant Hans was well-established in Australia by 1906 and was, crucially, part of the older generation of Scandinavian-Australians who had arrived during the late nineteenth century and been responsible for *Norden's* establishment.

The oldest of four children, Hans Arreboe Clausen was born in Copenhagen on 14 May 1859.⁴¹ He migrated to Australia at the age of nine in 1868, with his Icelandic-Danish father, Holger Peter Clausen (1831-1901), his English mother, Harriott Barbara Cook (1837-?) and his sister Amy (b. 1860).⁴² His younger siblings, Vigand (b. 1863) and Olga (b. 1866), were left in the care of their grandparents in Denmark.⁴³ Most of Hans' schooling was obtained at Wesley College, Melbourne, and in 1877, aged 18, he travelled back to Copenhagen to work in his grandfather's business.⁴⁴ He later travelled to Scotland to visit his mother's relatives before coming back to Australia for a time. While on another trip to Copenhagen he became engaged to Esther Schjøtte (b. 1860), the daughter of a prominent lawyer and sister to successful violinist Frida Schjøtte. Clausen then departed for Australia once again and two years later Esther followed.⁴⁵ After marrying in Melbourne, the couple moved to Gippsland where Clausen worked in the sawmilling industry, but after floods and some poor business dealings he returned to Melbourne. According to Lyng, "for several years Clausen was sort of economically 'freelance'. He worked with cows and horses, wrote articles and poems to various newspapers, ran a small agency, and god knows what else".⁴⁶ Active within Melbourne's Scandinavian community, he was already 47 years of age when asked to assist his sister Olga with *Norden*. Having strong ties to both Australia and Denmark, as well as the older migrants of the 1870s and 1880s – of which he had been a part – Hans was particularly suited to the broad goals of the Scandinavian-Australian enterprise that was *Norden*. Lyng noted that he "possessed an unmistakable journalistic gift",⁴⁷ and believed that if Hans had discovered newspapers earlier in his life, he might have forged a strong career in journalism.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939, p. 64.

⁴¹ 'Our Album: Hans Clausen', *Norden*, 23 June 1923, p. 7; Blöndal, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁴² Blöndal, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁴³ While no reason is given for the splitting of the family, this is most likely due to the young age of Olga and Vigand, and the uncertainty of their father's ability to provide for all four children while establishing themselves in Australia. 'Miss Olga Clausen', *Norden*, 1 April 1911, p. 1.

⁴⁴ 'Our Album: Hans Clausen', *Norden*, 23 June 1923, p. 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁴⁸ 'Our Album: Hans Clausen', *Norden*, 23 June 1923, p. 7.

While biographical details of Hans' wife Esther Clausen are scant, her activities in *Norden* during Lyng's editorship give an impression of a cultured and educated woman. Prior to 1906, Esther was already active as a music teacher within the Melbourne community, primarily teaching piano and singing, and she was noted as holding a student concert in the local Scandinavian church in September 1898.⁴⁹ *Norden* wrote that Esther's talents made her a "treasured teacher of grand piano playing and song. Quiet and unassuming in essence, [she is the] perfect lady, and always willing to assist, she has over the years won all admiring Scandinavians' hearts".⁵⁰ Esther was also involved in organising other community events, such as the Danish social on 15 January 1900 where she performed a musical act with Gertrude Lyng,⁵¹ and *Norden*'s 6th *Aarsfest* on 14 June 1902, where her star pupil, Little Olive King, gave a piano solo.⁵² Hans and Esther did not have any biological children, but adopted a daughter called Mollie.⁵³

Whereas Hans Clausen had been living in Australia since the age of nine and brought his Danish fiancée Esther to Australia during the 1880s where they had then become heavily involved in the Scandinavian-Australian community, his youngest sister, Olga Emily Clausen, remained in Denmark for almost the first four decades of her life. Born in Copenhagen on 9 September 1866,⁵⁴ Olga was raised by her grandparents, as was her brother Vigand (b. 1863), when the rest of the family migrated to Australia in 1868.⁵⁵ Olga's grandfather, Hans Arreboe Clausen (1806-1891), was a businessman, government official and one-time consul to Greece. From an early age Olga had displayed strong linguistic talents and she benefited from a strong education in the humanities and literature.⁵⁶ Upon her grandparents' deaths in the early 1890s, she used her notable linguistic skills to find work translating Danish scientific works into English for the Carlsberg Foundation.⁵⁷ Little else is known of her life in Denmark prior to emigrating.

In 1904, 38 year-old Olga came to Australia to visit her family – initially only for one year – but decided to stay indefinitely. Remaining unmarried, it is unknown if there was any reason to return to Denmark, as her entire surviving family were now based in the southern hemisphere.⁵⁸ The Clausens lived close to the Melbourne city centre in the suburb of Kew and often entertained fellow Scandinavians, such as the Lyngs, in a small house that they had decorated to remind them of the old home in Denmark. They also maintained a small but well established private library.⁵⁹ Whilst living in Melbourne, Olga Clausen's literary background became known to Lyng and *Norden*'s board of directors, as well as the family's unique position as both old and

⁴⁹ *Norden*, September 1898, p. 6.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Norden*, 27 January 1900, p. 6.

⁵² 'Norden's 6th Anniversary', *Norden*, 14 June 1902, p. 8.

⁵³ 'Deaths – Clausen', *The Argus*, 2 March 1929, p. 14.

⁵⁴ Blöndal, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁵⁵ 'Miss Olga Clausen', *Norden*, 1 April 1911, p. 1; Blöndal, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Vigand had also migrated to Australia some time before 1902, where he became a miner in Western Australia and later lost contact with the family. *Norden* constantly included Vigand's name in the list of missing Scandinavians. 'Inquiries', *Norden*, 4 August 1906, p. 10. He was reportedly murdered later in South America, aged 68. 'One of Clausen Brothers Murdered', *Vikuútgáfa Alþýðublaðsins* (Alþýðublaðið Weekly Edition), 22 January 1932, p. 8.

⁵⁹ 'Miss Olga Clausen', *Norden*, 1 April 1911, p. 1.

new immigrants. Unlike her brother and sister-in-law, Olga was a new Danish migrant with strong ties to the homeland and, as yet, minimal ties to Australia. Two years after her arrival, the editor position for *Norden* became vacant and, given her previous line of work, Olga was provided the opportunity to take over from an overworked Lyng.⁶⁰ As a well-educated, multi-lingual and recently arrived Dane with an instant support base in the form of her more established family and friends, it is clear why Olga was seen as an evidently acceptable replacement to Lyng and the person best situated to revitalise *Norden*'s community. Furthermore, with the help of her more established siblings, Olga was seen as the best person to adapt *Norden*'s goals and publication strategies to span both the old and new worlds and as such, gain a sufficient, inclusive readership to keep *Norden* operating. "With the Board inviting her on", wrote *Norden* in 1911, "since then she has assiduously steered the small craft through rough waters".⁶¹

The Clausens were instrumental in revitalising the ailing newspaper with a fresh approach, particularly through their ability to devote more time to the publication than the overworked and underpaid Lyng. Shortly after Olga Clausen began her editorial reign, *Norden*'s committee pleaded with its readers and advertisers to support the new team despite Lyng's withdrawal, noting their desires to shift the newspaper towards one of even greater community interaction. It was clear that the new editors desired change, but not at the expense of the well-established readership. During the transition period, *Norden* committee member Henry Olsen noted the need for some sympathy and encouragement from this audience, as well as their input:

... for it is not such a straight road to undertake the publication of a magazine with only a few weeks' notice. It is the new editor's dear wish to hear from its subscribers, whether they are on track with the newspaper, which shall lead to discussion and the exchange of opinions, and the posting of interesting little news pieces.⁶²

Initially, there were doubts voiced by the committee regarding the ability to sustain subscription numbers.⁶³ Yet, in spite of Lyng's resignation, many readers demonstrated support for the new team by re-subscribing in advance. In June 1906, *Norden* published a list of these supporters in order to urge others to re-subscribe, with some 86 readers from across Australasia paying via mail or in person at *Norden*'s office in a show of solidarity.⁶⁴ While not a complete list of readers, the number and locations of these pre-paid subscribers in 1906 is indicative of the small yet widespread migrant community that relied on *Norden*'s news coverage and communal linkages and were willing to continue to support its publication.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Henry Olsen, cited in *Norden*, 26 May 1906, p. 1.

⁶³ 'Norden', *Norden*, 14 April 1906, p. 4.

⁶⁴ The majority came from New South Wales (20), Queensland (16), and Victoria (19). Western Australia (9) and New Zealand (8) also contributed members. Tasmania had five active subscribers, one who was based on Flinders Island, Mr Huitfeldt, and only one in South Australia. Further afield, *Norden* had one subscriber in Fiji, Mr W. Jensen, another in San Francisco, S. Jaeger, two subscribers in Denmark, Caroline Petersen and Mr Nielsen, and two Norwegian-based readers, Carl Frost and Mrs Jaeger. *Norden*, 23 June 1906, p. 10.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Unfortunately for the Clausens, *Norden* would continue to struggle with subscriptions and advertisements despite the show of support from these 80 or so loyal Scandinavian subscribers. The shifting and unstable nature of even the most staunchly supportive Scandinavian reader was clear as, over the previous ten years, the hotspots of Scandinavian migrant activity had moved to new locations. By 1906, *Norden*'s main agents had shifted to the strongholds of Scandinavian-Australian community – Melbourne, Perth, Sydney, Newcastle, Brisbane, Boonah, Bundaberg, Mt Morgan and Palmerston – which corresponds to the areas of high subscriber numbers above. Further agents were desired in Wellington, Maryborough, Fremantle, Charters Towers and Boulder City, indicating *Norden*'s perception of these areas containing many potential readers.⁶⁶ Classified advertisements stressed *Norden*'s large circulation and the number of Scandinavians in Australia, but downplayed the obvious discrepancy between the 22,000 Scandinavians believed to be present at the time and those actually subscribing to *Norden*. While the newspaper stated correctly that it “circulates between Norway and Fiji”, the actual small number of readers was crucially missing from the equation.⁶⁷ To stay afloat, the struggling newspaper was assisted financially at this time by August Bing, a chairman of *Norden*'s board of directors. He personally funded the Clausens' wages, which enabled Olga to make greater use of Hans and Esther as assistants and share the load in preparing the labour-intensive fortnightly publication.⁶⁸ Importantly, charity also ensured that the new editor did not succumb to fatigue like the overworked and underpaid founder, Lyng.

With this injection of new life and funds in the form of the Clausens' editing team and Bing's financial generosity, *Norden* underwent a journalistic renaissance and was able to move forward in production methods and creative content. A larger four-paged printing press was acquired to speed production and cut costs, enabling more time to be spent on content and promotion.⁶⁹ Funds even existed by 1910 to allow Olga Clausen to travel as far as Queensland in order to strengthen ties with the Scandinavian residents of the state (See Plate 13).⁷⁰ The proposed trip to New South Wales and Queensland was designed to further subscriptions from those Scandinavians present in Sydney and Brisbane, who had fallen away from *Norden*'s united readership, as well as strengthen ideas of pan-Scandinavian co-operation:

The objective is to obtain [knowledge of] the Scandinavians who do not keep the newspaper, to shake the indifference from them, while also arousing patriotism... and it was unanimously agreed that there was a good chance that such would give the desired results – more subscribers. So then, at the beginning of next month, Miss Clausen will journey and turning, like a modern Portia, to her Australian countrymen, will seek support for Scandinavianism's unity in Australia.⁷¹

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ ‘Advertise in Norden – Why should I do so?’, *Norden*, 4 August 1906, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

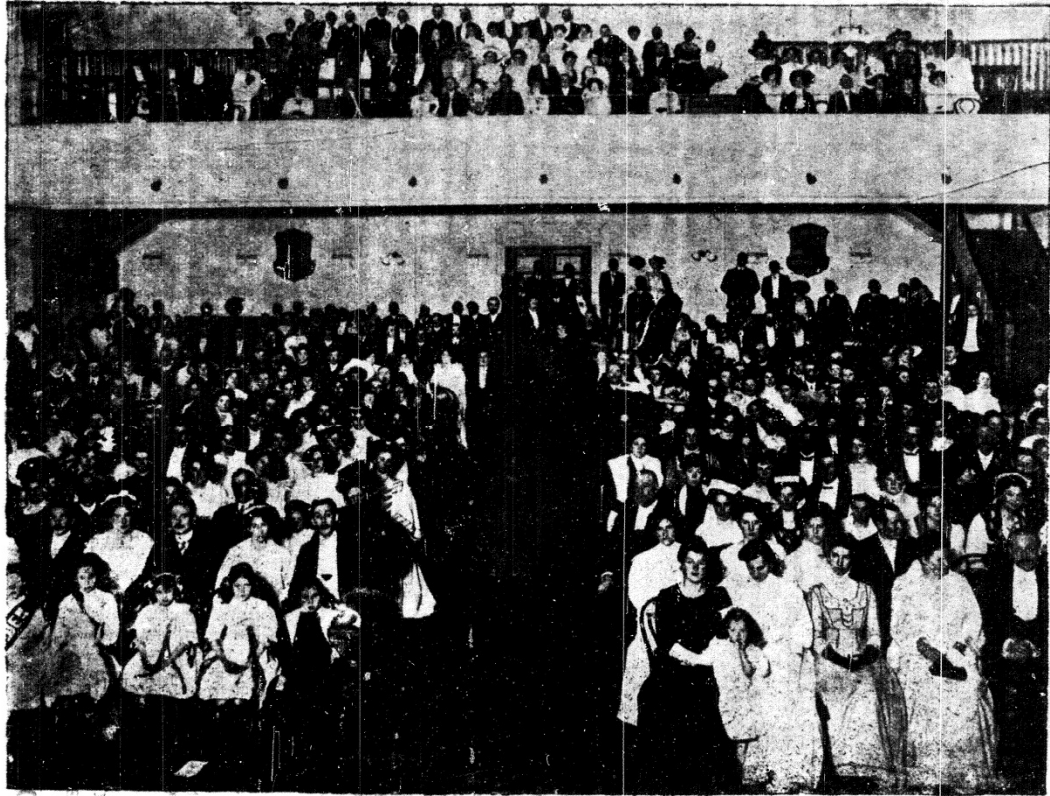
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ ‘From our own Circle’, *Norden*, 12 June 1909, p. 8.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Plate 12: 'From *Norden*'s [Yearly] Party', *Norden*, 10 July 1909, p. 9.

Plate 13: 'The Scandinavian Lutheran Sunday School in Brisbane',
Norden, 1 July 1911, p. 5.



Fra „NORDENS“ FEST, 1909.

Description: Norden's yearly fundraising party, the *Aarsfest*, continued solidly during the Clausen's editorial reign. This image from Melbourne's 1909 festivities gives an indication of the size of local support for the publication. Norden continued to report on the pan-Scandinavian nature of such co-operative events at this time, especially in Brisbane where both Church groups and *Heimdal* held united events.



DEN SKANDINAVISKE, LUTHERANSKE SÖNDAGSSKOLE I BRISBANE, Q.

Queensland, which had always provided *Norden* with strong support due to the Scandinavian Association in Brisbane, was seen as the strongest market for new readers and had received the most new Scandinavians over the previous ten years following the doomed assisted passage programs of the 1890s.⁷² Queensland had retained large numbers of Scandinavians into the twentieth century, with the 1911 census noting that 25 per cent of all Scandinavian male migrants and 58 per cent of all Scandinavian female migrants lived in Queensland.⁷³ Furthermore, Brisbane's Scandinavian Association *Heimdal* was also one of the few Scandinavian associations that still had a thriving membership at the turn of the century. As well as trying to reclaim the subscriptions of male migrant readers during the period and recoup the sense of pan-Scandinavian collaboration needed for continued success, *Norden*, through the influence of Olga Clausen and in the context of the the growing suffrage movement, also forayed into a new market – women readers.

Women's networks encourage greater community participation

In order for the newspaper to stay relevant, the Clausens understood that *Norden* needed to adapt to a changing demographic of readers and exploit all avenues for success. Therefore, Olga Clausen moved to introduce women's pages and an English-language page, seeking out new readers and adapting to the Scandinavian community's growing connections with wider society. Within months of taking over in May 1906, the first migrant biography of a woman, the popular Swedish singer Agnes Janson, appeared in the newspaper as did new columns designed to foster greater communication between migrant women and the wives of migrants.⁷⁴ In the arts, Scandinavian women had always been greatly appreciated within the community and were necessary for the entertainment of many socials and functions.⁷⁵ Coupled with the growing suffrage movement that brought women's issues into closer focus, it was only natural that more material concerning their efforts would appear.⁷⁶ Such changes demonstrated the Clausens' desire to shift *Norden*'s own focus to include the previously untapped women's market.

Prior to Olga's editorship, notable women had been involved in *Norden*'s united migrant community, but they remained hidden behind the male-dominated lead of the Scandinavian gentlemen's clubs and *Norden*'s all-male organising committee. Their role was largely one of organisation and support of social functions such as the *Aarsfest*. As early as September 1898, *Norden* had reported on the Scandinavian Women's Association in Melbourne, which worked closely with the local Scandinavian church to organise the local bazaar and raise funds.⁷⁷ The small number of Scandinavian ladies used such organisations to socialise, but the main goal was productivity and charity. These groups were also quite inclusive of non-Scandinavian women, but aware of where their loyalties ultimately lay:

⁷² Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ 'Agnes Janson', *Norden*, 7 July 1906, p. 3; Freja, 'Where the Woman Resides', *Norden*, 23 June 1906, p. 6.

⁷⁵ See, for example: *Norden*, September 1898, p. 1; *Norden*, 18 November 1899, p. 3; 'Norden's Aarsfest in Brisbane', *Norden* 2 June 1900, p. 6; 'Norden's Aarsfest: Concert Programme', *Norden*, 29 June 1901, p. 7; *Norden*, 7 March 1914, p. 17.

⁷⁶ See, for example: *Norden*, 5 October 1907, p. 9; *Norden*, 29 May 1909, p. 13.

⁷⁷ 'The Scandinavian Women's Association in Melbourne', *Norden*, September 1898, p. 1.

Mrs Albrecht wanted to know if English ladies were allowed to help [in the organisation of the bazaar]. Mrs Schreuder felt that as they worked in favour of a Scandinavian church, the association's product should also be Scandinavian, while it was a matter of course that assistance from anyone was welcome.⁷⁸

Informal networks were also present but very minimal. In *Norden*'s 8 January 1898 issue, for example, Mrs K. Hultmark wrote a brief 'thank-you' note to the ladies of her social group, who had come together to gift her with a timepiece for Christmas.⁷⁹ In the letter, Mrs Hultmark wrote to thank "her housewives", demarcating the special group of ten Scandinavian ladies in which she belonged, noting that the clock was a splendid gift that should remind them of the dear moments they had shared together over the past year.⁸⁰ In writing personable letters in *Norden*, early ladies' networks were hinted at – but remained largely hidden behind *Norden*'s reportage of the activities of larger and more frequently appearing male Scandinavian organisations – and were only incidentally involved with *Norden* during Lyng's editorship.

Olga Clausen's takeover and the coinciding Victorian suffrage movement enabled women to take an even greater interest in the newspaper and society. As well as reporting on women's activities, in June 1906 she introduced a new column entitled 'Where the Woman Resides', and under the pen-name of "Freja", an unknown female author attempted to include a previously untapped market with some material tailored specifically to them.⁸¹ While remaining safely involved in the domestic sphere, "Freja" and *Norden* began to invite Scandinavian women in particular to write "all questions, concerning maternal and household matters, decorating living room, dining table, etc," and receive articles that interested them specifically".⁸² "Freja" spent considerable effort writing on how women could continue to maintain a vibrant image at the many Scandinavian Balls and festivities though domestic thrift and the making of their own clothes:

Now it is the time for Balls and parties, but fortunately those in retail agree... the woman who wants to be neatly dressed in festive occasions must also take account of her purse, [however she] can easily for a few left over shillings, if she is a little nifty and has a sewing machine available, make neat company suits.⁸³

These early kinds of articles invited female readers of *Norden* to take a more active interest in the newspaper and, through their own contributions, to create stronger women's networks and a sense of belonging. The introduction of women's material was slow at first, yet it is clear that *Norden*'s sympathetic female editor quickly enabled more formal women's groups to advertise their activities and contributions directly to the community. In July 1907, for example, the reporting of the *Aarsfest* was given by the main organisers of the Ladies Committee, President Bertha Waern

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ K. Hultmark, 'Correspondence', *Norden*, January 1898, p. 8.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Freja, 'Where the Woman Resides', *Norden*, 23 June 1906, p. 6. The name Freja identifies with the Nordic goddess of love, fertility and beauty, chosen by *Norden*'s editorial team to further strengthen ties between Scandinavian women readers as one, universally linked, group.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

and Secretary Marie Olsen (See Plate 12).⁸⁴ No longer on the periphery but acknowledged as the main organisers of these successful festivities, women's groups began to take on a more visible and responsible role in community events. While thanking others for their assistance in making the *Aarsfest* a success – namely leading men such as Bing, Lyng and Brisbane's Youngberg, as well as the various Scandinavian clubs' patronage through donations that equalled some £22-0-8 profit for the newspaper – the fact that the women took charge of the event and were directly acknowledged through *Norden* was a very powerful statement of their growing position within the Scandinavian-Australian community – and Australian society in general.⁸⁵

Letters between Scandinavian women also became frequent at this time, as *Norden* became a more hospitable place for women to share personable information to one another. Furthermore, *Norden* used such letters to promote ladies evenings and social events, encouraging greater involvement of women in the visible community. In August 1907, one such Scandinavian lady based in Hawthorne, Franciska, wrote a letter to her friend, Amalie, expressing her sadness that Amalie had not been able to attend such a function at Melbourne's Danish gentlemen's Club, *Dannebrog*:

Dearest Amalie! It was awfully boring that you did not come to Dannebrog's 'social' on Monday, it was obviously due to the rain but I know you were curious to see the 'young' Board [*Dannebrog*'s male members], as we all were. Yes, it rained, and I think in truth I would not have gone myself if I had not baked that attractive 'Passionfruit cake' but I was anxious to see if any of the other ladies liked it, for as you know, we Swedes must bring a 'gift' for supper. The evening was very grand, there was something for everyone's taste. Mrs Christesen sang some neat Norwegian and Swedish songs, the dance was lively, the flirting likewise. Everyone seemed in the best humour.⁸⁶

Franciska discussed the varied occurrences and contributions of other ladies to the evening, and implored female readers, including Amalie, to ensure they came "to Dannebrog's [*sic*] next women's evening" for increased social gratification.⁸⁷ In publishing such intimate letters between friends, not only was the association between the two women strengthened, but it also allowed others to see closely into the women's world and encouraged them to seek out similar associations for social satisfaction. Women's contributions to *Norden* were increasingly personal exchanges, placed in a public forum to express their gratitude for one another, either from physical or imagined company, and they demonstrate the connected and intimate nature of the newspaper as a community news service.

Lastly, a growing number of articles dealing with the arts and cultural pursuits began to appear during Olga Clausen's editorial period. Written by contributing women, these articles indicate a reliance on Olga and Esther's connections to women's groups as a source of information for *Norden*. In October 1907, a correspondent, known as "Viola", reported on the upcoming tour of Danish Violinist Max

⁸⁴ 'Norden's Social', *Norden*, 27 July 1907, p. 6.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Norden*, 10 August 1907, p. 9.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Schluter.⁸⁸ As well as domestic columns, formal women's organisations and correspondence via *Norden*, articles written by other women demonstrate their growing interaction with each other and a vibrant cultural community.

Between 1907 and 1911, Olga's participation in *Norden* and Scandinavian-Australian social life led to a flurry of activity by other women who were influenced by both her inspirational move into the newspaper business and the Victorian suffrage movement. Most importantly, in October 1909, only a year after Victorian women gained the vote, *Norden* published an open letter to the Scandinavian ladies of Melbourne, advertising a new women's venture to rival that of the gentlemen's clubs, and give the Scandinavian women a much needed outlet for socialising:

The Swedes, Norwegians and Danes each have their club. Club-life is not antagonistic to home-life. The one gives what the other lacks. For rest, quiet and comfort we go to the home; but for entertainment, exchange of opinions and social intercourse we go to the club. The male sex is well provided for. But what about the Scandinavian ladies?⁸⁹

The organiser of the new Scandinavian ladies club, Madame Waern, proposed a regular monthly meet up at her apartments in 'The Block' on Collins Street, where they could "discuss domestic, social, political, artistic and social subjects".⁹⁰ *Norden* backed the idea strongly, commending Madame Waern's leadership and arguing that, while opportunities for feminine socialisation did exist at intervals during Scandinavian social events and festive occasions, this could be greatly improved by proactive ladies' networks:

In our opinion, the time is ripe for the realization of some scheme for bringing the ladies together unhampered by the presence of the opposite sex. There would then be less restraint placed upon the conversation, which would thereby gain both in range and interest... Let [the ladies] now prove, that they have the same amount of 'go' in them as have their husbands, brothers, and sweethearts; these latter know well and appreciate the benefits of their clubs, The Scand. ladies should be able to form themselves into quite an influential combine; – why not do so?⁹¹

While little information exists about the success of the venture, it was clear that women were intent on playing a much greater role in the Scandinavian-Australian community if given the opportunity. Furthermore, domestic concerns still played an important role to reach female subscribers and the increasing number of Australian wives. In September 1910 the Clausens, "having been asked by several of [*Norden's*] subscribers to bring cookery recipes, hints on various household subjects etc," moved to include further articles aimed at the women's market, this time edited by "a very clear housewife and friend of *Norden*" by the pseudonym of "Winnifred".⁹² The goal

⁸⁸ *Norden*, 5 October 1907, p. 9.

⁸⁹ 'Letter to Scandinavian Ladies residing in Melbourne or Suburbs', *Norden*, 7 August 1909, p. 13.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Norden*, 3 September 1910, p. 11. "Winnifred", a much more Anglophone name, suggests stronger ties to English-speaking women, which was the section's goal.

here, however, was to give non-Scandinavian women a greater involvement in the newspaper through interesting English language articles:

We intend to publish them in English, as so many Scandinavians have English wives, also for the reason that it will tend to simplify names, weights and measures; but if any Scandinavian ladies will send us in recipes of Scandinavian dishes we shall only be too pleased to publish them in due course.⁹³

By 1909-1910 it was becoming clear within these women's networks that "Scandinavians by marriage" were increasingly in the considerable majority.⁹⁴ Other physical meetings of women through traditional means, such as the July 1910 organisation of *Norden's* yearly fundraising ball, the *Aarsfest*, showed *Norden's* reliance on Australian women to support the declining Scandinavian element of the community:

On Tuesday 12th inst. a preliminary meeting was held at the Danish Club for the arrangement of the 'Norden' Concert and Ball in September. Owing no doubt to the inclemency of the weather very few Scandinavian ladies attended the meeting, while our more hardy Australian sisters, Scandinavians by marriage, were well represented.⁹⁵

While the article asked for further input from the few Scandinavian women present in the community, noting that "another meeting will be held on Tuesday 26th inst. at 8 o'clock in the Danish Club, at which we hope the Scandinavian ladies will roll up", *Norden* and the readership now heavily relied on the inclusion of "Scandinavians by marriage", rather than direct female immigrants, to quell shrinking participation rates in Scandinavian-driven cultural events.⁹⁶ Consequently, the highly sociable and inclusive nature of such women's groups actually further disintegrated the cultural barriers that *Norden's* readers had erected to separate themselves from wider Australian society. Willing to adapt to Australian spouses' needs and ensure greater social participation, these developments would also usher in a greater use of English language articles in *Norden*, and with it, promote Australian assimilation rather than Scandinavian cultural differentiation.

The introduction of *Norden's* English Page

To cope with such demographic shifts in Scandinavian women's networks and accommodate Australian spouses as valued readers and community members, by May 1909 Olga Clausen had floated the idea of an English-language page to supplement the Scandinavian languages. In a letter to *Norden* on 1 May 1909, an anonymous "Onlooker" explained his conundrum at convincing the Australian wife of a Scandinavian to assist with *Norden* and the *Aarsfest*:

Now why don't you, my dear Madam, help us with the 'Norden'? You could render us such a splendid service at our forthcoming annual festival and in many other ways, as you are so exceptionally

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ 'From our own Circle', *Norden*, 23 July 1910, p. 10.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

well adapted for exercising social amenities. In fact, I consider it a plain duty to help us, as you have, by marriage, become a member of the Scandinavian Colony in Melbourne.⁹⁷

The Australian wife's response, according to the "Onlooker", was that she "was in the same position as scores of Australian girls, who have married Swedes, Norwegians or Danes",⁹⁸ and, while interested in the community, was inhibited from assisting and ultimately excluded from greater participation by language barriers within the migrant press:

Of course we are very greatly interested in everything that transpires within the Scandinavian colony. All such events, we know, are recorded in the 'Norden.' Well, we get the 'Norden' regularly every fortnight but of what use is it to me? All I can read is some of the advertisements. Why don't you have an English page for our benefit? Then we would support the 'Norden' right enough and with every great pleasure. And you, on your side, would very soon double the number of your subscribers.⁹⁹

To demonstrate the benefits of including English-language news in *Norden*, the article ended with a strong English-language description of the Scandinavian community's current activities. The editor's note asked for more people to voice their opinion concerning the benefits English language articles would have to *Norden* and its readership:

Having received several requests like the above from 'Onlooker' we deem it expedient to meet the desire and shall be pleased, if any Australian connected with the Scandinavian colony by marriage would let us know if they think the interest in an English page in 'Norden' would be great enough to ensure its continuance.¹⁰⁰

The fact that *Norden* stressed English as a way for the newspaper to "ensure its continuance" demonstrates the economic and survivalist concerns driving the adoption of English language articles. Over the following issues, English was slowly introduced into articles, especially those concerning female-organised events, such as the *Aarsfest* and club socials, which increasingly relied on Australian wives' input in both their organisation and participation.¹⁰¹ For instance, the details of the wedding of Consul P. Holdenson's eldest daughter Anna to an Australian, Mr. B. Dawson, was written in English to exemplify the future need to include both sides of Scandinavian-Australian families in *Norden*'s reportage, and the ability of local newspapers to lift articles of interest directly from *Norden* and report this to their

⁹⁷ 'From our own Circle', *Norden*, 1 May 1909, p. 8. "Onlooker" was probably another invented ruse by the editorial staff to introduce their desire to move closer towards English-language articles and the wider subscription base such a shift would encapsulate.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ The May 15 issue, for example, detailed in English for the first time an upcoming Danish Club function, and the *Aarsfest*, hoping to gain more support from those unable to previously read about these events. English advertisements were also dominant on this page, suggesting a wise business model for the shift. *Norden*, 15 May 1909, p. 9.

own readers.¹⁰² *Norden*'s early English pages also attempted to show the importance of English to the community in a light-hearted way. This included jokes and anecdotes that made use of translation to ease the community into a change that would move towards stronger goals of inclusivity and understanding between all members.¹⁰³

The idea was very well received by not only the English-speaking relatives of the community – both male and female¹⁰⁴ – but many of the older Scandinavians themselves.¹⁰⁵ To add weight to the argument for an English page, over 20 prominent Melbourne Scandinavians, including board members G. A. Hornemann and August Bing, and their families, also signed a petition which appeared in *Norden* on May 15 1909:

We the undersigned Scandinavians and relatives of Scandinavians hail with delight the prospect of an English Page in the 'Norden', where all local news concerning Our Own Circle may appear, thus enabling scores of Australians, who are affiliated with Scandinavians either by marriage or sentiment, to read, enjoy and appreciate same and thus profit themselves and the Scandinavian Colonies in Australia generally.¹⁰⁶

Accompanying the petition was another letter designed to push the issue, this time from "a perplexed mother" who wished to use *Norden* to learn more about her Danish husband's heritage, as for her it was important for her children's identity:

I always thought I was married to a Dane, and that my children were half Danes and half Australians. And I really felt quite proud of it too... But only a few weeks ago we had a visitor, such a horrible man, who told me that my husband was not a proper Dane at all, but only a Jutlander. Now this is a kind of Human I have never heard about in my born days before. And I don't know where I am. And I don't know what my children are. Poor little dears. I always fancied one of my girls resembles our sweet Queen Alexandra, and I thought it was only natural as they were both Danes, and now to find that my blessed children are only horrid Jutlanders after all.¹⁰⁷

In replying to the "perplexed mother" that Jutland was simply a part of Denmark, *Norden* argued that English could be a valuable tool for alleviating misunderstanding and foreigner fears within the wider community. In the process, the publication could also gain English-speaking readers who were interested and proud of their connections to the Scandinavian-Australian community but unable to read a Nordic language.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ 'Our English Page', *Norden*, 29 May 1909, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Not only were women drawn into *Norden* through the English page, but also Australian husbands who could now interact with their wives' community. In September 1909, Australian James Ley, who had married a Danish woman, was finally able to read some articles, and respond in kind, to the views expressed within them, such as Danish-Australian cultural comparisons. James Ley, 'Letter to Norden', *Norden*, 18 September 1909, p. 13.

¹⁰⁵ 'Petition of Support for Norden's English Page', *Norden*, 15 May 1909, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ 'Letter to Onlooker', *Norden*, 15 May 1909, p. 8.

Not all members of *Norden*'s readership were content with the Clausens' move to include English in the newspaper. Many concerned migrants felt that it weakened the publication's appeal to the most important segment of the readership – first-generation Scandinavians – and would eventually assist in the loss of homeland languages in favour of the dominant Australian tongue. At *Norden*'s general meeting on 1 June 1909, the English page was debated as both a help and hindrance to *Norden* and the Scandinavian community's goals.¹⁰⁸ Mr Wassard and A. Jacobsen opposed the move on patriotic grounds, arguing that capitulating to English was the first step in abandoning the customs and traditions that *Norden* had for so long championed. *Norden*, quite one-sided in its reportage, noted that:

Most bystanding gentlemen were of the opposite opinion, and however beautiful the principle ideal against the inclusion of an English Page in the newspaper, it was necessary to look at this issue from a 'business point of view'.¹⁰⁹

The Clausens were happy to debate this matter openly in order to strengthen community resolve through consensus-building and to avoid the alienation of any segment of its readership. But, they also reported the debate because, while in control of the community's publication, they held considerable power over what information reached the interested readership and could suitably sway public opinion. Clearly, they could emphasise in their reports the dwindling finances and the continuation of *Norden* as more important than the exclusion of English material, especially when verified by accountant and board member G. A. Hornemann, who supported the English page as a way to increase membership and funds.¹¹⁰ The issue was heated, but *Norden*'s editors tried to placate all involved by stating:

The arguments which recently have been proposed [for the English page] are weightier than the more abstract and sentimental arguments against patriotism, as well as some charity... [such ideas are] so beautiful and commendable that one cannot come to blows with the people who possess these qualities.¹¹¹

It was eventually decided that the editorial team, backed by the community leaders, would prevail over this important issue and, as such, the English page was continued indefinitely. From 12 June 1909, it was cemented within *Norden* as "Our English Page", a vital link between migrants and the surrounding English-speaking community. As Charts 1 and 2 in Appendix 1 indicates, this move also coincided with a steep jump in Australian and English-language advertisements in *Norden*, bolstering funds and making sure the English page was there to stay. To combat Scandinavians' own language loss and avoid alienating those who had agreed with Wassard and Jacobsen, *Norden* also printed Danish-language exercises in the following issues, arguing that, while English was an important complement, it would not replace the Scandinavian mother-tongues of the ethnic community.¹¹² The older Scandinavian migrants and their needs were not to be forgotten by these shifts and this is where Hans Clausen's involvement was paramount.

¹⁰⁸ 'From our own Circle', *Norden*, 12 June 1909, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² 'Our Mother Tongue', *Norden*, 10 December 1901, p. 10.

As well as Olga Clausen's influence in women's networks and introducing *Norden* to a wider audience, Hans Clausen was responsible for maintaining the older, established demographic of male migrant reader and ensuring that *Norden* dealt with their needs. As an older established migrant himself, he had strong views on a range of issues affecting the Scandinavian migrant community and he was not afraid to be outspoken or controversial. Here, Hans's influence and the desire for more robust discussions pushed *Norden* to lift Lyng's earlier ban on religious and political controversies, as Henry Olsen noted in 1906:

Norden will not run in any particular political or religious direction, but this does not of course mean that politics and religion are excluded from its columns, for precisely the issue in question are all for the higher or lower degree.¹¹³

During the Clausens' editorship, *Norden* grew as an interaction-based medium and relied heavily on input from all migrants to fill its pages – ultimately to give the reader a greater sense of inclusion in the newspaper and, by proxy, a voice within the wider Scandinavian-Australian community. But this also created conflict between readers that Lyng had so assiduously tried to avoid. For example, Hans sparked a long-running debate with several of his fellow migrants when he wrote an opinion piece for the newspaper, titled "Anglophobia" in May 1910.¹¹⁴ Arguing that anti-foreigner sentiment towards Scandinavian migrants in Australia was the result of a larger problem that centred on the dominant British culture's own arrogant contempt for all non-British peoples, Clausen attempted to make his community aware of volatile issues worth discussing, especially when they affected his Scandinavian readership's experiences in Australia.¹¹⁵ The article caused two other readers, Carl A. Danielsen and H. Christesen, to strongly debate with Clausen over the issue, with Danielsen in particular arguing that "in no other country outside our own, would we enjoy better treatment or more freedom than in sunny Australia".¹¹⁶ In another series of letters that began in April 1910, the prospects for future Scandinavian immigration was also debated between Western Australian sheep farmer V. B. Clausen and Melbourne's August Bing, after the former took offense at the latter's comments concerning the poor state of Scandinavian migration and the recent discouraging actions of anti-immigration campaigner, Sydney's Consul Mörner.¹¹⁷ In Bing's opinion, Count Mörner had been right to discourage future Swedish migrants to Australia at the time, acting:

As a true representative of the Swedish nation, warning his countrymen to beware of glowingly written pamphlets full of clap-trap and half truths; explaining to them the unsatisfactory state of local land laws that enable a comparatively few squatters and banks

¹¹³ Henry Olsen, cited in *Norden*, 26 May 1906, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Hans Clausen, 'Anglophobia', *Norden*, 28 May 1910, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ Ultimately, Clausen brought up the idea of the national question, and how the emphasis on British Australia was having negative impacts on the freedoms and ability for foreigners to live happily in Australia. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Carl Danielsen, 'Letter from Carl A. Danielsen, Farina, 29.6.10', *Norden*, 23 July 1910, p.13; H. Christesen, 'Letter from H. Christesen, Canterbury 6.6.10', *Norden*, 25 June 1910, p. 11; Carl Danielsen, 'Letter from Carl A. Danielsen, Farina, 30.7.10', *Norden*, 20 August 1910, p. 13.

¹¹⁷ August Bing, 'To the Editor of Norden', *Norden*, 30 April 1910, p. 10; V. B. Clausen, 'Letter from V. B. Clausen', *Norden*, 25 June 1910, pp. 11-12; August Bing, 'Letter from August Bing', *Norden*, 6 August 1910, p. 13.

(holding millions of acres) to bar people from getting access to the soil, sowing the seed and reaping the harvest, thus stopping closer settlement, the main key to prosperity. Mr Clausen writes about the happy way they are doing things in the West, quite a little Paradise, where a stout heart and a brawny arm are sufficient to secure you both land and money to improve it... for my own part I advise any countryman thinking of coming out here – “Don’t be in a hurry. Walk slowly. Wait and see.”¹¹⁸

A consequent war of words erupted over the next few issues between the pair, but the fact that two Scandinavians in very different locales and positions were able to debate in this fashion made *Norden* a significant forum for the widespread Scandinavian-Australian community. In one letter, C. A. Danielsen even heatedly joked that if Hans Clausen were to leave the city, perhaps his ideas would not be so muddled, emphasising *Norden*’s ability to allow city and country migrants an equal forum.¹¹⁹ Importantly, printing these opinions, especially those criticisms of the editorial team or metropolitan leaders, demonstrated the sense of equality and voice that *Norden* allowed its readers to challenge the content being produced, no matter their position, nor location, across Australia. Indeed, as Hans Clausen remarked:

I sincerely wish that a much larger percentage of our subscribers would show the same interest that [Mr Danielsen] does in the topics discussed in our columns. Every question has at least two sides to it... and one of the reasons of this paper’s existence is to debate topics of general interest, and get the different opinions of its supporters and well-wishers.¹²⁰

Hans Clausen becomes *Norden*’s Editor

By 1911, *Norden* had changed significantly in focus and content. In just a few short years, a newspaper that had previously concentrated on an audience of established and largely male upper-class Scandinavians had taken on new levels of identification involving the wider community. Instead of it being a historical vehicle aimed at this older Scandinavian migrant market, a more Australian and community-orientated atmosphere started to develop within *Norden*’s readership. A strong sense of family and communal sharing was brought about by these changes, but the newspaper also continued to include a large amount of material written by Lyng and Hans Clausen, connecting it to its roots and ensuring that the ‘old guard’ of readers were not lost as paying subscribers.

After several years editing the newspaper and making bold changes to its format and audience, Olga Clausen decided abruptly to return to Denmark in early 1911. Even though a temporary migrant from the outset, she had struggled between her love for Denmark and that of Australia. “It’s like my heart is split in two!” she lamented

¹¹⁸ August Bing, ‘To the Editor of Norden’, *Norden*, 30 April 1910, p. 10.

¹¹⁹ Danielsen noted that although “H.A.C [Hans Clausen] has in his time lived in the country, I am still of the opinion that he has of late been cramped up too much in cities and got his mind clogged somewhat with their poisonous gasses... Ask Jens Lyng if he is not twice the man bodily and mentally since he kicked the office-stool from under him and went to his forrest [sic] home in the mountains!”. Carl Danielsen, ‘Letter from Carl A. Danielsen, Farina, 30.7.10’, *Norden*, 23 July 1910, p. 13.

¹²⁰ Hans Clausen, *Norden*, 23 July 1910, p. 13.

before departing, leaving the newspaper, her family, and the community to return to the homeland.¹²¹ In April 1911, *Norden* acknowledged her efforts to the newspaper's continued success, noting that:

...in these 5 years subscriptions have grown steadily, printing has become easier, the paper has taken a more convenient form, the language has become clearer [*renere*], [there are] fewer printing mistakes, and we dare to believe, that the content also from year to year has gained in value.¹²²

Like Lyng before her, Clausen's energy and ability to adapt the newspaper to the changing needs of her readership marked her editorial period as one of hard-fought progress. "She gave herself, what she could," continued the tribute, "and knew how to arouse others' compassion for her 'small' friends in the community".¹²³ To thank her for her service to *Norden*, a group of gentlemen gathered on 13 March 1911 and opened a subscription as a gift, which took the form of a purse of sovereigns. Ten pounds were collected immediately, and a call was sent out to other clubs to do the same.¹²⁴ Clausen herself was taken aback by the kind farewell from the wider community, many of whom she had not met but were linked through *Norden*'s community of networked readership: "As my work at *Norden* now ceases and I go home to Denmark," she wrote in March 1911, "I would like to say farewell to the newspaper's subscribers and thank you for the friendship that so many, known and unknown, have shown me".¹²⁵ Clausen then looked to the future to ensure her departure was not the end of the newspaper, by commenting on the need for continued connection amongst the scattered Scandinavians:

I will ask [*Norden*'s readers] to let this kindness go over to my brother, who so far remains with the newspaper, and I pray together that *Norden*'s friends support him, for example by sending messages from the region where they live. By such cooperation will we surely manage to keep our little connections up. Goodbye and thank you.¹²⁶

However, on her return to Denmark, Olga Clausen's support for *Norden* continued. When Bing travelled back to Scandinavia shortly after her, the pair organised a fundraising concert in Copenhagen, where they were able to increase awareness and funding for the newspaper.¹²⁷ Lyng even stated that "the Crown Prince, the later King Frederik VIII, granted his patronage, and both from the financial and the artistic point of view, the venture was a success."¹²⁸ It is unknown how much money, if any, this patronage actually generated, as it is surprisingly not mentioned in *Norden* and could have been Lyng's embellishment of the situation. Regardless, Olga left Hans and Esther Clausen to run *Norden* alone until 1913.¹²⁹

¹²¹ 'Miss Olga Clausen', *Norden*, 1 April 1911, p. 1.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Norden*, 18 March 1911, p. 9.

¹²⁵ 'From our own Circle', *Norden*, 18 March 1911, p. 8.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

With Olga Clausen retiring to Denmark in April 1911, Hans Clausen took over *Norden's* production and, in his own fashion, began to shape the newspaper by returning to the predominant concerns of his dwindling first-generation readership. By early 1912, even *The Bulletin* had become aware of the importance of *Norden* as a social connector and way for migrants to remain linked to Scandinavia:

One of the curiosities of the Australian inky way... the 'Norden' is a fortnightly newsletter, very handy for the hardy Norsemen to drop into the post to tell the old fjord how the new world is treating Oscar and Olaf and Martha and little Thyra.¹³⁰

While *The Bulletin* could not differentiate between the various Scandinavian nationalities that constituted *Norden's* readership, noting them all as "hardy Norsemen" in a way conducive to Lyng's original predisposition of a united pan-Scandinavian readership, Hans Clausen was notable in his subtle encouragement of Danish identifications – primarily through his calls to refresh the community through further Danish immigration prior to the outbreak of World War I. As a result, Hans Clausen's editorial reign, though brief, instigated the abandonment of *Norden's* pan-Scandinavian ideals in favour of the promotion of Danish-Australian identifications, which would grow to dominate later editors' concerns.

During 1912-1913, *Norden* was not only brought to the attention of *The Bulletin* but, more significantly, to that of the Victorian government, which saw the newspaper as an important advertising medium in promoting future migration from the Nordic countries to Australia.¹³¹ The move to encourage greater Victorian immigration of Scandinavians in these years was due to the efforts of both Lyng and Frederick William Hagelthorn, honorary minister in charge of immigration, who was himself the son of a Swedish goldminer and member of Melbourne's Danish Club.¹³² An advocate for the opening of Crown Lands for settlement, particularly the Mallee, he was known as "a man of great persuasive influence who sought not plaudits but results".¹³³ With the anti-immigration campaigner Consul Mörner being recalled to Sweden permanently in August 1910, the time seemed right for further attempts to gain desired migrants from the Nordic region.¹³⁴

In December 1912, *Norden* embarked on a strategy to further its market share through an enticing and more expensive-styled publication. The regular December issue experimented with a new format which emphasised large photographs across a special, six-page spread to provide information about Australia's Scandinavian community, its notable personalities and its history. Written by Lyng, the section, 'Scandinavian and Nordic Culture in Australia', explained the significant

¹³⁰ 'The Bulletin', 25 January 1912, cited in *Norden*, 3 February 1912, p. 3.

¹³¹ Lyng also states that *Norden* gained backing from the Commonwealth Government as well, but no evidence exists to support this: "These governments subsidised elaborately got up and highly illustrated issues in which Australia was depicted as the land of promise for young men and women from the Scandinavian countries". Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹³² 'Some of the leading members in Melbourne's Danish Association', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 11.

¹³³ J. W. Graham, 'Hagelthorn, Frederick William (1864-1943)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1983, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hagelthorn-frederick-william-6517> (Accessed 3/07/2013).

¹³⁴ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

contributions of Scandinavian migrants to Australian development, in particular Australian cultural advancement. As Lyng concluded:

It is plain to see that the Scandinavians in Australia can 'hold their own' in many directions more than others... and the children follow in their parents' footsteps. Australia's most talented and popular scenic artist, Oscar Asche, is the son of a Northman, as is the greatest scribe, Henry Lawson, while another, Edward Sørensen, is of Danish descent. Several outstanding politicians, for example Jensen from Tasmania, Hagelthorn, etc, are sons of Scandinavian parents.¹³⁵

In mentioning Hagelthorn himself here, noting him alongside Lawson and Asche as all second-generation Scandinavians who had accomplished great feats for their new homeland, the political ramifications of Lyng's promotional material were made clear.¹³⁶ This was followed with a special *Julnummer* [Christmas issue], also in December 1912, which continued to stress the importance of future Scandinavians to Australian shores. As well as wishing a *Glaedelig Jul* [Merry Christmas] to their fellow compatriots, the issue included another large illustrated supplement titled in Danish, 'How to become a farmer in Australia', specifically targeting would-be emigrants.¹³⁷ Detailing important information for farmers, such as maps, land use, crop yields, export statistics as well as important migration contacts in London, the issue contrasted photographs of flocks of Merino sheep against '*Hjemlig*' [Homely] scenes to entice more Scandinavians to leave the homelands and increase the readership's failing community through a new wave of immigration.¹³⁸

In March 1913, *Norden* pushed the immigration issue even further, with the English page focusing on an excerpt from Lyng's earlier book *The Scandinavians in Australasia* that drove the idea of similarity and ease of assimilation of such migrants into Australian society, as well as their ability to cope with the migration experience:

The Scandinavians have always been considered some of the most desirable colonists in British possessions. Put an Englishman and a Scandinavian alongside each other, and except for the Englishman having his pants turned up, you are not able to tell which is which. Nor do they differ much in culture, in mode of living, in intellectual aspirations. Their religious creed is one and their languages that closely related that a Scandinavian after two months stay in Australia will know sufficient English to take care of himself.¹³⁹

Most importantly, *Norden*'s March issue included another large illustrated supplement, this time entitled '*Victoria: Australiens Have*' [Victoria: Australia's Garden].¹⁴⁰ In a similar style to the earlier Christmas issue, *Norden* provided maps and images, coupled with important costs, crops and benefits associated with encouraging Scandinavian farmers to move onto the land in Victoria. With Hagelthorn's backing, *Norden* informed and then sold the idea of Scandinavian migrants taking up Victorian Crownland for whatever farming purpose they desired:

¹³⁵ 'Scandinavian and Nordic Culture in Australia', *Norden*, December 1912, p. 15.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ 'How to become a farmer in Australia', *Norden*, December *Julnummer* 1912, pp. 3-9.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹³⁹ Jens Lyng, 'An Extract from The Scandinavians in Australasia', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 32.

¹⁴⁰ 'Victoria: Australia's Garden', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, pp. 4-13.

In most places parcelled land is sold to the desiring settler, and then he can go into crop farming, dairy farming, mixed farming or fruit growing, depending on the soil type and location, really on the new settler's own whim... Payment takes place either in 20 or 40 year equal instalments, so that year one pays either 5 percent or 2.5 percent, and no interest on the purchase amount. After 6 years, and after you have done some improvements and lived on his land or in its immediate vicinity, you will be granted the deed, ie, to become self-owner, with all the self-owner entitlements, only with the state as the first priority. Any person over 18 years can buy land from the State.¹⁴¹

The issue also tried to convince potential migrants of the availability of work for them upon arrival and, as such, included pages of letters to the editor from successful Scandinavian readers. Following these letters, *Norden* drew prospective immigrants directly to the contact details of shipping companies and the costs involved in the voyage, both via Cape Town or through the Suez Canal.¹⁴² Emphasising the economic benefits available in Victoria and the ease in which work and rapid promotion could be attained, a recent migrant, Niels Jörgen Hansen, wrote:

Mr Editor! I... came to Victoria just over two years ago. I travelled first to the country, where I got work on a farm for 18 Crowns per week plus food and accommodation. Here I was for five months before I was offered a job on another farm digging potatoes where I could earn about 10 Crowns per day. I then travelled to Melbourne where I wanted to live, and found employment as a polisher in Wertheims grand piano factory where I have been since with a weekly wage of three Pounds (54 Crowns). As a whole I like the Victorians and have no regrets that I came here.¹⁴³

Another migrant, gardener C. Höyer, explained that after arriving on 22 October 1911, he had worked on a farm earning good wages for six months before becoming the head gardener of the Austrian consul in Melbourne. He too remarked that he “has no reason to regret that I came to Victoria”.¹⁴⁴ Dane Kay W. Frandsen similarly wrote that, after gaining employment at a sheep station in Puckawidgee, he had been very happy economically:

Life here is a little quiet and monotonous, but otherwise I find myself well and suited perfectly to the climate. One of the benefits of this country is that you have a perfect opportunity to save money. It is only 2 years since I came to Australia, and I've already put 595 Crowns in the bank, sent 250 Crowns home to Denmark and next week I will send another major amount to the old country.¹⁴⁵

Reassuring prospective female immigrants that the English language was not difficult to master and that they would “soon pick it up”, Christine Mikkelsen agreed with her male counterparts that:

¹⁴¹ ‘Crownland in Australia’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 13.

¹⁴² ‘How one can come to Australia’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 14.

¹⁴³ Niels Jörgen Hansen, ‘Letter to Norden’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 14. Crowns (Kronor) are Danish currency, used to place the Australian earnings in comparison with those back home.

¹⁴⁴ C. Höyer, ‘To the editor of Norden’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 14.

¹⁴⁵ Kay W. Frandsen, ‘Letter to Norden’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 14.

My impression of Australia is that the living conditions are definitely better here than at home. Here it feels as if there are... better opportunities in all ways to be an autonomous, independent, person who does not have to be afraid of how they will earn their subsistence.¹⁴⁶

Over the following issues, *Norden's* editor reported the illustrated supplement's success in promoting the Scandinavian-Australian community to the world. Melbourne newspapers, such as *The Argus*, noted the international campaign and Hagelthorn's involvement in spreading *Norden* overseas:

Arrangements have been made for the distribution of an illustrated supplement to 'Norden', published by the Australian Scandinavian Newspaper Company. The special issue contains numerous illustrations and articles on land settlement in Victoria. It is hoped that subscribers will send copies to friends, and the Minister has procured 5000 for distribution. Most of them will be forwarded to the agent in Copenhagen to dispose of as he thinks best. In reviewing the immigrants who arrived during 1912, the Minister (Mr Hagelthorn) remarked that the few Danish and Scandinavian farm labourers whom the State had succeeded in obtaining stood out in striking contrast to those secured in Great Britain.¹⁴⁷

Despite the concerted efforts of *Norden* and the Victorian government, the scheme failed to recruit the desired stream of fresh immigrants from Scandinavia that the readership required for community revitalisation. Immigration agents in Sweden especially continued to receive a hostile reception and the outbreak of war squashed any chance of the program recruiting migrants over a longer period.¹⁴⁸ Koivukangas notes specifically that "the total result of the Victorian immigration scheme was only a few dozen young Danish farmers settling mainly in the irrigation districts".¹⁴⁹ It was a far cry from the needed number to refresh the community further than the Clausens had already managed.

While *Norden's* encouragement of further Scandinavian migration during 1912-1913 failed to captivate the large numbers of prospective Danish farmers as was primarily intended, it was most significant in luring the Fischmanns, a Danish family with strong ties to Copenhagen's newspaper industry, to Melbourne. The Fischmanns would prove a valuable lifeline for *Norden* in the ensuing years, especially as an overburdened Hans Clausen looked to leave the editor's position.¹⁵⁰ Reacting to the rising sense of Danishness and fragmentation of the Scandinavian-Australian community, the Fischmanns' patriarch Carl would eventually take over editorship of *Norden* and steer the newspaper towards more nationality-driven identifications.

¹⁴⁶ Christine Mikkelsen, 'Letter to Norden', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 14.

¹⁴⁷ *The Argus*, 1 March 1913, cited in *Norden*, 29 March 1913, p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ The editorial period of Carl Fischmann, who was one of the few Danish migrants to arrive as a result of chain migration following *Norden's* encouragement and his sons' earlier migration to Victoria, is discussed fully in Chapter 6.

In December 1912, 19 year-old Paul Fischmann and his 25 year-old brother Carl arrived in Melbourne with ten other Danish immigrants.¹⁵¹ Similar to the earlier experiences of migrants focused on the Scandinavian-Australian newspaper industry, such as Corfitz Cronqvist and Jens Lyng, the Fischmann brothers were initially very enthusiastic about their future prospects in Victoria.¹⁵² Paul noted in a letter to *Norden* in 1914 that “it was with peculiar feelings that we 12 Danes set foot on Australian ground, and expectations about the future were high”.¹⁵³ However, he also recalled the subtle sense of alienation that he felt in Melbourne upon his arrival, and the strange glances given to the group by “native Australians” made it particularly clear to the hopeful troupe of Danes that non-British migrants – even white continental Europeans – were not completely welcome.¹⁵⁴ Fortunately, the group found a source of continued connection to their recently departed homeland, as well as the invaluable assistance of Hans Clausen, when the Fischmann party stumbled upon *Norden*’s office:

On one of our trips we went through King Street, and great was our enthusiasm as we, in a store window, read: ‘**Norden**’, **Danish Journal**’ with big, bold letters. In vain I tried the handle, but there was only a keyhole, through which I discovered a man who almost filled the entire room, so we went in there... Opening the door, a big smiling face appeared in the doorway.¹⁵⁵

The meeting of the Fischmanns with *Norden*’s editor Hans Clausen was an inspirational moment for the young migrants. Paul Fischmann noted that Clausen enthusiastically assisted them by providing information regarding consular services and Scandinavian business contacts, and evoked an overall encouragement for their success in Australia. This corresponds to Gilson and Zubrzycki’s ideas about foreign-language press offices, such as *Norden*, having a range of vital functions for the community, including recruitment of new migrants to the social fabric, finding employment and providing communication channels.¹⁵⁶ As Clausen said to them as they left his office, ‘Yes, if it goes damned well for you, you will probably be millionaires before me, ha ha!’.¹⁵⁷ In quite a jocular tone, Clausen was quite frank to the group that while their fortunes might indeed be within reach in this new land,

¹⁵¹ The group arrived about the *Demosthenes*. Public Records Office Victoria, *Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923*, http://prov.vic.gov.au/search_results?searchid=23&format=freetext&FamilyName=fischmann&GivenName=&Ship=&Month=0&Monthto=0&Year=0&Year=0&SearchSortField1=&SearchSortField2=&SearchRecords=50&x=31&y=32 (Accessed 24/08/2013); Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939, p. 65.

¹⁵² Paul Fischmann, ‘The First 14 Days in Australia’, *Norden*, 14 November 1914, p. 15.

¹⁵³ So high, in fact, that the troupe went directly to a bar to relieve the intense heat of the December day, a poignant reminder that their new home was a very foreign landscape and so different from Denmark. *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ This was perhaps a reflection of the growing anti-foreigner sentiment that would become prevalent in Australia during World War I, which was occurring at the time of Paul Fischmann’s reminiscences of 1914. *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that even at this time, *Norden* was noting a growing Danish identity through such signage, which suggests that pan-Scandinavianism was already declining under Hans Clausen. *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *The Foreign-language Press in Australia 1848-1964*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1967, p. 165.

¹⁵⁷ Paul Fischmann, ‘The First 14 Days in Australia’, *Norden*, 14 November 1914, p. 15.

financial problems were a more frequent reality for even established migrants, as *Norden*'s own struggles continually emphasised.

Shortly after the Fischmann brothers had arrived and found work in Melbourne, thanks in large part to *Norden*'s office acting as a social point and employment agency for new migrants, the newspaper did indeed begin to struggle once more as Hans Clausen sought to leave the newspaper. In March 1913, Olga returned from Denmark permanently but did not re-join the editorial team.¹⁵⁸ Financially, the board (See Plate 11) also sought to reorganise *Norden*'s production as it was still ineffective at balancing its costs, let alone making a profit. While retaining Hans Clausen as editor, during early 1914 the committee attempted to transfer the newspaper's production to the control of local printer O. Petersen, who was of Danish heritage and also employed Paul Fischmann as a compositor and linotype operator.¹⁵⁹ According to Koivukangas and Martin, while Petersen "took over the technical side of the production of *Norden*... [Paul Fischmann] became editor with help of Hans Clausen".¹⁶⁰ These changes were largely unworkable and costly, and brought *Norden* close to collapse.¹⁶¹ By May 1914, cracks in *Norden*'s management had become apparent, and Jens Lyng, as a committee member, wrote to *Norden* stating that Hans Clausen "has retired from our newspaper after being attached to it for eight years, the first five years along with his sister, the last three years alone with the business. As a reason for this move, he indicated that he feels it is time for a change".¹⁶²

Lyng blamed Hans Clausen's resignation on continued economic difficulties faced by the newspaper and the sheer emotional drain that the position foisted upon many of *Norden*'s incumbent editors:

Of course, the production of a newspaper is connected with quite a few worries. The technical side has its difficulties to overcome, especially if you are not a compositor, and although the editorial difficulties of a small journal such as *Norden* might seem small, they are present in an excessive degree. Our newspaper holds a wide position and attempts to fit all sorts of philosophy of life, and because

¹⁵⁸ Olga re-entered Australia on the *Osterley* in March 1913, under the name Emily Olga Clausen. Given the growing tensions within Europe in the lead up to World War I, it was perhaps wise for Olga to invert her middle name in this way, and avoid the foreigner stigma her Danish name suggested. She would use Emily as her first name for the rest of her life, except when writing to *Norden*. Public Records Office Victoria, *Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923*, http://prov.vic.gov.au/search_results?searchid=23&format=freetext&FamilyName=clausen&GivenName=emily&Ship=&Month=0&Monthto=0&Year=0&Yearto=0&SearchSortField1=&SearchSortField2=&SearchRecords=50&x=0&y=0 (Accessed 20/07/2013); 'No 23648/63; 'Death certificate of Emily Olga Clausen', *Deaths in the State of Victoria*, Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 15 November 1963.

¹⁵⁹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁶⁰ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹⁶¹ Jens Lyng did not state exactly why he believed this arrangement to be unworkable, but given Clausen's ensuing abrupt resignation and the quick change from Petersen/Fischmann to yet another editor, this is probably the case. Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁶² Jens Lyng, 'H. Clausen', *Norden*, 8 May 1914, p. 1.

its reading public is like a big family, [it is easy for] one to either say too little or too much.¹⁶³

The empathic Lyng stood by Clausen's decision to leave, noting that he was the type who possessed "the family's artistic temperament for whom the rule-bound is unnatural... these kinds of people are hard to get squeezed into the general form of society with its labyrinth of rules".¹⁶⁴ Clausen was, as such, unsuited to dealing with *Norden's* economic dilemmas. He was also now 55 years old. Clausen, stressed to breaking point and unable to deal with the changes afoot, was believed by Lyng to have given everything he had to the newspaper, even giving "away a happy heart... despondent and bitter in soul he [now] hurls one's reproach to the world".¹⁶⁵ When another qualified editor was finally located, the emotionally-drained Clausen sought refuge away from the publication:

It is a fact that the position of *Norden's* publisher and editor have never been properly paid. The love of the national cause has not been lacking from either Clausen or his patriotic, devoted and talented wife... Clausen has said several times in all seriousness, 'I'll stay at *Norden*, so long as I have no better man; the moment one comes along, I am willing to go!'¹⁶⁶

Hans Clausen's resignation did not, however, signal the end of the Clausen family's support for *Norden*, nor the surrounding Scandinavian community. While not resuming her place within *Norden's* editorial team upon her return from Denmark in March 1913, Olga Clausen became active in the organisation of Scandinavian community events alongside her sister-in-law Esther. Like Lyng, they continued to help promote Scandinavian-Australian social interests indirectly for the rest of their lives. Hans Clausen also continued to contribute articles to *Norden* in the ensuing years, such as a series of 'Australian Fairy Tales'.¹⁶⁷ He died on 23 February 1929 after a long illness.¹⁶⁸ Almost twenty years after renouncing her editorship, Olga could still be found writing to *Norden*, informing the wider community of the Danish Club's involvement in an upcoming international parade through Melbourne's streets to celebrate the city's centenary and promote migrant representation.¹⁶⁹ Even then, the 68 year-old Olga continued to champion the second generation and their links to both Denmark and their new homeland, Australia:

The Danish part of the procession opens with a large *Dannebrog* [Danish Flag], the bearer being one of Consul Holdenson's sons. Denmark is represented by a lovely young lady, born Ellen Geisness,

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Much of *Norden's* later cultural material, in terms of poetry and fiction, was supplied direct from the community of migrants, such as Hans Clausen, and remarkably expressed the changing attitudes of these migrants to their Australian homeland as traditional Scandinavian-themed material were slowly replaced – or reappropriated – into new forms, such as bush poetry and stories. This subject requires more research. See, for example, Hans Clausen, 'Australian Fairy Tales,' *Norden*, 23 December 1922, pp.7-8.

¹⁶⁸ 'Deaths: Clausen' *The Argus*, 2 March 1929, p. 13.

¹⁶⁹ Olga Clausen, 'Victoria's Birthday', *Norden*, 22 September 1934, p. 4.

the beautiful part being that while born here and never having been to Denmark, speaks Danish as if she had lived her entire life there.¹⁷⁰

For Olga, at least, involvement of the second generation and the inclusion of both Danish and Australian aspects of migrant identity had become very important in ensuring community organisations and the very idea of migrant heritage and difference continued to be useful to *Norden's* changing readership. Olga died in Castlemaine, Victoria, on 5 November 1963, aged 97.¹⁷¹

During the short window between 1906 and the outbreak of World War I, Olga, Hans and Esther Clausen were instrumental in transforming *Norden* from a pan-Scandinavian and largely first-generation men's newspaper into an Australian-Scandinavian community noticeboard capable of encouraging ethnic continuity through wider societal inclusion. The Clausens attempted to revitalise the newspaper and its readership through a greater establishment and reporting of women's networks, the move to include family members through an increasing amount of English language articles, and the efforts of *Norden* to attract more migrants to the developing Australian nation while refreshing the shrinking first-generation population. The markedly different immigrant experiences of the Clausens allowed one family of cultured and elite Scandinavian-Australians to embody many aspects of the very inclusive audience they were trying to reach. This was the reason for their growth and relative successes during the period. Ultimately, the years, 1906-1913, characterised *Norden's* struggle to create a sense of generational continuity amongst its readership, revitalising the newspaper's activities and attempting to ethnicise the families of the first generation. But, it also indicated, especially under Hans Clausen, the growing Danish dominance within the newspaper's organisation and the decline of *Norden's* founding pan-Scandinavian ethos, while its readership continued to assimilate into mainstream Australian society. With the outbreak of World War I and yet another new editor taking hold of the institution, *Norden's* viability would be tested even further.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ 'No 23648/63: Death certificate of Emily Olga Clausen', *Deaths in the State of Victoria*, Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 15 November 1963.

Chapter 6

A THREATENED READERSHIP: CARL FISCHMANN, 1914-1924

As war spread across Europe in late 1914, the global implications of such a conflict were not lost on *Norden*'s distant readership. In August 1914 the newspaper reported that the unfolding crisis posed a particular threat to continued Scandinavian co-operation and, by proxy, a threat to the inclusive nature of *Norden* itself:

No Scandinavian can stand indifferent in the face of this situation. There is unfortunately no doubt that the crisis at home is difficult in the highest degree. Denmark, whose independence in recent times has been assured in a brutal and demonstrative manner... has still been threatened and gagged, and stands in a difficult position. Sweden, due to fear of Russia, has recently moved closer to Germany, and even though there may be no alliance between the two countries, so strong is the common fear of Russia that it will probably link these two powers together. Norway and Denmark resort to strict neutrality.¹

While the Scandinavian nations resolved to avoid any direct involvement in World War I, remaining genuinely neutral would prove difficult. As Byron Nordstrom notes, "for varying reasons the actual policies, actions, and attitudes of each of the Nordic countries tilted towards one side or the other or were steered towards partiality by external and internal realities" as the war progressed and, as such, ideas of unified co-operation between the Nordic nations suffered considerably.² The complexities of Nordic neutrality also made it increasingly troublesome for distant Scandinavian overseas outposts – such as *Norden*'s migrant communities in Australia – to follow their homelands' responses to the war, leading to a period of disillusionment within *Norden*'s once united, macro-national readership. The crisis in Europe was perhaps most significant in articulating to *Norden*'s audience that the conflict would effectively erase many sentiments of pan-Scandinavian co-operation both in the Nordic homelands and within their own Australian communities, resulting in a period of nationalised Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and, increasingly, Australian identifications – all the while threatening *Norden*'s founding principle that "strength lay in unity".³

Even before the outbreak of war, nationalised groupings of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians had become the norm in Australia, and even these national groups had

¹ 'European War has now Broken Out!', *Norden*, 8 August 1914, p. 7.

² Byron Nordstrom, *Scandinavian since 1500*, Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, pp. 258-259.

³ MS, State Library of Victoria: Microfilm 8437, Reel No. 2 (May 1902- December 1906), 24 December 1904. Loose Wall Calendar for 1905, included as an unpaginated flyer within *Norden*'s 24 December 1904 issue.

become weak outposts of ethnic expression. Many had also shown increased signs of Australianisation, such as Melbourne's Danish Club *Dannebrog*.⁴ Yet, the war would exacerbate these issues even further. The rallying themes of cultural similarity and macro-national co-operation that had pervaded the Scandinavian-Australian clubs, associations, churches and migrant publications of the nineteenth century would finally unravel as the conflict escalated, until *Norden* was the only institution still arguing for Scandinavian solidarity, at least for a time:

Despite these difficult conditions, it is our assurance and our hope, that our kinsmen [*brödrefolkene*] in Scandinavia may now be seen as brothers still, and that no evil shall come and destroy what naturally belongs together.⁵

While *Norden* espoused encouraging sentiments of pan-Scandinavian co-operation in the opening weeks of the conflict, the next five years of hardship decimated the newspaper's united readership to the point of collapse. A new Danish editor's attempts to steer *Norden* through a tense wartime period were characterised by threats to *Norden*'s continued survival as an inclusive, macro-nationally focused immigrant publication, especially as heightened Danish-Australian identifications within *Norden*'s Melbourne community prior to World War I resulted in the fragmentation of its pan-Scandinavian readership. Limiting his shrinking community's interactions with a wider and more openly hostile Australian society through a reduction in English-language material and a greater promotion of Danish news above all else, Carl Fischmann kept *Norden* functioning in the face of such dire circumstances – but he would exit the war as the editor of a predominantly Danish-Australian publication.⁶

Importantly, the Scandinavian-Australian community's responses to the war demonstrate the complex and evolving nature of their own identities at a pivotal point in *Norden*'s history. The involvement of many Scandinavian settlers in the Australian armed forces – including Fischmann's own sons – is examined to explain the erosion of many migrants' sense of cultural differentiation between themselves and their Australian comrades, which in turn limited their need for *Norden* as a migrant-focused publication after their return home. Coupled with the negative effects of a financially barren, antagonistic home front and an abrupt halt to future migration prospects, the government-endorsed vilification of ethnic minorities on the Australian home front enforced a much stronger societal emphasis on British-Australian racial and cultural homogeneity, shaking the very foundations of the pluralist foreign-language press in favour of migrant assimilation.⁷ Despite seeking greater inclusion within Australian society, World War I's focus on British-Australian racial exclusivity saw the open destruction of many non-British white communities by those who saw security and similarity as more important than diversity and distinctiveness. Furthermore, these exclusionary ideas continued to

⁴ Olavi Koivukangas, 'Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II' PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974, pp. 209-221.

⁵ 'European War has now Broken Out!', *Norden*, 8 August 1914, p. 7.

⁶ Carl Fischmann would remain editor for much of World War I and the interwar period, from 1913 to 1924 and then again from 1931 to 1940.

⁷ Ann Curthoys, 'History and Identity', in Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton (eds) *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History*, St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp. 27-28.

exacerbate negative societal views of non-British migration well into the post-war period. Barely surviving the negative implications of World War I, the post-war economic recovery acted to reinvigorate feelings of hope amongst those Scandinavians who had not yet abandoned *Norden* as a site for united ethnic community maintenance. A turning-point in terms of global history, 1914 to 1924 was a period of dramatic modernisation that forever changed the composition, goals and outlook of *Norden*'s shrinking community. Wartime developments conspired to destroy pan-Scandinavian solidarity in favour of a remnant Danish identity, which in turn paled in significance to the war-forged sense of the Australian national spirit and character that would, in the interwar period, lead to the decline of both *Norden* and its culturally distinct Scandinavian-Australian community.

Heightened Danish-Australian sentimentalities prior to 1914

The decade prior to the outbreak of World War I marked a considerable change in the composition, social status and geographic location of Scandinavian-Australian migrant communities,⁸ crucial factors in *Norden*'s ability both to retain interested subscribers and maintain pan-Scandinavian sentimentalities into the wartime period.⁹ By the 1911 Census, *Norden*'s migrant readership was already in decline, as the total Scandinavian-born population in Australia dropped from the 1891 peak of 16,524 to 14,833 – a downward trend that would continue for the next 50 years and greatly limit *Norden*'s capabilities in maintaining viable subscriber numbers.¹⁰

In terms of retaining *Norden*'s united metropolitan readership, class disparity was becoming an issue as migrant readers became further uninterested in *Norden*'s elitist and irrelevant patriotic underpinnings. Most noticeable amongst Melbourne's Danes, Koivukangas notes a strong shift in occupational distribution towards higher-paid trades in professional, industrial and commercial fields at this time, whereas their Swedish and Norwegian counterparts more generally remained in lower-class and lower-paid occupations.¹¹ Class disparity became increasingly prevalent between not only rural and city migrants – as it had been shown during Hans Clausen's arguments with rural subscribers – but within the city population itself. Not everyone, it seemed, had the time, money or interest in promoting ethnic expression through *Norden*'s pages, except for a small number of wealthy and elitist Danes.¹² As one Swedish writer to *Norden* noted on 4 July 1914, patriotism and the enjoyment of national culture was important “only to those who have the means to enjoy the culture... the other, the poor, the suffering, the hopeless, they know not about culture, they have no joys, only the awful cold death staring them in the face”.¹³ This disparity helps to explain the rise of Danish dominance within institutions, such as *Norden*, as more affluent and permanently settled Danes had the time and effort to spend cultivating connection and reviving their sense of Scandinavian culture abroad than the majority of lower-class Swedes and Norwegians. As such, by the outbreak of war, the apathy of many lower-class migrants towards now obsolete sentiments of homeland

⁸ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See Table 3 in Introduction, p. 32.

¹¹ Whereas the Danes had stronger ties to such fields, and especially strong links to farming, the Swedes and the Norwegians remained more closely aligned with maritime occupations and labouring, demarcating a level of social disparity and permanency of settlement. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

¹² ‘Emigration!’, *Norden*, 4 July 1914, p. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*

patriotism meant that *Norden* was only able to rouse the national interest of upper-class, metropolitan migrants in the Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane communities.¹⁴ The readership was shrinking in scope and ideology to a point where even its self-promoted image as an Australia-wide, pan-Scandinavian publication was called into question.

A result of such shifting migration patterns and growing social stratification of migrant groups, the nationalising and fragmented nature of *Norden*'s increasingly Danish-dominated readership became quite evident as World War I drew closer. By the middle of 1913, the Clausens had indeed succeeded in strengthening *Norden*'s content and audience through an inclusive stance that emphasised wider community input. But remarkably, as Paul Fischmann's letter describing his arrival in Melbourne suggests, Hans Clausen's own signage above the King Street office described the *Norden* of 1912 as a "Danish Journal".¹⁵ This significant re-labelling of the enterprise emphasised to the local readership the clear dominance of Danes within the Melbourne community and surely must have been a sore point to those Swedes and Norwegians who had made use of *Norden*'s inclusive Scandinavian ideology in the past. Indeed, even *Norden* and the Victorian government's co-operative migrant recruitment drive of 1912-1913 had particularly targeted future *Danish* migrants, rather than Scandinavians in general, demonstrating desires for even *Norden* to strengthen the local Danish community at the expense of a balanced Scandinavian readership.¹⁶ In moving towards the promotion of nationalised Danish migrant interests at the expense of a pan-Scandinavian collaboration, *Norden* used this period to solidify its connections to Melbourne's Danish club, *Dannebrog*, which like *Norden* had benefited from the appropriation of increased numbers of Australian members during 1910-1914 (See Plates 14 and 15).¹⁷ As Danish unity and a common national purpose was strengthened between *Norden* and a successful *Dannebrog*, the two organisations became almost inseparable – *Norden* as the community's mouthpiece and networker, and *Dannebrog* as the source of readers, advertisers and place for physical migrant interactions.¹⁸

This growing Danish dominance within *Norden* was offset, however, by a similar rise in Australian social and cultural influences during 1904-1914 that aided further assimilation of *Norden*'s readers into wider Australian society. This was, in part, due to *Norden*'s own practices of continuing to stress Scandinavian migrants' needs to prepare themselves for "good citizenship" and take their newfound responsibilities to

¹⁴ As the author continued to discuss completely cutting ties of homeland nationalism, he wrote:

"Morally, has someone the right to forbid or try to prevent me from moving to a distant land, where I can live as a human being, and where I am able to establish a home for my wife and children? Surely not. Patriotism, that word is an empty phrase. A man has his homeland where he has work and bread, and a modern man calls himself a cosmopolitan". *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Paul Fischmann, 'The First 14 Days in Australia', *Norden*, 14 November 1914, p. 15.

¹⁶ 'How to become a farmer in Australia', *Norden*, December *Julnummer* 1912, pp. 3-9; 'Victoria: Australia's Garden', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, pp. 4-13; Kay W. Frandsen, 'Letter to Norden', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 14. All such articles specifically targeted farmers of Danish nationality.

¹⁷ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

¹⁸ In 1913 in particular, articles concerning *Dannebrog* proliferated as *Norden* advertised further interaction within *Norden*'s physical arm, the Club, which was recruiting even more Australian members. 'The Expansion of the Danish Club Dannebrog', *Norden*, 11 January 1913, pp. 8-9; 'The Danish Club Dannebrog', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 11; *Norden*, 13 March 1913, pp. 2-3.

Plate 14 (below): 'The Danish Club *Dannebrog*', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 17.

Plate 15 (bottom): 'Thor's Birdshoot', *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 19.



DEN DANSKE KLUB „DANNEBROG.”

Description: During the Clausen's editorial period, rising Danish sentiments and the success of Melbourne's Danish Club *Dannebrog* influenced national concerns to be often placed ahead of pan-Scandinavian calls for unity. Indeed, *Dannebrog* and *Norden* became closely linked with vested interests in one another. In Sydney too, nationalised clubs such as Danish 'Thor' predominated the social scene, often writing to *Norden* to spread their reports of successful social events and migrant traditions, including the sport of the birdshoot.

„Thor's Fugleskydning.



the Australian nation seriously.¹⁹ As Jerzy Zubrzycki argues, the foreign-language press in Australia enabled the education of migrants “for the fullest possible participation in the affairs of the [adoptive] country and ultimately citizenship” and, in this role, *Norden* was no exception.²⁰ In providing migrants with news of their compatriots’ activities both at home and within their adoptive countries, newspapers such as *Norden* encouraged a sense of belonging not only to the migrant group but also to the wider Australian society. *Norden* had, for example, promoted Scandinavian co-operation and representation during important national events, such as the Boer War and Federation, while continuing to encourage migrants’ involvement in elections and governmental affairs outside of their immediate community concerns.²¹ In the Clausens’ promotion of the inclusion of Australian spouses into the community to swell its readership, *Norden* also encouraged its readers to take a more active interest in Australian society, events and ideals, while eroding the language barriers that had isolated Scandinavians from English-speaking society.²² English-language articles focusing on Australian concerns had appeared initially to accommodate the Australian family members of *Norden*’s subscribers, but as an unwelcome by-product these pages had lessened the efficacy of the Scandinavian languages in maintaining ethnic bonds between migrant readers. Furthermore, the changing social fabric of Scandinavian clubs and societies was accelerated as *Norden* promoted migrants to mingle even more so with those outside of their own small community, which had been, by their own admission, “compelled by a sense of loneliness coupled with a fellow-feeling towards mankind in general” to admit a growing number of Australians as participants within Scandinavian clubs, societies and social functions.²³

The growing ‘Australianisation’ of Scandinavian-Australian institutions is best exemplified by Melbourne’s Danish Club *Dannebrog*, which during the second decade of the twentieth century lost much of its characteristic ethnic identity as Australian members became more prominent. From 1909, *Dannebrog* secured its own premises as well as a club-license in an area popular with Danish business and, at the same time, rules were relaxed to enable stronger membership from non-Danes. This increased during the war as clubs, such as *Dannebrog*, gained an influx of Australian members due to special liquor licensing loopholes that allowed the serving of alcohol much later and more frequently than normal hotels. This drew Australians to ‘embrace’ the Danish club for more social reasons than promoting Danish-Australian ethnic ideals.²⁴ Furthermore, in 1913, 20 English-speaking members of *Dannebrog* petitioned for full voting rights in the club, which had previously been available to Scandinavian members only. The contentious move brought forward arguments of whether the club should continue to act, as intended, to “uphold and conserve the Danish traditions and language, to keep in touch with

¹⁹ Jerzy Zubrzycki, ‘Foreign-language press in migrant integration,’ *Population Studies*, Vol. 12, No.1, July 1958, pp. 77-80.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 79.

²¹ ‘The Scandinavian [sic] Commonwealth Commemoration Fund’, *Norden*, 10 January 1903, p. 6; Valdemar Bannow, ‘Letter to the Herald’, reprinted in *Norden*, 10 February 1900, p. 6; O. F. Youngberg, ‘Letter to the Courier’, reprinted in *Norden*, 10 February 1900, p. 6; ‘The Federal Elections’, *Norden*, 7 June 1913, p. 9.

²² See, for example: James Ley, ‘Letter to Norden’, *Norden*, 18 September 1909, p. 13; ‘Petition of Support for Norden’s English page’, *Norden*, 15 May 1909, p. 8.

²³ ‘Our Club’, *Norden*, 16 August 1913, pp. 22.

²⁴ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

the literary forces of our Home-Land and to hold out a helping hand to Danish immigrants arriving on these shores”, or if it should capitulate to Australian members who were more instead interested in the club’s social and entertaining elements.²⁵ As one Danish member wrote, there would be nothing unfair in allowing English members the vote and therefore attain proper representation in the club’s activities as:

it would strengthen rather than weaken the club, as a club, but the original ideal would be sacrificed if we hoisted the Union Jack – God Bless it! – in place of the *Dannebrog* [Danish Flag] on the building at the corner of King & Collins Street.²⁶

As a capitulation to strengthening the club’s membership rates, *Dannebrog* began to embrace English as a means of advertising the club and its activities, using *Norden*’s English pages to report on important club matters to both Scandinavian and English-speaking members of the community, especially as the latter group had jostled for their own club rights.²⁷ *Dannebrog* member H. Christesen argued that, if *Norden* was circulated to English-speaking members so that they could empathise further with their Scandinavian friends, “the peaceable, straightforward and just tone of said articles will appeal strongly to their well known, much to be admired sense of British fair-play, and consequently will prevent unpleasantness and irritation in the future”.²⁸ It was also hoped that by moving to English for *Dannebrog* reports, such English-speaking members would “become subscribers to, advertise in, or in other wise supporters of our much valued paper *Norden*”.²⁹ Financial and numerical invigoration of the organisations through new members, regardless of cultural or national creed, was driving the acceptance of Australian members to both *Dannebrog*’s and *Norden*’s linked communities – however at the expense of a greater sense of cultural differentiation.

In contrast to these growing Danish-Australian concerns, the tendency for *Norden* to ignore Swedish and Norwegian readers by focusing unapologetically on Danish content eventually caused the Swedish element of *Norden*’s local readership to diminish. In Melbourne, the small and fragmented Swedish community declined in its support for the newspaper, citing the lack of Swedish language articles as the major factor in the inability to retain Swedish readers, who were also becoming uninterested in Melbourne’s two shrinking Swedish clubs.³⁰ Furthermore, the larger and more distant group of Swedes in Sydney began to promote their own form of Swedish-Australian community there, rather than capitulate to Melbourne’s Danish-Australian overtones as being expressed by *Norden*. This was exemplified by the coming together of Sydney’s Swedes in April 1914 to erect the long-awaited national monument to the first Swede to set foot on Australian soil, Daniel Solander, and then later the move to create their own publication in 1921, the *Swedish-Australian Trade Journal*, which would directly challenge both Danish and *Norden*’s dominance of the

²⁵ ‘Our Club’, *Norden*, 16 August 1913, pp. 22.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Norden*, 11 October 1913, p. 16.

²⁸ *Norden*, 30 August 1913, p. 11.

²⁹ ‘The Expansion of the Danish Club Dannebrog’, *Norden*, 11 January 1913, p. 8.

³⁰ ‘Countrymen!’ *Norden*, 15 May 1915, p. 9.

newspaper industry.³¹ The inability of *Norden* to retain Swedish readers was a serious issue plaguing *Norden* in the lead up to World War I, as it undermined the wide-ranging ideals of migrant connectivity and Scandinavian unity upon which *Norden* had been founded. While Danish dominance of both *Norden* and the Melbourne Scandinavian community had been ever-present since the newspaper's founding, the official sense of equality and Scandinavian unity espoused by *Norden*'s pages eroded substantially during 1912-1914.³² It would only be during the war, when pressed to reconsider the Swedish element of the readership for survival, that *Norden* would revisit the issue.

Surprisingly, while *Norden* had to contend with a more aggressive Danish dominance and the apathy of a shrinking, uninterested Swedish readership, the Norwegians – the group that had been so forceful in their nationalist agenda leading up to the Union dissolution in 1905 – did not pose particular problems for *Norden* during 1912-1914. National independence at home had finally endowed Australia's Norwegian communities with sufficient pride finally to act on an equal footing with their Scandinavian brethren and *Norden*'s organisers saw this as a way to increase Dano-Norwegian co-operation within the newspaper.³³ In early 1914, for example, segments of the Scandinavian-Australian community celebrated the centenary of the 14 January 1814 Treaty of Kiel, where Norway had changed from Danish to Swedish hands, and the 17 May 1814 signing of the Norwegian constitution. These events were widely recognised as the genesis of Norwegian nationalism, a force that would pervade the minds of many nineteenth century Norwegians and culminate 91 years later with the dissolution of the Sweden-Norway Union in 1905. However, *Norden* reported these activities as a time for celebration, not alarm. As *Norden* wrote of the now separate and proud Norwegian peoples, "Norway's steep and rocky nature has produced a people who are a mirror image thereof: a content, but strong and entrepreneurial people we can be proud to call brothers".³⁴ In stressing their new found status as émigrés of a proud and independent nation, *Norden* hoped to bring the smaller Norwegian community closer to *Norden*'s Danish centre; no longer as a little brother to be pushed around by his older siblings, but as an equal and strong ally. As a result, while the sudden fragmenting events of 1905's Union dissolution had come as a shock for the organisers of the inclusive and pan-Scandinavian *Norden*, the nationalist celebrations of 17 May 1914 were instead used to promote individualism, a sense of equality between the now solidly separate nations of Scandinavia, but most importantly, continued ties of brotherhood and the need to work together for mutual benefits:

Although 1905 for many of our Swedish brothers still stands as a painful wound, this year has probably contributed more to Scandinavian unity than anyone at that time thought. We are all

³¹ Solander had arrived as part of James Cook's exploratory entourage in 1770. The memorialisation of a Swedes' role in such an important event in Australian modern history sparked a revival of national pride amongst the local Swedish community, with even the revival of the Swedish Club of Sydney. It is also a strong indicator of how national ideals had now replaced united interest in *Norden*. Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 122. For a discussion of the Swedish-Australian Trade Journal, see the post war section of this chapter.

³² All of *Norden*'s editors had been Danish, and while sympathetic to the ideals of pan-Scandinavian co-operation, the reality of heightened Danish readership numbers often caused imbalances in content.

³³ *Norden*, 23 May 1914, p. 1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

children of the homeland environment in which we grew up, and it is expedient for us to be able to develop freely and independently, but to isolate oneself from these foundations is something that none of Scandinavia's three peoples can afford, or are able, to do. Blood ties bind us together.³⁵

The growing rumblings of homeland nationalism and the increasing Australianisation of the community had undermined *Norden's* efforts in maintaining its united pan-Scandinavian readership in the years leading up to World War I. In December 1913, *Norden* highlighted the realities of its readership's now diverse – and fragmented – nationalised migrant organisations in printing a four-page section, entitled “Our Associations”.³⁶ Here, *Norden's* individual reporting of Melbourne's Swedish Association, Melbourne's Swedish Club, Melbourne's Norwegian Club, Melbourne's Danish Club *Dannebrog*, as well as Sydney's Danish Club *Thor*, accentuated the separate nature of these national groups (See Plates 14 and 15). Only *Norden's* macro-national committee – which drew its board members from Melbourne's national organisations – and Brisbane's Scandinavian Association *Heimdal* remained as physical indicators of continued macro-national sentiments between Dane, Swede, or Norwegian groups (See Plate 12). Yet, despite this, *Norden's* overarching ‘Scandinavian’ character remained an important ideological tenet for readers looking to band together as the coming conflict looked to disrupt lines of communication and migrants' much needed social interactions. As L. K. Lauritsen of Bendigo implored other readers in May 1914:

...tell the newcomers that if they want to have their fatherland – which we are all so proud of – [kept] in sympathetic remembrance, they must obtain *Norden*, which is the only Scandinavian newspaper in Australia. I for my part would not want anybody to dispense with the newspaper that is a link between our old and our new home.³⁷

By the outbreak of World War I, it was apparent to many readers that behind *Norden's* veneer of pan-Scandinavian co-operation lay much stronger nationalised influences of Danish, Swedish and Norwegian groups. This realisation echoes Anthony D. Smith's argument that ‘pan’ ideologies often could not compete against nationalist sentiments, which were able to rouse greater feelings of patriotism and action within populations than overarching macro-national ties.³⁸ As even *Norden's* physical presence in Melbourne had become increasingly and unapologetically Danish in persuasion, aligning to the nationalised atmosphere of Melbourne's clubs and associations, ideas of macro-national co-operation were crumbling in the face of internal concerns so that, by May 1914, *Norden's* committee no longer saw the threatening nature of nationalist fragmentation as something that could be stopped. As a new editor with strong ties to the Danish homeland took up the fight to keep a nationalised *Norden* alive, World War I would see nationalism triumph over pan-Scandinavian ideals.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ ‘Our Associations’, *Norden*, December 1913, pp. 15-16, 29-30.

³⁷ ‘Norden’, *Norden*, 23 May 1914, p. 1.

³⁸ Anthony D. Smith, ‘A Europe of Nations. Or the Nation of Europe?’, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 30, No. 2, May 1993, p. 132.

Carl Fischmann and the outbreak of World War I

As nationalist fragmentation, growing class-based disparities and rampant Australianisation of migrant associations threatened *Norden's* readership base, the resignation of Hans Clausen and the structural problems faced by printer O. Petersen and interim editor Paul Fischmann presented a more pressing concern for the newspaper – the need to locate a new editor. Fortuitously, in November 1913, *Norden's* next lifeline arrived in the form of Paul and Carl Fischmann's father, Carl Fischmann, an experienced newspaper man. After 14 years working with the Copenhagen newspaper the *Kristeligt Dagblad* (*Christian Daily*), good reports noting his sons' successful establishment in Victoria encouraged him to resign and bring the remaining members of his large family to Australia, in the hope of also settling on the land.³⁹ Making the voyage to Australia in mid-1913, patriarch Carl Senior (49), Carl Junior's wife Helga (20) and young son Carl (1), together with siblings Agnes (21) Gerda (20), Julius (16), and Johann (15), were eventually reunited with the two brothers and were a welcome addition to the Scandinavian community of Melbourne, especially given *Norden's* recent advertisements for Danish families interested in farming.⁴⁰ Tragically, the eighth member of the migration party, Carl Senior's wife Lydia (54), did not survive the sea voyage.⁴¹ Distraught, Fischmann quickly abandoned his farming aspirations upon arrival and, according to Lyng, on seeing that "the only Scandinavian newspaper in Australia was in its death throes, he made up his mind, and offered his service to the national cause".⁴² The familiarity of *Norden* with his past work within the Danish print media, as well as the supportive benefits of a nearby community of Danish-speaking Melburnians in the wake of his wife's death, acted to convince Fischmann not to go into farming as intended but to continue the Scandinavian foreign language press instead. With the newspaper in a dire state, its funds diminished and most of the assets sold or in disrepair, Fischmann took up the task as editor and planned to start *Norden* anew.

Upon his editorial appointment, Carl Fischmann planned to return *Norden* to prosperity by instilling the shrinking readership with a personal sense of responsibility regarding the publication's future. He also began to make slight changes to the newspaper's format to emphasise the community's increasingly Antipodean focus, renaming the original community news section '*Fra Vor Egen*

³⁹ His son Carl Jnr had earlier taken up farming while eldest son Paul stayed in Melbourne to work in Petersen's printery, giving the elder Carl Fischmann a good idea of the prospects in Australia. Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939, p. 65.

⁴⁰ Given the close ages of the three Fischmann women, and the fact that newborn Carl is the third of that name in the records, it is probable that the baby and one of the women were Carl Jnr or Paul Fischmann's young family. According to Carl Jnr's A.I.F. records, Helga was his wife. It seems very likely that the plan had always been for the family to arrive separately, with the brothers scouting ahead. *Public Records Office Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923*, http://prov.vic.gov.au/search_results?searchid=23&format=freetext&FamilyName=fischmann&GivenName=&Ship=&Month=0&Monthto=0&Year=0&Year=0&SearchSortField1=&SearchSortField2=&SearchRecords=50&x=31&y=32 (accessed 24/08/2013); MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FISCHMANN C C, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers: Fischmann, Carl Christian, in *Fischmann, Carl Christian, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914, 1920*.

⁴¹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 65.

⁴² *Ibid.*

Midte [From our own Circle] to *Lokalt Nyt* [Local News] in August 1914, and then later the more appropriate *Under Sydkorset: Skandinaver i Australien* [Under the Southern Cross: Scandinavians in Australia] in late November 1914.⁴³ *Under Sydkorset*'s name change reflects Fischmann's early desires to reconnect with all Nordic migrants present in Australia through *Norden*, even though his readership was now firmly rooted in the Australian social, cultural and geographical landscape. Fighting apathy amongst this increasingly Australianised community was a constant struggle, yet Fischmann and the committee tried to encourage action to save *Norden* rather than evoke pity for the newspaper's decline. "The journal will be extended in content", he wrote on 3 October 1914, "and by joining forces, it is my hope that [*Norden*] will also become better".⁴⁴ Fischmann emphasised the need for his readers, as subscribers, to:

Feel more like employees of the journal that would willingly be the Scandinavian Standard in Australia... this result will not be obtained by pathetic pity for our newspaper, but only through strong and purposeful work, and if this sort of thing is done I do not doubt that *Norden* will still go ahead.⁴⁵

Following Fischmann's call, the committee encouraged such support through a Scandinavian musical evening and auction on Saturday, 10 October 1914 in aid of *Norden*.⁴⁶ The organisers would not let *Norden* slip away from them, and the fight continued in making the newspaper profitable and useful to the community:

If the 'Norden' means nothing else to the Scandinavians here it does mean the recognised and highly respected emblem under which members of the three nations are known to meet in a feeling of brotherhood and reciprocal sincere understanding.⁴⁷

Unfortunately for Fischmann and *Norden*'s committee, the next few years were a disastrous time to reconstruct an ailing foreign-language newspaper in Australia, especially one built on pan-Scandinavian unity. World War I, which erupted within 12 months of Fischmann's takeover of the sinking publication, acted as a global catalyst to consolidate nationalist sentiments both in Australia and abroad, the fervour of imperialism and newfound national identities encouraging millions of young citizens to enlist in a conflict that would claim their lives – many, as Benedict Anderson notes, as martyrs for their imagined national constructs.⁴⁸ The last remnants of pan-Scandinavian idealism would be an early casualty of the conflict – both within the Scandinavian states and their emigrant outposts – as calls for defensive unity crumbled under the weight of individual nationalist concerns. Danish-dominated *Norden* uncomfortably reported Scandinavia's tense position in the lead up to the conflict, especially how the individual Nordic nations were seemingly trapped

⁴³ 'Local News', *Norden*, 8 August 1914, p. 10; *Norden*, 28 November 1914, p. 13.

⁴⁴ Carl Fischmann, *Norden*, 3 October 1914, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ 'To Friends of "Norden"', *Norden*, 3 October 1914, p. 6.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 2006, p. 144.

between Great Britain and Germany geographically and politically.⁴⁹ Notably, *Norden's* contributors considered that Denmark's strong anti-German stance – in contrast with Sweden's fear of Russian invasion that drew the Swedes closer to Germany – would limit any real idea of wartime 'Skandinavisme' (Scandinavism), as *Norden* called such ideas of alliance, to be actively considered.⁵⁰ Writing that *Skandinavisme* was unlikely to include all three nations as part of a cohesive "Nordic entente", *Norden* argued in June 1914 that Swedish Germanophile Sven Hedin's proposed Nordic alliance with Germany was actually a threat to Scandinavian unity, rather than its saviour:

It is understandable that in Denmark there is some amazement that these calls for an alliance [with Germany] come openly. This Scandinavian idea will, after these future alliance plans, only concern Norway and Sweden, while little Denmark shall be left to themselves.⁵¹

While *Norden's* initial wartime reports regarding the complex status of the Scandinavian homelands were greeted with much excitement and concern, the more pressing issue on the minds of many migrants was the role that their new homeland, Australia, was to play in the conflict. Even in the far-removed Antipodes, as Nicholas Brown observed, for Australians "the rupture between 1913 and 1914 – and between the worlds they represented – was profound," especially as preconceived notions regarding the supremacy of a liberal European civilisation collapsed in the face of the first truly global conflict.⁵² Furthermore, Stephen Alomes and Catherine Jones acknowledge that, "in the intoxicated excitement of August 1914, most Australians welcomed the war as a chance for young Australia to do something on the world stage or to prove itself on the playing fields of Europe".⁵³ For *Norden's* small enclave of Scandinavian migrants living within the crumbling multi-ethnic British Empire, the outbreak of World War I dramatically affected their own sense of identity and chances of wider social inclusion as they too, used the war to prove themselves as a valued component of a new Australian society.

According to Koivukangas and Martin, "the leaders and articulate members of the Scandinavian communities, in the main, supported the involvement of their adopted country in a war on the other side of the globe".⁵⁴ These migrants had made it clear to themselves and wider Australian society that, on emigrating and becoming naturalised, they had joined whole-heartedly with the political aspirations of Australia and its mother-land, Great Britain. While their homelands remained supposedly 'neutral', the majority of Australia's Scandinavians – particularly the Danes who saw this as an opportunity to fight as part of a larger force against their old enemy, Germany – supported the involvement of their adopted country in the War and many young Scandinavian-Australians enlisted as part of the First Australian Imperial

⁴⁹ As early as 1912, *Norden* had begun to approach the topic of a possible war between England and Germany, preparing its readership for a conflict that could easily split the world in two. 'Roast Beef vs. Sauerkraut', *Norden*, 11 May 1912, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰ 'Scandinavism?' *Norden*, 20 June 1914, p. 1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Nicholas Brown, 'Australia in the World,' in Michelle Hetherington (ed.), *Glorious Days: Australia 1913*, Canberra, National Museum of Australia, 2013, p. 3.

⁵³ Stephen Alomes and Catherine Jones, *Australian Nationalism: A Documentary History*, North Ryde, NSW, Angus & Robertson, 1991, p. 163.

⁵⁴ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

Force (1st A.I.F.).⁵⁵ Many older Danish families could still remember the conflicts of 1848 and 1864 between Germany and Denmark regarding Schlesvig-Holstein, which acted as important motivations for the Danish-Australian involvement in the Australian war effort. Even *Norden* founder Lyng, valuable to the war effort due to his knowledge of the German language, was recruited as an interpreter by the Australian Expeditionary Force in September 1914 and sent to assist in the occupation of German New Guinea (See Plate 20).⁵⁶ Lyng quickly took over the government printing office and the printing of two newspapers while stationed in Rabaul, the *Government Gazette* and the *Rabaul Record*. He also acted as military censor for the region.⁵⁷

By 15 May 1915, *Norden* was reporting the activities of both first and second generation Scandinavians involved on the front lines. Only three weeks after the Gallipoli landing of 25 April 1915, *Norden* brought special attention to the bravery of Scandinavian-Australians in this important nation-building campaign.⁵⁸ Significantly, the reportage articulated how a group of young Scandinavian migrants, mainly Danes, were willing to die in the defence of their adopted homeland. While *Norden* promoted these men as symbols of migrant pride and a very tangible Scandinavian contribution to the war effort, what is remarkable is that the soldiers themselves seem to have very quickly shed their old-world identities in favour of joining a new national consciousness – one driven by an emerging Anzac mythos and a real sense of what it was to be ‘Australian’ during and after World War I.

According to Dale Blair, “the landing at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915 was the catalyst for the positive impressions of Australian soldiers and the fledgling nation they represented”.⁵⁹ Following British war correspondents’ enthusiastic tales of the Australian soldiers’ brave spirit, strong athleticism and good humour, Australian newspaper editors with only vague understandings of the actual details and horror of the war latched onto the growing Anzac mythos as a form of pragmatic patriotism. “It was a call for unity in a time of perceived crisis,” argued Blair, “and the Gallipoli landing acted as a rallying point for greater commitment to the war effort”.⁶⁰ *Norden* was no different, yet held a unique perspective in its focus on the Scandinavian element present within the Anzac troops. On 15 May 1915, the newspaper brought the community’s attention to two Western Australian migrants, Swede C. A. Forsberg and Danish-Australian G. C. Jörgensen, as members of the 11th Battalion that landed at Anzac Cove and had both been wounded.⁶¹ Forsberg, a 36 year-old

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ John Stanley Martin, ‘Lyng, Jens Sorensen (1868–1941)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lyng-jens-sorensen-13059/text23615>, (accessed 27/11/2013); MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2355, LYNG, ‘Australian Imperial Force Record of Officers’ Services: Lyng, Jens’, in *Lyng, Jens, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914, 1920*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Norden*, 15 May 1915, p. 11.

⁵⁹ Dale Blair, *Dinkum Diggers: An Australian Battalion at War*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2001, p. 69.

⁶⁰ Blair makes the point that for both war correspondents and the more distant newspaper editors, the Anzacs provided a considerable emotive power – “Predatory and godlike, the Australians were worthy of the reverence normally reserved for royalty”. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

⁶¹ *Norden*, 15 May 1915, p. 11. *Norden* notes that they were not sure whether Jörgensen was Danish, or simply of Norwegian/Danish ancestry, but the difference hardly mattered in terms of his idealised Scandinavian-Australian heroism.

Gothenburg native, had enlisted in August 1914 before he took a bullet to his right eye on 25 April 1915 and was sent home three months later.⁶² Jörgensen, a 23 year-old labourer from Albany, was shot in the foot during the first assault on the beach at Gallipoli, but remained on the front lines for the rest of the war, rising to the rank of Sergeant and being wounded at least three more times before returning to Australia in May 1919.⁶³ Encouraging the readership to support their brave brothers, *Norden* gave details of how to write to these wounded soldiers and make the appreciation of their sacrifices known to them. Significantly, *Norden* wrote of the first known Scandinavian-Australian death on the front – Lance-Corporal C. W. Janssen, son of Melbourne migrant Inuk Janssen (See Plate 18):

Mr Jansen has two sons who promptly volunteered for service at the front when war was declared. It is the oldest [of these sons] who fell immediately upon landing in the Dardanelles. The deceased, who before his period of service was employed by *The Argus* as a photographic printer, was a quiet and dutiful young man who took the task he had undertaken very seriously. It did not take long for him to be promoted to corporal... It is a serious blow to Mr Inu Jansen and his wife, and although it is a poor solace it must be mentioned that all Danes offer their deepest sympathies in the grief which has befallen them.⁶⁴

As the Gallipoli campaign intensified, so did the number of Scandinavian-Australians listed amongst the dead, especially those of Danish heritage. By 27 November 1915, *Norden* was routinely celebrating those Danish-Australians who had made the ultimate sacrifice for their new homeland. First-generation Dane Lauritz Arntzen, who had migrated to North Queensland only a few years before to work with his brother, had enlisted and fallen at Gallipoli, as had Marius Hansen from Middelfart in Denmark.⁶⁵ After 24 year-old steward Valdemar Milner had

⁶² MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FORSBERG C A, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Forsberg, Carl Alfred, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁶³ MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, JORGENSEN GEORGE CHRISTIAN, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Jorgensen, George Christian, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁶⁴ 'Fallen in the War', *Norden*, 15 May 1915, p. 11. Carl Wilhelm Janssen, a naturalised 26 year-old engraver, had enlisted with his younger brother Ernek Valdemar in August 1914. Both members of the 5th Battalion, Carl had not even made it to the beach, taking a shrapnel blast to the abdomen while getting out of his landing craft on 25 April 1915. Ernek, lost in the confusion of battle, was also finally recorded as killed in action sometime between 8-12 May 1915 while attacking Krithia. MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, JANSSEN CARL WILHELM, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Janssen, Carl Wilhelm, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*; MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, JANSSEN ERNEK VALDEMAR, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Janssen, Ernek Valdemar, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁶⁵ 'Danes Fallen at Gallipoli', *Norden*, 27 November 1915, p. 5. Copenhagen Arntzen, 35, had quickly naturalised and enlisted with Queensland's 5th Light Horse Regiment, but was killed in action on 28 June 1915. MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, ARNTZEN L, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Arntzen, Louis, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*. After his death, his brother Andrew also enlisted in April 1916, but the 38 year-old cane-farmer survived the war. MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, ARNTZEN

Plate 16: The Hansen Army, *Norden*, 27 January 1917, pp. 3-4.



Faldet i Krigen,

J. C. Jensen, V. C.



· LANCE-CORPORAL C. W. JANSEN. ·

Description: *Norden's* migrant readership were very keen to show their support of the Australian war effort, while learning of the brave exploits of fellow Scandinavian-Australians who fought for their adopted country. As well as first generation Danes, such as Victoria Cross recipient J. C. Jensen and Gallipoli's first Danish casualty, C. W. Jansen, the second and third generations were also represented – elderly Dane Hans Hansen's five sons, and one grandson, were noted as one immigrant family fully committed to the young Australian nation.

Plate 17 (above left): 'J. C. Jensen, V. C.', *Norden*, 5 October 1918, p. 5.

Plate 18 (above right): 'Fallen in the War: Lance-Corporal C. W. Jansen',

***Norden*, 15 May 1915, p. 11.**

A V, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Arntzen, Andrew Valentine, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

“fallen in a charging attack”, his young wife was informed of her husband’s death by the English ministry, as was the mother of 21 year-old Sigurd Madsen, another fallen veteran of the Dardanelles.⁶⁶ *Norden* called for any information it could use to strengthen the patriotic image of its small migrant community, giving its most valuable resource – its members’ lives – to the Australian war effort. “We are grateful for any information about our countrymen who participate in the war as part of the Australian army”, wrote *Norden*’s editor Fischmann in November 1916.⁶⁷ Every death of a Scandinavian acting as part of a united Australian nation clearly emphasised the migrant community’s links to Australia now more than ever before, as migrant soldiers also became intertwined in the growing Anzac legend. Furthermore, as each death struck a forceful blow to the small readership that could not afford to lose such men, *Norden*’s reportage was influential in acknowledging the important role these migrant soldiers were playing in the war effort as new ‘Australians’, emphasising this aspect of their identity through strong ideals of “spiritual realisation, sacrifice, glory and the winning of nationhood” which, according to John F. Williams, dominated later media discussions on the meaning of the war.⁶⁸ The Danish section of the community, which was more physically involved in the conflict than the Swedish or Norwegian elements, ensured that the wartime focus also strengthened *Norden*’s burgeoning Danish-Australian identity.

As the conflict wore on, *Norden* continued to relay stories of brave migrants acting to protect their new homeland, yet not with the same zeal as the Gallipoli campaign. Private N. T. Jensen, a farmer from Jutland who had been working in a Victorian vineyard since 1912, was reported killed in action in September 1917.⁶⁹ Another soldier, Lieutenant F. From, was also reported by *Norden* to have returned from the front in October 1918, noting that “it is with regret that we learnt that he lost his left arm during the fighting. He is currently in the Kangaroo Point military hospital”.⁷⁰ Most significant in promoting the Scandinavians’ contributions to the Australian war effort was the awarding of Danish-Australian Private Jørgen C. Jensen with the Victoria Cross for bravery during 1917 (See Plate 17).⁷¹ Jensen, who had migrated to Australia alone in 1909, had worked for several years in South Australia before being

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* While initially informed that Madsen died in battle, he actually died of appendicitis on board a hospital ship on 16 August 1915. MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, MADSEN SIGURD CARL SIRERKJAN ‘Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers’, in *Madsen, Sigurd Carl Sirerkjan, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁶⁷ ‘Danes Fallen at Gallipoli’, *Norden*, 27 November 1915, p. 5.

⁶⁸ John F. Williams, *Anzacs, the Media and the Great War*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 1999, p. 256.

⁶⁹ ‘The Fallen’, *Norden*, 22 September 1917, p. 5. MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, JENSEN NEILS TINOS ‘Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers’, in *Jensen, Neils Tinos, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁷⁰ *Norden*, 2 November 1918, p. 6. Canadian-born Frederick Christian From had settled in Lowood, Queensland and had received officer training prior to seeing action. The 24 year-old had his left arm amputated after being shot in June 1918. MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FROM F C E ‘Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers’, in *From, Frederick Christian Emil, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁷¹ H. J. Zwillenberg, ‘Jensen, Joergen Christian (1891-1922)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Available: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/jensen-joergen-christian-6841/text11847>, (accessed 18/2/2013); MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, JENSEN JORGAN CHRISTIAN ‘Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers’, in *Jensen, Jorgan Christian, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

naturalised on 7 September 1914 in Adelaide.⁷² Eager to show his fighting spirit and pride for his new adopted country, within six months Jensen had enlisted with the Australian Imperial Force to travel back to Europe and fight for the Empire.⁷³ On 2 April 1917, Jensen attacked a forward machine gun post and captured some 40 prisoners at Noreuil, a village on the Hindenburg line, for which he gained the Victoria Cross for “most conspicuous bravery and initiative”.⁷⁴ On hearing of his brave acts, *Norden* celebrated this national hero as an exemplar of both Danish and Australian courage.⁷⁵ Jensen was used by *Norden* to promote Danish-Australian activities in the war and foster pride in their own identities, and was given honorary membership in Melbourne’s *Dannebrog* to show their esteem for his service to their community and new nation.⁷⁶

With the strict home front policies of War Precautions Act of 1914 threatening to close many of Australia’s pluralist foreign-language publications during World War I, it was exceedingly wise for *Norden* to focus upon the positive Scandinavian commitment to the Australian war effort.⁷⁷ As well as reporting on the brave exploits of Scandinavian-Australian combatants, such as Jensen and even Lyng’s own patriotic activities in New Guinea,⁷⁸ *Norden* had, whenever possible, published the personal letters of migrant soldiers addressed to their friends and family. In November 1916, for example, subscriber A. Hartsman allowed Fishmann to publish a letter from his son, currently “camping out with his Australian comrades on the French battlefield”.⁷⁹ Informing the distant readership of his adventures in such a hostile environment, Hartsman’s 22 year-old son Oscar noted that “everywhere [our battalion] went, we noticed the war’s devastating effects”.⁸⁰ Another letter from France, sent to Melbourne’s Carl Sørensen from his friend, 25 year-old Dane Georg Jensen, noted the camaraderie provided to him by other Scandinavian-Australian soldiers amidst the horror of war:

Soon after I had been wounded, I came back out to the trenches again where Olsen already was. I had not stayed there long though, as I got scabies – and then was back to the hospital. But I praise luck, because there is not a more amusing modern trench under modern artillery fire...⁸¹

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ ‘The Dane who got the Victoria Cross’, *Norden*, 30 June 1917, p. 5.

⁷⁶ ‘J. C. Jensen, V.C’, *Norden*, 5 October 1918, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1927, pp. 40-41.

⁷⁸ ‘Capt Jens Lyng’, *Norden*, 23 March 1918, p. 4.

⁷⁹ *Norden*, 4 November 1916, p. 5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, HARTSMAN O G ‘Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers’, in *Hartsman, Oscar Gordon, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁸¹ *Norden*, 19 May 1917, p. 4; MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, JENSEN LARS PETER GEORGE ‘Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers’, in *Jensen, Lars Peter George, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*. Jensen’s comrade Olsen is most likely friend and fellow 59th Battalion member Georg Axel Martin Olsen, a 23 year-old from Kyndby, Denmark who was later killed in action in France, 2 September 1918. Jensen’s light-hearted jest is probably referring to his close friend’s sense of humour and, unfortunately, the misguided belief that together, the pair of Danish-Australian jokesters could get through the war. MS, National

Even letters from Jens Lyng, stationed in New Guinea, gave the community much needed news of an isolated community figurehead. In March 1918, *Norden* specifically drew attention to Lyng's hard work in Rabaul, printing a picture of the former editor in full military costume, and noting that "Jens Lyng is a compatriot that we Danes can all be proud of" (See Plate 20).⁸² Lyng's position as a translator within the Australian military might have also been significant in allowing *Norden* to evade the military sensors' requirements. Furthermore, following the enlistment of two of Fischmann's own sons to the Australian forces, the reporting of Danish-Australian soldiers' activities became increasingly personal for the newspaper's editor.⁸³

Between 5 May and 19 October 1918, as the war came to a close, Fischmann decided to publish a full series of unedited letters sent to him by his sons, Carl and Julius, in order not only to inform the community about their own experiences abroad but also to acknowledge the Danish-Australian contributions to the war effort and to the Australian nation.⁸⁴ The younger Carl Fischmann's accounts of his training in England, for example, noted how he, as an Australian soldier abroad, was doing his best to represent his adopted country with the proper sense of duty and honour, even if many of his Australian colleagues did not.⁸⁵ According to 30 year-old Carl, following instructions and maintaining discipline was definitely not a quality possessed by the average "Australian soldier [who] has no real understanding of the soldier's first duty: but nothing is to be gained by complaining about it".⁸⁶ Notably, Fischmann's sons stressed a heightened sense of superiority that Danish-Australian soldiers felt over their Australian counterparts – perhaps something their father wished to relay to his own readership – but also their strong sense of duty to the Australian nation. Echoing his elder brother Carl's sentiments, 19 year-old Julius used his letters to describe his adventures in France and the European comrades he had made while fighting, but also how his cosmopolitan Danish upbringing marked him as apart from his Australian colleagues, often for the better:

We are a large party of all possible nations' weapon-brothers [*Vaabenbrødre*]. One must be a 'Rasmus Rask' to understand a little of all these languages spoken here. I have learnt a little French, it is needed when one wants to say more than good-day or farewell. A French soldier, who is employed with the admired '75', has become a good friend to me. Carl was over here and visited me, and Monsieur Emile was a hospitable host for his *bon comrade*. It is often difficult

Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, OLSEN GEORGE AXEL MARTIN 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Olsen, George Axel Martin, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁸² 'Capt Jens Lyng', *Norden*, 23 March 1918, p. 4; MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2355, LYNG, 'Australian Imperial Force Record of Officers' Services: Lyng, Jens', in *Lyng, Jens, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914, 1920*.

⁸³ MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FISCHMANN C C, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Fischmann, Carl Christian, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914, 1920*; MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FISCHMANN J F, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Fischmann, Julius Ferdinand, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914, 1920*.

⁸⁴ Carl Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 4 May 1918, pp.1-2; Carl Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 15 June 1918, p. 1; Julius Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 10 August 1918, p. 2; Carl Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 5 October 1918, p. 2; Julius Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 19 October 1918, p. 2.

⁸⁵ Carl Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 15 June 1918, p. 1.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

for the English-speaking folk; only the most advanced attempt to learn the most basic French, but the majority of them 'can't be bothered'.⁸⁷

Importantly, Julius's letters also note that his father's copies of *Norden*, which had been sent to him to distribute to Danish-Australian soldiers and keep them informed of the migrant community's home front activities, had not reached him.⁸⁸ Julius wrote that "Concerning 'Norden', it has not come to reach me yet. Newspapers are often not clearly addressed, and are given out indiscriminately [amongst the soldiers]".⁸⁹ The copies might also have been taken by censors due to *Norden's* foreign-language content, perhaps as a security risk. From this inference, *Norden* seems to have intended to play a valuable role in helping those Scandinavian-Australian soldiers keep in touch with their loved ones back in Australia, as the war took its toll on those fighting both at the front and at home. By October 1918, Carl had been injured and wrote of his situation to his family back home from a field hospital.⁹⁰ Writing of the war's developments as he heard them from his hospital bed on 30 July 1918, Carl's letter indicated his frustration at not being able to help the war effort: "But now I am tired and must wait with rest so that I can once again keep Melancholy at bay".⁹¹ Carl and Julius Fischmann's soldier's letters are exceedingly rare sources that highlight the strange circumstances that Danish-born migrants found themselves in when they volunteered for the Australian armed forces. But even more significantly, in publishing his sons' letters, *Norden's* editor Carl Fischmann was trying to illustrate to his readership the important role of both migrant soldiers – and the wider Scandinavian-Australian community that supported them – in forging a stronger and globally-involved Australian nation. Defenders *and* contributors to their new adopted nation, Fischmann's Danish-born sons were acting to consolidate the community's sense of belonging and validate their culturally pluralist existence, especially in the face of an increasingly hostile Australian home front.

The sending of Scandinavian sons to war as part of the A.I.F. clearly demonstrated the migrant community's willingness to take part in the Australian nation-building exercise, but by the end of the war there was a growing tendency for many migrant soldiers and their families to adopt 'Australian' ideals rather than retain their increasingly irrelevant, old-world identifications as 'Scandinavians', 'Danes', 'Swedes' or 'Norwegians'. In providing support and encouragement for their sons abroad, the older Scandinavians also used *Norden* to promote stronger Australian identifications and a sense of growing Australian patriotism. Letters from Fischmann's sons, for example, while written in Danish and meant for the small familial community, were surrounded by poetry and stories focusing on their newfound Australianness and the mythologising of the Australian soldier as an emerging

⁸⁷ Julius Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 10 August 1918, p. 2. Rasmus Rask was a notable Danish scholar and linguist during the early nineteenth century. At the same time as this letter was published, Julius' father was notified on 9 August 1918 that Julius had been wounded, perhaps prompting Carl Fischmann to further release the letters to *Norden's* readers. MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FISCHMANN J F, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Fischmann, Julius Ferdinand, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁸⁸ Julius Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 10 August 1918, p. 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Shot in the back on 17 July 1918, Carl spent several months recovering in England until declared fit enough to return to the fighting in November 1918. MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FISCHMANN C C, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Fischmann, Carl Christian, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*.

⁹¹ Carl Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden*, 5 October 1918, p. 4.

national symbol.⁹² Next to Julius Fischmann's last letter to *Norden*, English-language poetry emphasised the soldier's role for the nation: "The deathless name of 'Anzac', that thrills from pole to pole", as the poem's author wrote, was already immortalised by the end of the war, and Scandinavians, such as Fischmann, tried to involve their own sons within this mythos.⁹³ Here, the Scandinavians had become entranced in a greater narrative of Australians finding their own national identity, and this had flow-on effects into the 1920s. According to E. M. Andrews:

World War I only continue[d] the process of Australians assuming a separate national identity. Federation had barely begun it, but as the Great War continued, the soldiers came to see themselves as distinct from Englishmen, and the men from different states, thrown together, regarded themselves as Australians, instead of New South Welshmen, or West Australians.⁹⁴

What is also remarkable about these accounts of Scandinavian soldiers is the short time that many had spent in Australia before offering their services to their very new homeland. Young Julius Fischmann, for instance, had only arrived in Australia in December 1913 at age 16, yet by 1918 the 21 year-old was fighting on the front, willing to lay down his life for the British Empire and the young Australian nation that his family had joined only five years before.⁹⁵ Enlisting as a 19 year-old, Julius Fischmann had been unnaturalised and a minor, requiring his father's permission to fight, and possibly die, for his very new homeland.⁹⁶ Other new migrants to Australia, such as Lauritz Arntzen, had also been quick to return to Europe as part of the Australian forces, their newfound sense of national duty leading them to give their lives whilst forging the Anzac legend at Gallipoli.⁹⁷ As Andrews noted further, the collective overseas experiences of Australian soldiers during World War I created a group of young men who were no longer rapt in the euphoria and idealism of protecting the Empire:

The soldiers had lost their simple awe of the British Empire, and adopted a sometimes brash nationalism to replace it. They returned with a new pride in Australia, which they probably exaggerated because of the acute stress they had suffered.⁹⁸

⁹² 'Australians', *Norden*, 19 October 1918, p. 3; Julius Fischmann, 'Soldier's Letter', *Norden* 19 October 1918, p. 3.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ E. M. Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo-Australian Relations during World War I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 222.

⁹⁵ MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FISCHMANN J F, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Fischmann, Julius Ferdinand, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914, 1920*.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, ARNTZEN L, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Arntzen, Louis, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*. Even young Carl Fischmann and Jørgen Jensen had both only been in Australia for half a decade prior to their enlistment, driven by immense pressures to prove themselves as worthy new Australians. Zwillenberg, *op. cit.*; MS, National Archives of Australia (Canberra): B2455, FISCHMANN C C, 'Australian Imperial Force Attestation Papers', in *Fischmann, Carl Christian, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossier, 1914-1920*; Paul Fischmann, 'The First 14 Days in Australia', *Norden*, 14 November 1914, p. 15.

⁹⁸ Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

The result was a quick realignment of these migrants from ‘Scandinavian’ to ‘Australian’ in terms of their sense of duty and their burgeoning Australian national identities, which, as their heroic sacrifices reached the press, influenced growing societal perceptions of these migrants’ valued place within the Australian nation. By the time of Jørgen Jensen’s premature death due to war-related injuries and alcoholism in 1922, there was little left in the Australian consciousness to demarcate his foreign-born heritage from that of a typical Australian soldier and he was celebrated as such.⁹⁹ As the report of his funeral entailed on 3 June 1922 noted:

...his gallant body enshrouded in the proudest flag of the Union Jack – passed on his final sad journey to his last resting place at the A.I.F. Cemetery, West Terrace, on Friday afternoon. The sidewalks on Sturt Street, which leads directly to the main gates of the cemetery, were thronged with people, who were anxious to pay their last respects to one of Australia’s heroes... Thus was the body of Cpl. Jorgen Christian Jensen, born in Denmark, but a true-blue British subject, laid in his last resting place.¹⁰⁰

As such, the stories of Scandinavian soldiers like Jensen, who returned from war as “one of Australia’s heroes”,¹⁰¹ are very important in highlighting the strong differences in identifications, ideologies and loyalties the war produced between those migrants who went to fight and those who stayed at home, as well as wider societal perceptions of the Scandinavians as a group. For *Norden*, this was even more significant in explaining the waning of Scandinavian identifications and shrinking readership numbers as the war not only took Scandinavian readers from the community through death, but by influencing migrants to ‘opt out’ of their migrant identity in favour of more relevant ‘Australian’ identifications. Coupled with a tense home front environment that stressed assimilation and British-Australian cultural conformity – effectively countering any of the Scandinavian-Australian community’s positive contributions to the Australian war effort – *Norden*’s readership faced dire threats to its survival.

Home front woes: National fragmentation, economic hardship and *Norden*’s struggle against wartime persecution

For *Norden*’s home front readership, World War I created its own problems that threatened not only its readers’ sense of identity but also *Norden*’s own survival. On 2 May 1915, the committee and “a considerable number of well-known Scandinavians amongst whom [were] the Swedish Consul Waern, the Danish Viceconsul Holdenson, Pastor Hultmark from the Swedish Church and Mr Petersen, the Chief of the Steam Packing Case Manufact[urers]” met to discuss *Norden*’s wartime future:

The opinion of the gentlemen present was without exception that the paper if stopped would be missed in many ways by all three nations,

⁹⁹ Zwillenberg, *op. cit.*; Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁰⁰ Despite the above news report of Jørgen Jensen’s death describing the soldier as “a true-blue British subject”, for many soldiers, such as Jensen, their sense of loyalty to the new Australian nation had taken precedence over all other identifications. ‘The Last Journey: Passing of Cpl. Jensen, V.C.’, *The Register* (Adelaide), 3 June 1922, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

that it would therefore be a pity to give up an enterprise that had in all its experience been entirely unselfish never having paid a penny to shareholders or afforded sinecure positions to those working for it. It seemed to be objectionable now as we have a reliable man as editor, who has for almost a year made the paper appear regularly and with most interesting contents. The editor proposed a change of the paper of the 'Norden', which it would be possible if our own printing plant was put into proper working order to produce at a lower cost, and the meeting left it for the standing committee to decide if and when the change should be made.¹⁰²

The change in production was in effect by June 1915 and a special pan-Scandinavian sub-committee was established to see *Norden* through the War (See Plate 19). Following the return to in-house printing and typesetting, Fischmann's *Norden* took a more broadsheet style of less pages, with larger sheets, and smaller typefaces, in an attempt to consolidate more information into a slimmer, wartime publication.¹⁰³ Furthermore, now no longer in the hands of English printers nor the inclusive attitude of the Clausens, content turned back to mainly Scandinavian-language articles, with Danish predominating the newspaper as the strongly Danish influence of recently arrived Fischmann made his own stamp on the publication. As Lyng had done ten years before, Fischmann also diversified his work into commercial printing, advertising the new 345 King Street business as "The 'Norden' Printing Company" in an attempt to source more revenue.¹⁰⁴ Despite idealistically asking for the return of Swedish readers to *Norden*, the fact that Swedish-language articles remained limited in number was still problematic. Without more direct Swedish contributors or editorial assistance for Fischmann, any realistic plans to diversify *Norden*'s readership or re-align itself along its founding pan-Scandinavian sentiments would remain limited.

Even before the outbreak of World War I, as mentioned previously, *Norden*'s focus had shifted to the dominant Danish community of Melbourne, threatening ideas of macro-national unity as indifferent Swedish readers withdrew from the newspaper. Nationalistic fragmentation, in particular the declining interest in *Norden* by the neglected Swedish-language communities of Melbourne and Sydney, was also making it difficult for the newspaper to maintain its pan-Scandinavian focus while its Dano-Norwegian tendencies were allowed to flourish.¹⁰⁵ Yet, following wartime economic hardships, *Norden* actively called for Swedes to rejoin the newspaper's readership in order to refresh ideas of continued pan-Scandinavian co-operation and avert the closure of the newspaper. In February 1915, *Norden* published an open letter from the committee calling for help from the Swedish community to reorganise *Norden*'s printing arrangements and involve them further in the newspaper's content.

¹⁰² 'The Position of 'Norden'', *Norden*, 6 March 1915, p. 4.

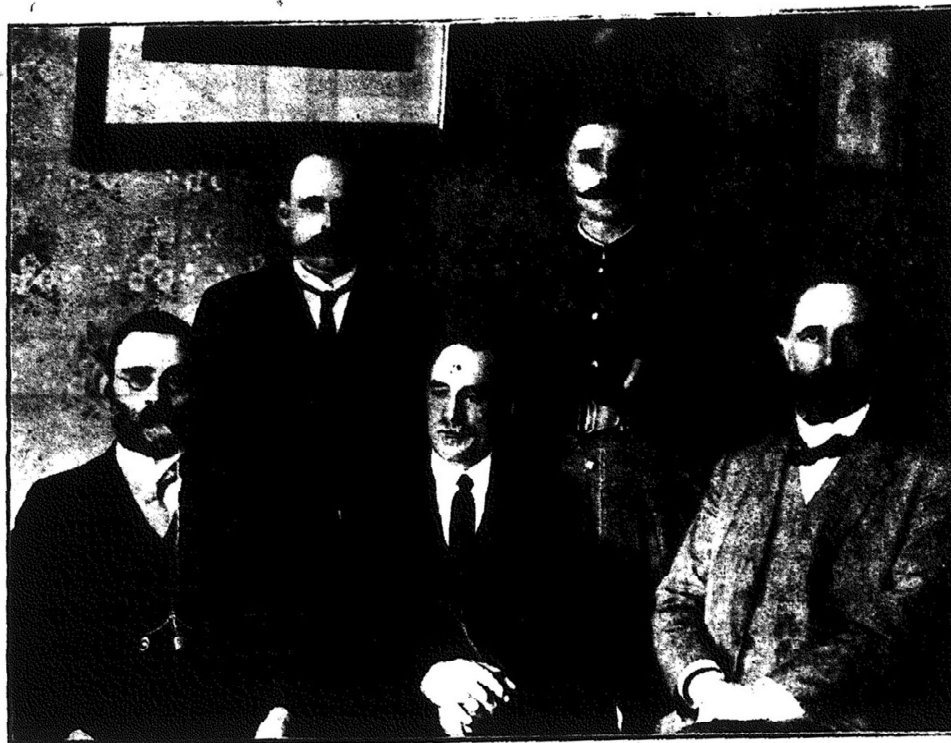
¹⁰³ See for example, *Norden*, 26 June 1915, which demonstrates the marked change in printing and content from previous issues of *Norden*.

¹⁰⁴ *Norden*, 24 July 1915, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ The smaller group of Norwegians, many of whom were happy to read the newspaper in Danish, seem to have either continued reading *Norden* despite the Danish overtones, or also abandoned the enterprise. Very little evidence suggests friction between the Danes and Norwegians reading *Norden* at this time.

Plate 19 (below): 'Norden's Sub-Committee', *Norden*, 13 November 1915, p. 3.
 Plate 20 (bottom): 'Capt. J. Lyng', *Norden*, 23 March 1918, p. 3.

"NORDEN'S SUB-KOMITE.



G. A. HORNEMANN. G. L. ERICKSON. C. FISCHMANN. J. LYNG. O. KUNIG.

Description: When a special sub-committee was established to see *Norden* through the wartime period, new editor Carl Fischmann was assisted by representatives of all three Scandinavian nationalities to keep the publication operating. This became especially important once founder and committee member Jens Lyng volunteered his energies to the Australian war effort.

UNDER SYDKORSET. *Skandinaver i Australien.*



Capt. Jens Lyng.

Notably, Danish-operated *Norden* blamed the Swedes for the lessened subscriptions and the economic problems now faced, but also promoted a plan to recoup their losses:

By setting the newspaper's own printery in a workable condition once again, while we have an experienced and skilled Danish man in charge of the magazine's daily management, will it be possible to avoid the ever-looming deficit, partly by seeking other printing work and partly by expanding the Swedish branch, thereby obtaining greater support from Swedish subscribers.¹⁰⁶

During May 1915, a frustrated *Norden* again tried to lure Swedes back to the newspaper, even advertising a heartfelt plea from Melbourne's Swedish Club members to support *Norden* while it tried to meet the needs of the Swedish community. The club members stressed that:

Now that an energetic attempt to provide us with a real Swedish section in *Norden* is being planned, it is our hope that our fellow countrymen in Australia will support the association by massively subscribing to the newspaper. Only through trying can we succeed. To date there have been Danes and Norwegians who chiefly undertook *Norden's* production, but with more common Swedish text we can be confident that the Swedish school can follow after our Scandinavian brothers. Sweden requires a connection and a mouthpiece between its countrymen out there. The hope is thus that we can gain interest from the Swedes in different parts of the country in the form of extensive subscriptions... The newspaper will work for the conservation of Swedishness out here and for good building of consensus between the Scandinavians.¹⁰⁷

Unfortunately, *Norden* was unable to convince the Swedish element of its readership to return as subscribers during the wartime period, and the pan-Scandinavian sentiment of earlier years was deemed lost. By July 1919, *Norden* reported one Swede, Mr. J. W., cancelling his subscription because "the Swedish subscribers are a little neglected in regard to news from Sweden".¹⁰⁸ *Norden* itself despaired that:

If only in Melbourne there was a patriotic Swede who would take an interest in the Swedish part and supply cuttings and extracts from Swedish or English Journals of special interest to Swedes, it would be otherwise; but whereas 'Norden' always has found willing workers amongst the Danes, and to some extent amongst the Norwegians, somehow, since Chr. V. Scheele years ago left the paper, no Swede – though several have been asked – have volunteered to help.¹⁰⁹

Norden's Danish organisers clearly placed the blame for their continued struggles and the increasing Danish identifications of the once pan-Scandinavian publication on the apathetic Swedes. While *Norden's* secretary did acknowledge that "a fair

¹⁰⁶ 'To Scandinavians in Australia and New Zealand', *Norden*, 26 February 1915, loose letter, no page number available.

¹⁰⁷ 'Countrymen!' *Norden*, 15 May 1915, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ *Norden*, 19 July 1919, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

number of Swedish subscriber[s], in spite of all, faithfully have stuck to the paper – some of them from the very start”, Fischmann was pragmatic in his acceptance that *Norden* would emerge from World War I as a strongly Danish-Australian publication and, even then, as one that was losing ground to the increasing Australian identifications of its members.¹¹⁰

Importantly, *Norden*’s continuity during World War I was severely threatened by its own financial instability, with *Norden*’s subscriptions dropping markedly during 1914-1918 as many Nordic migrants were no longer able to support the newspaper.¹¹¹ The number of advertisements also shrank markedly, as the state of wartime finances forced many businesses to tighten their belts and abandon charitable advertising.¹¹² As such, *Norden* faced renewed financial strains during the conflict that particularly limited its ability to reach interested migrants across Australia, or act as a pan-Scandinavian publication. To ensure *Norden*’s physical survival in these difficult times, donations and subscription lists were opened in 1915 in the hope that “friends and subscribers in other places will join us in the endeavour to put things on the proper footing and bring the paper over a crisis, that is to a great extent caused by the present very depressed state of affairs generally”.¹¹³ According to Lyng, it was also at this time that Danish chartered accountant, Gustav Adolf Hornemann, suggested that a maintenance fund be established through donations and that subscriptions increase from six to ten shillings.¹¹⁴ By 24 July 1915, “The Norden Maintenance fund” was established, as the committee urged:

...every patriotic Scandinavian to contribute his donation towards this Fund, which is established to place the affairs of ‘Norden’ on a sound and businesslike footing for all time. By doing so, you will materially strengthen the bond of solidarity between and further the happiness of all Scandinavian settlers under the Southern Cross.¹¹⁵

The initial funds, almost £100 collected from as far afield as Queensland, Tasmania, and Fiji,¹¹⁶ were encouraging in indicating the wider communities’ need for the newspaper even in such a terse economic situation, however the money was insufficient in improving the position of *Norden* for more than a few months. By June 1916 the committee was once again required to call for fiscal aid, lest *Norden* be forced to cease permanently. The front page of the 17 June 1916 issue pleaded with its readers:

This is a last call to you all to help with the health of ‘Norden’. The sand is soon to race out of the hourglass. To date, we have received

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹¹² See Chart 3 in Appendix 1, where the wartime period is represented by a large depression in advertiser numbers. Following the outbreak of war, the total number of advertisements quickly dropped from 51 in 1914 to 32 the following year (1915), before dropping to a measly 28 in 1918. Funds recouped from such advertisements would consequently remain low until economic resurgence in 1919.

¹¹³ ‘The Position of Norden’, *Norden*, 6 March 1915, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹¹⁵ ‘The “Norden” Maintenance Fund: 100 Guineas Wanted!’, *Norden*, 24 July 1915, p. 5. By October’s update, *Norden* reported £99.13.0 had been raised in donations, a rousing testament to a community rallying to a united cause. ‘Norden’s Maintenance fund’, *Norden*, 30 October 1915, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

£25-12-6 of the £50 we *must* have. If we do not obtain the £50 by months end, our next issue will be the last and we will then be forced to, with a heavy heart, bid to our readers farewell. For the present, we thank all the countrymen and women who so faithfully have stood by us over the years and who have sent contributions to our 'emergency fund', likewise to all of them, it still has to be done. We will still not abandon hope.¹¹⁷

A month later, on 15 July 1916, *Norden* reported that, while the funds had not fully been found, another crowded meeting in Melbourne on 3 July had assured the committee that "Norden will continue... It was decided to continue the newspaper's release, taking hope that the few pounds that have been missing in necessary capital would come in, when [*Norden's*] friends were requested to give a helping hand".¹¹⁸ The struggling migrant newspaper, backed by a readership that still valued its contributions to the migrant community, was able to 'soldier on', so to speak, in the face of increasing home front hostilities.

While *Norden's* wartime economic dilemmas continued to be a direct concern for Fischmann and *Norden's* committee, the overarching hostilities of a strongly British-Australian home front was even more significant in threatening the migrant publication's continued existence. As early as June 1914, one anonymous contributor to *Norden* was already angrily commenting on the war's impending home front antagonisms:

The Scandinavians will always be considered as foreigners in this country even though the British could not have preserved their country without Scandinavians' aid in the past. This the British are prone to forget. In America the Scandinavians are very well respected, and if they were not it would be unlikely to be as many of them over there as there is.¹¹⁹

In contrast to the involved nation-building heroics of Scandinavian-Australian soldiers on the battlefield, the wartime exacerbation of anti-foreigner sentiments within a fearful home front society was not something lost on *Norden's* pluralist, Scandinavian-Australian readership. And, as Gerhard Fischer argued, the negative effects felt by Australia's non-British migrant communities during World War I "confirm[ed] the return to the old, pre-1890s attitudes and values, resulting in a strengthening of previously dominant patterns of 'Anglo-conformity' and insistence on immigration from the British Isles".¹²⁰ It therefore became difficult for migrant groups, even *Norden's* emboldened readership, to prove their worth to such an anxious and fearful British-Australian society, but they would choose to carry on regardless, fighting against strong assimilation pressures with *Norden's* vocal assistance.

¹¹⁷ 'To the Scandinavians in Australia', *Norden*, 17 June 1916, p. 1. 'Norden', *Norden*, 15 July 1916, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ 'Norden', *Norden*, 15 July 1916, p. 7.

¹¹⁹ 'Scandinavian Emigration', *Norden*, 6 June 1914, p. 1.

¹²⁰ Gerhard Fischer, 'Fighting the War at Home: The Internment of Enemy Aliens in Australia during World War I', in Nadine Helmi and Gerhard Fischer (eds), *The Enemy at Home: German Internees in World War I Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2011, p. 42.

At home, the Scandinavians who did not go to war were still quite eager to become involved in fund-raising and community events that would show their support for Australia and Great Britain in a difficult wartime situation, especially if their public displays of loyalty would lessen anti-foreigner hostilities towards them as a group. This was not a unique occurrence amongst migrant societies and, as John McQuilton observed of the German-Australian involvement in World War I, “a striking feature of the regional war effort was the simple fact that ethnicity was no bar to participation”.¹²¹ In the rural regions particularly, European migrants, such as the Germans and Scandinavians, were willing to do their part for the war effort, raising funds while advocating their communities’ role as part of the Australian nation, not a separate faction within it.¹²²

In particular, *Norden*’s metropolitan community was quite eager to show their support while disarming any anti-foreigner misgivings held by the wider Melbourne population. In February 1916, for example, *Norden* reported that Melbourne’s *Dannebrog* planned to hold a bazaar to raise funds for the Australian Red Cross. The bazaar, wrote the organisers: “promises to be unique and successful if everything continues on course, and will be a financial success, which of course is the main thing, because we will then be able to practically show our Australian friends how great a price we place on them”.¹²³ The organisers implored Melbourne’s Danish community to get involved: “Now show your gratitude by helping this bazaar, which can stand as a shining example of Danish sacrifice to this completely neutral cause, which the Red Cross represents”.¹²⁴ Through such events, *Norden* clearly wished to limit the impact of anti-foreigner sentiment upon its readers while providing an outlet for Scandinavian funds, well-wishes and support for those fellow Australians affected by the war. The following month, on 4 March 1916, a surprised yet jubilant *Norden* wrote that:

[The Bazaar] was a success! When a small colony of Danes in Melbourne takes upon itself the task to provide funds for the Australian Red Cross, there will always be timid souls who do not see the point. We are too few and too small, and our means will be so insignificant and poor that we rather should keep to ourselves, and not make contributions. This negative view has thankfully for once been proved wrong. The Committee has worked assiduously and tirelessly, and thanks to our energetic ladies our goal was reached, a result which makes the Danish effort worthy of honor.¹²⁵

The efforts of *Norden*’s Danish community raised some £160 for the Red Cross, demonstrating that the collective powers of the local migrant community were still quite strong when a worthy cause presented itself.¹²⁶ Much like the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration Fund of 15 years before, the Red Cross Bazaar

¹²¹ John McQuilton, *Rural Australia and the Great War: From Tarrawingee to Tangambalanga*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2001, p. 168.

¹²² McQuilton points out several cases of German-Australians demonstrating support for the war through direct participation in local Red Cross organisations, the formation and subscriptions to town patriotic funds, even involvement in the Australian Natives’ Association. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-172.

¹²³ ‘The Danish Association “Dannebrog”’s Bazaar for the Australian Red Cross,’ *Norden*, 19 February 1916, p. 5.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ ‘Under the Southern Cross,’ *Norden*, 4 March 1916, p. 4.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

enabled *Norden*'s readers to foster their own ethnic community's sense of worth actively while simultaneously emphasising their cooperative links to wider Australian interests. Galvanised by the war effort, *Norden*'s readership – while markedly more Danish in constituents than at the time of Federation – saw continued value in their migrant associations and were compelled to assist the wider community against external threats.

Despite Australia's European immigrant minorities demonstrating strong support for their adopted nation's involvement in the war, the strengthening of British-Australian racial exclusivity on the Australian home front effectively disenfranchised them from the wartime effort. Australia's already pervading sense of non-white xenophobia, which had developed prior to Federation, was expanded during World War I to include most non-British European ethnic groups and, as Fischer argued, "the new conflict in which Britain was involved in Europe led to a re-definition of White Australia: it was to be the exclusive home not of the white, but of the 'British Race'".¹²⁷ World War I would therefore signal a return, at first, to the dominance of British-Australian sentiments within Australia at the expense of cultural pluralism. As Australian soldiers gallantly went to the aid of the British motherland, Ann Curthoys notes that the period erupted in a resurgence of "increased emphasis on Britishness, assimilation and ethnic homogeneity... to a point of wiping out popular memory of an earlier multiculturalism".¹²⁸ European minorities present in Australia were left wanting as their hopes for continued ethnic expression "as autonomous sociocultural entities within Australian society" were destroyed by the flow-on effects of World War I.¹²⁹ As Brown notes further, traces of cosmopolitanism on the home front were an early casualty.¹³⁰ Prime Minister Billy Hughes was not silent on his overt "ambition to create a homogenous Australian society that was exclusively British in its make-up, and Australia emerged from World War I a less tolerant, less multicultural society than it had been in the 1890s".¹³¹ As Fischer notes, the war provided the pro-British-Australian Hughes with an opportunity "which, if squarely met, would be of lasting benefit, out of which Britain and Australia would emerge 'purged of dross' and 'purified by the spirit of self sacrifice', with the full 'valour of our ancient race' restored".¹³² The wartime government of Hughes not only actively fomented racism and racist responses to the war, but actively sought to destroy non-British communities through a campaign of fear, hostility, and the promotion of stronger British-Australian racial sentimentalities. For the Scandinavians and *Norden*, the war would completely revolutionise the Australian society in which their own communities were situated.

The heartfelt public support of Australia's involvement in World War I by *Norden*'s increasingly Danish-Australian community was therefore insufficient in avoiding the

¹²⁷ Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia 1914-1920*, St. Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland Press, 1989, p. 6.

¹²⁸ Curthoys, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28

¹²⁹ Curthoys in particular notes the German-Australian communities, which bore the full brunt of nationalistic change in Australia, as well as the associated anti-foreigner hostility that pervaded the Australian home front. *Ibid*, p. 27.

¹³⁰ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹³¹ Kate Clark, 'Introduction', in Nadine Helmi and Gerhard Fischer (eds), *The Enemy at Home: German Internees in World War I Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2011, p. 2.

¹³² Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 47.

negative attentions of a tense and fearful home-front. In contrast to the strong wartime involvement and acceptance of Scandinavians at the front, issues of mistrust and anti-foreigner sentiment escalated at home as the Scandinavians' place within the Australian nation was continually questioned. As World War I escalated and security became a prime focus of the Australian government, fear and suspicion of foreigners became an even greater challenge to *Norden* and the Scandinavian-Australian community. The War Precautions Act of 1914 gave unprecedented powers to authorities and cemented in policy the strict and unrelenting hunt for those disloyal to Australia and the Empire.¹³³ In particular, the Act enabled the securing of infrastructure, including "the safety of any means of communication" that might be used to contact the enemy, or spread "reports likely to cause disaffection or alarm".¹³⁴ Peter Coleman notes that while War Office censors' "powers were officially limited to the control of written material which would be of military service to the enemy", the ease that censors could construe material as being inflammatory or rebellious in nature led to not only domestic political censorship but also the prohibition of several hundred overseas non-military books and magazines in a variety of languages.¹³⁵ The later amendment to the act in 1915 severed many migrant communities from the homelands, preventing "the transmission abroad, except by post, of any letter, post-card, letter-card, written communication or newspaper".¹³⁶ Such measures represented a death sentence for many of Australia's long-lived foreign language newspapers. German publications that had successfully operated in Australia for decades previously, such as the *Sud-Australische Zeitung* – which had been founded in 1850 and had continued regularly for over 65 years – were permanently put out of business.¹³⁷ Furthermore, as Michael Clyne notes, the policies implemented during World War I enabled the development of an 'English only' language policy which banned the use of languages other than English in schools, prohibited publications in German, and changed many German-place names in Australia.¹³⁸ "A period of aggressive monolingualism was encouraged by the returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia", wrote Clyne, the result being that "the use of German and, by extension, of any language other than English was considered disloyal".¹³⁹

In this period of growing suspicion towards foreign nationals and foreign language publications in Australia, *Norden* might well have shared a similar fate to the German press, and copies of the newspaper were required to be submitted to the

¹³³ Joan Beaumont, 'The Politics of a Divided Society', in Joan Beaumont (ed.), *Australia's War: 1914-1918*, Crows Nest, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1995, p. 39.

¹³⁴ Commonwealth of Australia, *War Precautions Act, 1914 and War Precautions Regulations, 1914*, Melbourne, Government Printer, 1914, p. 2. Available: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.aus-vn2132300> (accessed 26/11/2013).

¹³⁵ Peter Coleman, *Obscenity, Blasphemy and Sedition: 100 Years of Censorship in Australia*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1974, pp. 80-81.

¹³⁶ Commonwealth of Australia, *An Act to Amend the War Precautions Act 1914*, Melbourne, Government Printer, 30 April 1915, p. 2.

¹³⁷ Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1927, pp. 40-41.

¹³⁸ Michael G. Clyne, *Community Languages: The Australian Experience*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 13.

¹³⁹ Clyne notes further that by 1919 Australia's national identity was clearly established in terms of English monolingualism, and all languages other than English were designated together as 'foreign'. *Ibid.*

military censor.¹⁴⁰ According to Lyng, a further “demand for it being printed in English was only dropped after the authorities learned that two of the editor’s sons fought with the Australians”.¹⁴¹ Given the extent of the War Precautions Act, the growing ‘English only’ policy and the effect of military censorship on other foreign-language press institutions, this is somewhat hard to believe, especially as this did not stop the harassment of German-Australians, including the internment of men whose sons were also in uniform.¹⁴² It might also have been due to Lyng’s position within the Australian Army that gave *Norden* some relief, but no evidence suggests his direct involvement, so the real reasons for *Norden*’s survival, at a time when so many other foreign-language newspapers were forcefully ended, remain uncertain. Yet, the publication did enjoy an uninterrupted run – in the Scandinavian languages, with no forced English issues – throughout the war, albeit in a shortened state. What is more interesting is the fact that, during this period, English virtually disappeared from *Norden*’s pages. Where previously the Scandinavian press had been opened by Olga Clausen to include English-speaking members of the community, during the war *Norden* showed an inward-looking and insular readership. This was most likely due to several factors, namely a drop in contributions from the wider community for fear of reprisals in the volatile atmosphere of wartime Australia and to Fischmann, as a newly arrived emigrant, still preferring the Danish language over English for editing purposes.

Ultimately, the Scandinavians’ perceived status as ‘foreigners’ drove the community to act in this insular manner to cope with wartime hostility. “It is disheartening that a man, who has often worked for a long time here, is marked and still regarded as a stranger”,¹⁴³ *Norden*’s front page editorial declared in May 1915. To combat such sentiments that promoted bitterness and enforced assimilation into mainstream Anglo culture, *Norden* instead argued that readers’ Scandinavian heritage had to be celebrated even more strongly, averting collapse by instilling a sense of pride within the fragile community that risked ‘opting out’ of their homeland identities:

There is no shame to be Danish, Norwegian or Swedish. It is no shame that you went outside [your homeland] to see and learn, and least of all is it a shame to acknowledge the country of your birth. But it must be said that those who feel foreign taunts most are those who do not want their Nordic origin made known, and many will definitely be assumed to be native [Australians]. But we cannot hide the fact that we Scandinavians have not taken in Australian or English seed or language with our mother’s milk. In this sense, we will always be strangers here... What nature creates is not shameful. Our nature is Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, and this is powerful in its own right.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹⁴¹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁴² Fischer points out the case of Riverina farmer and respected community member John Wenke, who was interned despite his son not only fighting with the A.I.F., but being invalided home due to combat injuries only a week after his father’s internment. Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

¹⁴³ ‘Are We Strangers?’, *Norden*, 15 May 1915, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Norden argued that in order to survive the war and be integrated fully within Australian society, assimilation was not the answer: “We must look to abandon this propensity to conceal our descent. If one’s country of birth was made more familiar, one would care not to forget their native language, and be confident that they would be respected just as much as they deserve”.¹⁴⁵ For a time, at least, *Norden* promoted continued pride in their respective homelands and ethnic identifications, as a way to educate mainstream Australia of their importance.

This wider community belief that the Scandinavians were foreigners and could not fully be trusted was one that continued to grate amongst the migrants who had not only naturalised and spent considerable time investing in a new life in Australia, but had also often willingly accepted their adult sons’ choice to enlist in the A.I.F. *Norden* was thus quick to point out discrepancies and hypocrisy in the Australian war effort. In 21 October 1916, *Norden* reported on the case of a young Dane, Mr. Neilsen, who worked for the Melbourne railway.¹⁴⁶ Called up to the medical board, Neilsen had been investigated by authorities and declared fit for military service, yet he did not wish to be involved in the fighting:

They demanded his oath, which he refused to give, and he was not naturalised. His employer quite unequivocally stated that ‘if the country did not suit him, he best quickly go back to where he came from’. Now, the young man probably has only one choice to naturalise and go to war, or lose his position.¹⁴⁷

A stirring hostility towards anyone deemed ‘foreign’ pervaded a now tense home front, as mainstream society pressured migrants to prove their loyalty to Australia by naturalising or enlisting, and preferably both. As *Norden* noted, such cases disregarded the point of the war and highlighted the two-faced nature of an Australian nation engaged in “fight[ing] against Tyranny and for liberty and Freedom” while subtly persecuting minorities within its own borders.¹⁴⁸ In attempting to secure their nation from internal and external threats, many Australians had forgotten the important tenets of liberty and freedom in their own backyard, and the Scandinavians, like other minorities, felt the brunt of such hostility and hypocrisy.

With changes to the War Precautions Act in 1916 that advocated even greater powers against unnaturalised aliens, *Norden* informed its readers of the need to follow its advice to naturalise quickly, lest they be negatively impacted by fines and imprisonment.¹⁴⁹ In the last three years of the war, the Act was used in a dictatorial manner by Prime Minister Hughes, whose unfettered powers of the Labor and

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Norden*, 21 October 1916, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Beaumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. The amendment to section 4 of the act gave even greater powers to the government, with the Governor-General able to “make such regulations as he thinks desirable for the more effectual prosecution of the war, or the more effectual defence of the Commonwealth or realm, prescribing and regulating: any action to be taken by or in relation to alien enemies, or persons having enemy associations or connexions, with reference to the possession and ownership of their property, the continuance or discontinuance of their trade or business, and their civil rights and obligations”. Commonwealth of Australia, *An Act to amend Section Four of the War Precautions Act 1914-1915*, Melbourne, Government Printer, 1916, p. 1. Available: <http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Details/C1916A00003> (Accessed 17/05/2014).

Nationalist governments not only allowed censorship but also promoted hegemonic state control. According to Joan Beaumont, “many Australians were willing to tolerate, in the name of the war effort, essentially authoritarian measures” due to the successful imposition of the patriotic ideals of a dominant group of middle-class professionals charged with enforcing the Act, much to the chagrin of marginalised groups such as migrants.¹⁵⁰ As a result, in October 1916, *Norden* advised its readership that, from 1 to 31 October, all non-naturalised migrants within the Commonwealth were required to register at their nearest police station. For unnaturalised Scandinavians, being officially labelled as ‘aliens’ questioned their validity within Australia and caused problems regarding their acceptance within the wider community. Not only were the unnaturalised men required to report to authorities frequently, but so were female migrants and the Australian or British-born wives and children of unnaturalised migrants – the shame of such reportage impacting family life of mixed households. It also advocated mistrust between neighbours:

Furthermore, lodging and boarding house owners, and anyone who rents a dwelling or part of his apartment to strangers, is required to immediately report unnaturalised (alien) persons who rent space from them. Because not reporting may risk both imprisonment and hard work as part of a gang, one is wisest to notify the authorities in a timely manner.¹⁵¹

The Act institutionalised the already pervading sense of anti-foreigner sentiment within home front Australia, and provided Hughes with an opportunity to finally eradicate German influences – and many other foreign stimuli – from all parts of the British Empire.¹⁵² The backlash of opinion surrounding the naturalisation issue demonstrated that Scandinavians were in a similar position to the German-Australians, who, as Fischer notes, “to their consternation and horror... had to find out that their whole existence, individually as well as collectively, had been an illusion: they were denied their identity as Australians, even if they and their parents had been born in this country. It was a rude and painful awakening”.¹⁵³

As the war continued and amendments to the War Precautions Act enabled the Australian government to act with greater force against perceived threats to the national interest, the fear-mongering element of Melbourne’s populace began to target the Scandinavian community. Government calls for everyday Australians to “participate in the search for spies [and] for ‘suspicious aliens’ who might be disloyal or potentially hostile” not only provided anxious home front citizens the opportunity to become involved in the war effort, but also caused many innocent groups to be unfairly watched, harassed, and intimidated by their own neighbours.¹⁵⁴ While *Norden* itself remained relatively unscathed by both the Act and calls to censor foreign-language material, evidence suggests that wartime Melbourne was still not a good time nor place to be identified as a ‘Dane’, especially one involved with *Norden*’s stalwart supporter, the Danish Club *Dannebrog*. This was particularly evident from late 1916 onwards, when war-weariness, lowered morale and declining

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ ‘Remember! To all Non-naturalised’, *Norden*, 7 October 1916, p. 6.

¹⁵² Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

support for the war effort caused societal dissent that culminated in a thriving anti-conscription campaign and Hughes' need to discredit the opponents of his scheme as traitors: namely German, Irish, or Industrial Workers of the World sympathisers.¹⁵⁵ In the following months, persecution of these groups, as well as ethnic minorities, became a useful tool by the Hughes government to reassure the public of the war's continued relevance on the home front and that enemies of Australia were not only operating within its borders, but needed to be rooted out.¹⁵⁶

A common part of this societal witch-hunt, anonymous tip-offs from a fearful Australian community often targeted members of minority organisations. In October 1917, Minister of the Navy Joseph Cook received one such anonymous letter that advised the government to investigate *Dannebrog's* operations.¹⁵⁷ The letter included a copy of *Dannebrog's* heavy social program, the writer believing that in order to continue such events during a time of war, income must have been derived from dubious sources.¹⁵⁸ The Danish club in particular, wrote the concerned citizen, "seemed to prepare themselves for many jolifications, [yet] the source of income of the forthcoming wants investigation and I think you will find they have a decidedly German tendency".¹⁵⁹ Listing the major members of the club, the letter went on to say that "a lot of these people and their friends seem to do little or nothing and still have plenty of money to spend".¹⁶⁰ Due to the fact that many of *Dannebrog's* leading members were involved in shipping and food importation, Cook ordered an investigation. As he wrote to Melbourne's Colonel Steward, "there are Danes and there are *Danes*. Some Danes have a decided German preference and unknown is their source of income of several members of the Danish Club, King St Melbourne, the Danish Club Russell St, or the Sweedish [*sic*] Club, Russell St".¹⁶¹ The Minister described a long list of wealthy Scandinavians as if they were some form of crime syndicate, detailing suspicious business dealings – several were noted as ship deserters, hangerons, and possible smugglers – as well as indicating strong German or Industrial Workers of the World tendencies, gambling, and often the idea of idleness yet large scale wealth.¹⁶² The Club President, butter merchant and Danish Vice-Consul P. J. Holdenson, was portrayed as a security risk who "Ships butter in tins and may ship anything in the Tins. Said to have strong German leanings and has

¹⁵⁵ Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 4: 1901-1942 The Succeeding Age*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 172-173. McKernan notes that 'the Australians needed to manufacture threats and crises to make the war real and immediate...lest their knitting and fund-raising be their only real war experience'. Michael McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, Melbourne, Thomas Nelson Australia, 1980, pp. 150-177.

¹⁵⁶ Booker notes that Hughes, as a shrewd tactician trying to force his conscription campaign towards success, "used the censorship both to suppress reports that might injure his own standing, and to emphasise news which would stir [the middle classes'] fears. In particular he exploited the activities of the IWW and other radical groups to create an atmosphere of crisis and danger". Malcolm Booker, *The Great Professional: A Study of W. M. Hughes*, Sydney, McGraw-Hill, 1980, p. 201.

¹⁵⁷ MS, National Archives of Australia (Melbourne): V/164, 'Letter to Minister of the Navy', *Danes, Melbourne, Clubs and Members - Dangerous, 1917*.

¹⁵⁸ The writer signed the letter as a patriotic yet alarmed citizen, an "An Australian who considers it his duty to report the matter to you". *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁶¹ MS, National Archives of Australia (Melbourne) (MELB): V/164, Joseph Cook, 'Letter to Col Steward from Minister Cook', *Danes, Melbourne, Clubs and Members - Dangerous, 1917*. [My emphasis.]

¹⁶² *Ibid*.

a big following of all the riff raff of Danish seamen and others”.¹⁶³ Other members’ descriptions, such as J. Rockjer, included notes such as “does nothing – always has plenty of money – bets very heavily – strong German tendency” as did C. Jorgensen, a “Hangeron” who always had money and spent most of his time amongst Danish ships’ officers and crews at the docks.¹⁶⁴ The government’s preoccupation with locating suitable scape goats for the burden of home front anti-foreigner sentiment was clear: “I feel sure if their affairs were fully investigated” summarised Minister Cook, “I think you would find we have a hornets nest in our midst that would stagger you”.¹⁶⁵

In response, the Department gathered information concerning the Club to assess its risk to shipping, even instructing one staff member to gain membership to *Dannebrog* on 17 January 1918.¹⁶⁶ In his report, the staffer noted the friendliness of the members he met, partaking in many social activities, including Danish national day and the resulting birdshoot to gain member’s confidence. However, he remarked that at these functions he “did not know anybody well enough and besides there was too much drinking going on for any political conversations”, the result being that his investigations fell well short of proving the alarmist concerns of the unidentified ‘Australian citizen’ or Minister Cook.¹⁶⁷ In his conclusion, the staffer had uncovered no suspicious activity from the short conversations he had had with members, however he did note that the club “consists of a good number of nationalities and that its members have all sorts of views from monarchy to ultra-republican from capitalist to revolutionary”.¹⁶⁸ No further intelligence exists to suggest that the case continued past this report, and there is nothing to suggest that any members of *Dannebrog* nor the wider Scandinavian community were further investigated or interned as a result. This is quite miraculous, given that the Commonwealth Government actively pursued not only those it deemed hostile enemy aliens, but also individuals from Allied or neutral countries who were seen as a security risk in some way.¹⁶⁹ Still, the government’s heightened suspicion of even the Scandinavians’ wartime social groupings clearly caused friction between the Scandinavian community and wider Australian society.

Cases of suspicion and anti-foreigner sentiment as experienced by Scandinavian migrants on the Australian home front articulate the tense situation felt by those who did not fully fit the new ‘model’ of homogenous British-Australian citizenship being espoused by wider Australian society during World War I. Both pan-Scandinavian and nationalised migrant sentiments lessened markedly during such a period of constant uncertainty and hostility towards non-British – and later un-Australian – identifications. Furthermore, second-generation Australian-Scandinavians were well aware of the impacts that such wartime controversies and the threats of persecution

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ MS, National Archives of Australia (Melbourne): V/164, John P. Cassidy, ‘Report re: Danish Club (Collins Street), 1918’, *Danes, Melbourne, Clubs and Members - Dangerous, 1917*.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ While Fischer does not specifically note any Dane, Swede, or Norwegian being interned, he does mention a variety of other nationalities – Bulgarians, Swiss, Americans, Russians, Dutch and Belgians – that fell afoul of government suspicion, most likely for connections to left-wing organisations such as the Industrial Workers of the World, which were seen to be “riddled with suspicious aliens working to undermine Australia’s allegiance to the British Empire”. Fischer, *Enemy Aliens, op. cit.*, p. 78.

had upon their parents, or anyone who displayed ethnic variation from dominant British-Australian society. The threat of persecution, hostility and internment was enough to convince second-generation German-Australians to adopt Australian identity and forget their German language and no doubt that was a factor with the Scandinavians. Despite such impacts of anti-foreigner sentiment and increased assimilation pressures on later generations, *Norden*'s contributors continued to promote their community's place in Australia as one of deserving equal rights. Many migrants, particularly the more numerous Danes, had worked hard and, in some cases, died for their new land during World War I's bitter conflict. *Norden* played an important role as an outlet for Scandinavian migrant frustration in the face of this non-acceptance, which would continue into the post-war period despite their sacrifices. By 1919, in response to an article on nationalist policies concerning alien residents, *Norden*'s reporter asked sardonically, "Our boys were good enough to fight and bleed for the Empire and their adopted country. Well, is it thanksgiving time now?"¹⁷⁰ Positive acceptance of the Scandinavians' place within Australian society was anything but certain to *Norden*'s editorship.

While World War I was indeed a crisis for *Norden* financially and ideologically, the Scandinavian-Australian community recognised the importance of the publication and set in place measures to ensure its fiscal survival. As the war continued and anti-foreigner sentiment pressured the now nationally fragmented communities of Danes, Swedes and Norwegians to assimilate, a sense of apathy and despair arose amongst *Norden*'s readership that their community would not live to see peace declared. In January 1917, Jens Lyng, now involved as a Captain in the Australian Army and stationed in Rabaul, noted the despondency felt by his small Scandinavian readership:

The impression I got of the Australian communities as a whole I found reflected in the smaller Scandinavian communities strewn along the coast of the continent. If anything it was still more marked. To the anxiety for their adopted country was the added anxiety for the land of their birth. In looking back it seems to me that I hardly saw a smile during my four weeks stay amongst old friends in Australia; yet also the Danes, the Norwegians, and the Swedes plodded on much as usual – some had gone to the front themselves – others had sent their sons, while the remainder laboured faithfully alongside their British born fellow citizens, at the same time endeavouring to keep flying the colours under which they first saw the light of day, and which had been hoisted in the shelter of the Union Jack. The various Scandinavian societies and congregations moved on, though probably at a reduced speed; NORDEN in spite of the difficulties caused by the war and which proved the death blow of thousands of journals all over the globe, continues its mission. After all, a good bit of tenacity peculiar to the British race is also found in the Scandinavians.¹⁷¹

Founding editor Lyng clearly did not wish his *Norden* to end, despite the extreme changes World War I had brought about regarding the composition, identifications

¹⁷⁰ 'White Australia', *Norden*, 12 April 1919.

¹⁷¹ Jens Lyng, 'Letter from Jens Lyng to G.A. Hornemann, Rabaul, 28-12-1916.', *Norden*, 27 January 1917, p. 5.

and ideals of his once strong Scandinavian-Australian readership. And, he also made a strong case for revitalising *Norden* into the future:

There may be reason to think that NORDEN, whose death so often has been predicted, but never has materialised, will get safely through the war. It would be a pity indeed, if it didn't. It has done some good in the past – probably much more than ever will be known. It is capable of doing a great deal more good in years to come... If the paper went down now it would be difficult to make a new start. I know that you unselfishly are working hard for our journal, and also that our much underpaid editor heroically is sticking to his guns. Personally I wish I could be with you and share in the work. As that is not possible, I will contribute 10/- monthly to your funds while the war lasts, and here enclose my first contribution. May this little effort on my part encourage others, who can afford it, to do likewise.¹⁷²

As Lyng's letters indicate, the tense wartime period had economically and ideologically crippled *Norden's* ability to provide support to a crumbling pan-Scandinavian readership, but his encouraging words still rallied the shrinking, fragmented migrant community to *Norden's* plight. Through the fundraising measures and donations from an already strapped readership, Fischmann and the newspaper were able to endure the difficult war years – fervently hoping that a turn of fortune was just around the corner.

After the War: *Norden's* pan-Scandinavian recovery

Remarkably, despite the ravages of World War I and the realities of *Norden's* heightened Danish-Australian dominance, the post-war years did signal the resurgence of ideological pan-Scandinavianism within *Norden's* fragmented readership, at least for a time. As finances improved and the remnant readership of well-settled, first-generation migrants were able once again to fund *Norden's* co-operative ventures during 1920-1924, hope was restored to a shrinking community that now looked to reinforce economic connections between Australia and the Scandinavian nations, while encouraging further Nordic immigration. Calls for macro-national unity were reinforced in *Norden's* pages during this period of encouraging economic expansion, especially after pan-Scandinavian founder Jens Lyng returned from New Guinea and resumed his strong involvement in *Norden's* post-war activities. While immigrant numbers remained limited – Australia recorded only a net increase of some 777 new Scandinavians between 1920-1924, and the total Scandinavian population in the census dwindled further to only 14,041 by 1921 – such a resurgence in pan-Scandinavian solidarity hinged on two factors: a supportive post-war economy and the energies of key community leaders who championed the benefits of an inclusive, united readership.¹⁷³

Once peace was restored at the end of World War I, a period of optimism dawned on *Norden's* predominantly Danish readership as the newspaper saw the benefits of increased funds, mainly with the attraction of large advertisers through the efforts of the Dane Arne Van Mehren.¹⁷⁴ Van Mehren, a member of Melbourne's Danish Club

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ For population trends, see Table 3 in Chapter 1 and Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

¹⁷⁴ Jens Lyng, 'Scandinavian Press in Australia,' *Norden*, 21 December 1933, p. 3.

and supporter of *Norden*, was a well-travelled and sociable man who, according to past editor Hans Clausen, embodied “a great stormy river, capable of destroying stone dam walls... by virtue of an unconquerable and irrepressible self-confidence and his own contempt for the consequences”.¹⁷⁵ The energetic Van Mehren had mysteriously managed to locate new advertisers for *Norden*, many of them large Australian firms that consequently secured the publication’s financial future.¹⁷⁶ “Now that everybody seemed to have money” wrote Lyng, “there was a veritable boom in all branches of business”.¹⁷⁷ As a result, *Norden*’s committee was finally able to run the business profitably while also embarking on several fundraising drives designed to implement contingency plans against possible future hardships. The most notable of these fundraising activities was a co-operative effort to provide *Norden* with its own building – rather than continuing to rent the existing premises – that coincided with the newspaper’s 25th anniversary in May 1921.¹⁷⁸ *Norden*’s committee, led by president G. A. Hornemann and secretary Jens Lyng, asked all readers, “whether born in one of the Scandinavian countries or born in Australia”, to contribute funds to provide *Norden* with a permanent home.¹⁷⁹ Significantly, the proposal had a distinct pan-Scandinavian element to its fundraising goals while also championing *Norden*’s continued relevance to the post-war community:

All recognise the importance of a Scandinavian paper out here, with special articles printed in the English language – not only to ourselves, but to our home countries, and to Australia. A local Scandinavian newspaper acts like a cable through which new ideas and impulse originating in our highly-cultured native lands are led out to this country. It helps to strengthen our confidence in ourselves, and thereby enhances our chances for success; and only by making a success of our life – big or small – do we give the best in us to our adopted country. There may be some whose self-confidence is indestructible, but the great majority of the Scandinavians in Australia in this respect are less fortunate. So let us all give a hand to build Scandinavia House in Australia; let us collectively endeavour to achieve something which will stand when we ourselves are dead and gone.¹⁸⁰

The move to expand following years of wartime hardship was a sentiment that *Norden*’s readers shared with wider society, spurred on by the confident atmosphere of 1920s Australia. Signs of progress dominated both the eastern cities and country towns of *Norden*’s dispersed readership, as lifestyles were revolutionised by modern advances, such as the steep increase in automobile ownership, the introduction of modern farm tractors and machinery, and pioneering leaps in aviation.¹⁸¹ While

¹⁷⁵ Hans Clausen, ‘Our Album: Arne Vanmehren’, *Norden*, 7 March 1923, p. 5.

¹⁷⁶ Lyng noted years later that he still was unable to explain how Van Mehren gained such large advertising contracts, but that it saved the newspaper from financial ruin. Jens Lyng, ‘Scandinavian Press in Australia,’ *Norden*, 21 December 1933, p. 3; Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 66. The advertising analysis in Appendix 1 (Chart 3) also indicates a very strong rise in post-war advertisements, the majority coming from Australian-owned businesses (Chart 2).

¹⁷⁷ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁷⁸ *Norden*, 11 June 1921, p. 1.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

Humphrey McQueen believes that during the entire inter-war period Australia remained firmly in economic depression, “important additions were made to Australian society: the Country Party emerged as another voice for rural people; manufacturers gained substantial tariff protection; both town and country benefited from the growth of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research”.¹⁸² As the increase in population, the spread of factories into central city residential blocks, the electrification of the railways and the growth of bus and tram routes pushed more people into the suburbs, symbolic landmarks, such as the Sydney Harbour Bridge, rose slowly over modernising cityscapes, encouraging people to look forward with hope of a brighter future.¹⁸³

Encouraged by such societal developments that emphasised growth and modernity, *Norden*’s proposed building fund proved popular with readers. Several hundred pounds was quickly raised though the contributions of Scandinavian Consuls – namely Danish Consul and wealthy merchant Holdenson, who contributed £100 immediately to the cause – and other local businesses that were once again profitable enough to support their community newspaper.¹⁸⁴ The initial plan had been to buy *Norden*’s current premises at 360 Latrobe St from the young Danish landlord, Jens Hørlyk, but after contractual obligations the building was sold to a third party; consequently *Norden* was required to move at short notice.¹⁸⁵ Fortunately, by March 1922 the fund had raised £500 to cover the first payment of a new building at 491 King Street, which consisted of eight rooms and another two-storey building at the rear of the block that was converted to the printery.¹⁸⁶ The fund also enabled the purchasing of a new linotype machine and salaries for an editor and publisher.

Together, favourable economic conditions and the revival of pan-Scandinavian sentiments converged to provide *Norden* with not only a contingency plan but also the community’s greatest monument to a small ethnic newspaper’s societal significance. The building, named ‘Scandinavia House’ in honour of the entire macro-national community that had funded its purchase, was a triumph of the organisers’ hard work and a monument to their two decades of struggles in the face of adversity (See Plate 21).¹⁸⁷ A powerful symbol of what could be achieved through pan-Scandinavian co-operation in Melbourne even after World War I, Lyng wrote in March 1922 that he hoped the effort would bring more readers, regardless of nationality, back to newspaper during a period of ethnic community resurgence:

And, furthermore, we venture to hope that many of the Danes, Norwegians and Swedes, who as yet have been hanging back donating bricks to Norden’s new home, will do so, when they see that an

¹⁸² McQueen notes that unemployment throughout the decade was still high, often at 10%, and that wages remained low, but that poor economic conditions were more noticeable towards the end of the 1920s when the Great Depression was characterised by even more people being out of work for longer periods. Humphrey McQueen, *Social Sketches of Australia 1888-2001*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 2004, pp. 124, 91.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45, 157.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ ‘Scandinavia House: On the Move Again’, *Norden*, 18 March 1922, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Norden’s New Home’, *Norden*, 18 March 1922, p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

achievement, which in all probability they considered a long way off, is well on the way to become an accomplished fact.¹⁸⁸

For *Norden*, the early interwar period had already offered the Scandinavian-Australian community encouraging levels of renewed hope for the future. As Robert Murray noted, 1923 to 1927 was remembered as the golden twenties, a period where “the anxiety of the war and post-war years had faded, while the economic stresses of the last year or two of the decade were still to come”.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, by 1923 *Norden* was one such enterprise enjoying unprecedented financial success. At the 8 August 1923 biannual general meeting, *Norden*’s accounts were balanced with £456.5.4 turnover and a gross profit of £82.12.8 for its shareholders.¹⁹⁰ *Norden*’s board proclaimed this to be no small feat, “in view of the high costs associated with the newspaper moving and rebuilding since Scandinavia House was taken into possession in April last year, [this profit] must be called good”.¹⁹¹ Plans were also hatched to extend shares in *Norden* by selling more to readers in New Zealand and South Australia at £1 per share.¹⁹² Following several years of marked economic recovery and the stabilisation of *Norden*’s business dealings through the acquisition of ‘Scandinavia House’, readers were relatively assured by such fiscal growth that the 1920s would bring further success, hopefully stemming the decline of readers and instead expanding the publication to new markets.

The fact that the building of ‘Scandinavia House’ had been made possible due to the economic upturn accentuated the committee’s vision that *Norden*’s own future lay in stronger transnational economic ties rather than supporting Australia’s shrinking readership of permanent Nordic migrants. Consequently, as growing economic prosperity filtered through the community, *Norden*’s pages also became focused on the future and, in particular, the idea of strengthening Australia’s trade relations with all three Scandinavian nations. The might of Scandinavians in shipping – notably Norwegians and Swedes – had aided this perception in the past, with regular trading vessels maintaining connections between Australia and the North throughout the early 1900s.¹⁹³ By 1925, Swedish firms, such as Electrolux, Alfa-Laval, and ASEA, had also established local offices and manufacturing facilities in Australia and were believed by *Norden*’s committee to be a profitable new source of interested readers from both Australian and Scandinavian business circles.¹⁹⁴ Most significantly, during the 1920s both Danish and Swedish Chambers of Commerce were used to encourage economic links between Australia and the Scandinavian nations.¹⁹⁵

Norden’s increasing interest in the growth of Scandinavian-Australian business relations during the 1920s was perhaps best highlighted by a reinvigorated Swedish Chamber of Commerce in Sydney, which had struggled economically since its establishment in March 1911 but expanded strongly after gaining financial

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Robert Murray, *The Confident Years: Australia in the 1920s*, Ringwood, Allen Lane, 1978, p. 141.

¹⁹⁰ *Norden*, 18 August 1923, p. 3.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Koivukangas and Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

¹⁹⁵ Koivukangas and Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 117; *Norden*, 9 July 1921, p. 1.

Plate 21: Scandinavia House, *Norden*, 9 July 1932, p. 6.



The Only Scandinavian Newspaper in Australia.

has a wide circulation
amongst the 15,000 Scandinavians in

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
and is a good Advertising Medium

Subscription 10 Shillings a year.

Outside of Australia 2/- extra for Postage

Description: The greatest symbol of pan-Scandinavian co-operation to emerge during the interwar period, 'Scandinavia House' was the result of strong economic resurgence as the migrant community rallied around the newspaper to provide *Norden* with a contingency plan to avert future crises. This image, first appearing in May 1922, was used to promote *Norden* throughout the coming decades.

sponsorship from the Swedish government from 1920.¹ Furthermore, the Swedish Chamber of Commerce was also not confined simply to Sydney, but spread its influence over the entirety of Australia. The reports of the Annual General Meetings noted the election of council members from not only New South Wales, but also leading Swedes in Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand.² Most concerning for *Norden*'s interest in evolving into a self-styled Scandinavian-Australian trade publication, in 1921 the Swedish Chamber of Commerce was able to begin its publication of a competitor in the form of the *Swedish-Australian Trade Journal*.³ However, the growth of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce over the 1920s and 1930s did not necessarily indicate competition between Sydney's Swedes and Melbourne's Danes, nor weaken *Norden* substantially. In fact, *Norden* promoted the activities of the Chamber of Commerce strongly, noting important stories regarding trade and actually encouraging subscribers towards the journal, not as a competitor but as a way to reunite Sydney's Swedes with Melbourne's Danes, and encourage bipartisan support in each other's publications.⁴ While national sentiments were still dominant within *Norden*'s readership, co-operation was not withheld.

Similar to the rise of Swedish trade links, improved Danish-Australian economic relations during the early 1920s were made clear in *Norden*'s pages. As the then-Australian Prime Minister Hughes acknowledged on 5 June 1921, reprinted in *Norden* on 9 July 1921:

One of the aftermath problems of the war is centred in the disruption of international trade... in a commercial sense, the Commonwealth is being brought into touch with countries known only to the majority of Australians by repute and in this category we may regard Denmark, a blood relation of the British Empire.⁵

This issue of *Norden* devoted its entire front page to Danish-Australian trade, republishing an article from a special publication produced by the newly formed Danish-Australian Chamber of Commerce, the *Danish-Australian Trade Review*, as well as specific articles concerning trade and industry above all else.⁶ The inauguration of a Danish-Australian Chamber of Commerce was, according to Hughes, an important step forward in forging new trade links between the two nations, especially when there was a number of energetic Danish businessmen already in Australia: "There is room for more people of the right type in Australia," Hughes stated, "and the hope may be expressed that the inauguration of the new Chamber of Commerce will encourage suitable immigration, and thus strengthen Danish-Australian Commerce".⁷

With 'Scandinavia House' firmly established as their own symbol of continued pan-Scandinavian success in Australia and improved economic relations between the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

² *Norden*, 28 June 1930, p. 4; 'Swedish Chamber of Commerce', *Norden*, 28 May 1938, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Norden*, 9 August 1930, p. 7.

⁵ Johannes Jensen and Hans Kiaer, 'The Danish-Australian Trade Review', 5 June 1921, republished in *Norden*, 9 July 1921, p.1.

⁶ *Norden*, 9 July 1921, p.1.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Scandinavian homelands and Australia, the confident developments of the early 1920s caused Scandinavian community leaders, such as Jens Lyng and Carl Fischmann, once again to look to immigration and migrant welfare as significant points of interest for *Norden's* readership. The Commonwealth and state governments, interested in developing Australia to its full potential following the security threats raised by World War I, strategically began to augment the country's human resources through increased assisted immigration schemes, spending programs designed to put families on the land, and the construction of infrastructure to link new rural communities.⁸ With the Enemy Aliens Act being implemented in 1920, many of the wartime deportation orders and direct bans on migration from enemy nations continued post-war, so migration schemes were largely British-focused in scope.⁹ The establishment of the New Settlers League in late 1921 further institutionalised Lyng's plans for expanding his community through government support. The League, initially organised, in the Prime Minister's words, to "prepare the way for settlers, to welcome them, to assure them they are not strangers in a strange land," was most active in *Norden's* home state of Victoria, where it at one time claimed to have 247 branches.¹⁰ Michael Roe notes, however, that the League's professional organiser in Victoria, Archibald Gilchrist, was more concerned with adequately developing country districts rather than assisting migrants, and that further migration would only gain popular support if it helped drive better country living conditions while maintaining White Australia. It was, as such, quite nationalist and protectionist in its goals and focused specifically on British migration.¹¹

Despite the League's strong pro-British migrant leanings and taints of White Australian protectionism, Lyng, as well as other notable Scandinavians such as Melbourne Swede Claes Anders Adelskold, believed that the New Settlers League could provide a significant support mechanism for promoting and supporting Scandinavian migration for the benefit of refreshing their own ailing ethnic community.¹² Adelskold, in particular, attempted to rouse Scandinavian support for the League which he saw as a powerful force in assisting new migrants to weather Australian conditions:

The very impressive part of the proceedings was undoubtedly the reports by the various country delegates, how their respective branches tried to meet, entertain, take care of, advise, help and in every way lead newcomers to their districts, and in this way not only put them on their road to make a good start, but also to feel at home and happy in their new surroundings, which is one of the most difficult matters to deal with, as shown by the reports.¹³

⁸ Macintyre, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

⁹ Commonwealth of Australia, *Immigration Act 1920*, Melbourne, Government Printer, 1920. Available: <http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Details/C1920A00051> (Accessed 17/08/2014). This act prohibited Germans, Austrian-Germans, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Turks from entering Australia for five years from 2 December 1920, and was repealed in 1925.

¹⁰ W. Hughes, 24 November 1921, cited in Michael Roe, *Australia, Britain and Migration, 1915-1940: A Study of Desperate Hopes*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 246, 247.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² C. A. Adelskold, 'The New Settler's League: Lessons from the Annual Conference,' *Norden*, 27 October 1923, p. 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Lyng also appealed to the League to boost Danish migrants, who he believed could be recruited due to the close racial kinship between the British and the Danes, and Scandinavians in general, “certain mental characteristics peculiar to Danes which make them desirable colonists... [and] their acknowledged skill in agriculture and Victoria’s need for skilled agriculturalists”.¹⁴

Such developments across 1921-1922 further encouraged *Norden*’s readership to revive their own older community organisations, such as the Scandinavian Labour Bureau, which had historically been linked to the newspaper as part of the editor’s varied responsibilities.¹⁵ A Scandinavian Progress Committee was formed in June 1922, with the Scandinavian Labour Bureau being organised first by Pastor Guldbrandsen and then *Norden* editor Carl Fischmann.¹⁶ In its first 15 months, *Norden* reported the Labour Bureau to have been a great success “in so far as it has aided over one hundred idle Danes, Finns, Norwegians and Swedes to obtain employment; but this has been done at a great sacrifice of time and money on the part of the above-mentioned gentlemen”.¹⁷

By 1923, new Prime Minister Stanley Melbourne Bruce espoused Australia’s primary aim as being to “populate her country and advance from her position of a very small people occupying a very vast territory”,¹⁸ and the aging Scandinavians of *Norden* responded positively. Later that year, the Scandinavian Progress Committee reorganised to form a fee-paying Scandinavian Progress Association. Headed by *Norden* stalwarts Lyng, Danish Consul P. J. Holdenson and Fischmann, as well as representatives from the Scandinavian Young People’s Society, Adelskold and the Swedish Church, Swedish, Danish and Norwegian clubs, and even the Finnish community, *Norden* proposed that the new Association’s “whole movement [be] primarily of a philanthropic nature, and will in no way clash with the already existing social, national or religious Scandinavian institutions”.¹⁹ At the same time as these more formal changes, the Association gained stronger ties to the wider New Settlers League though the work of Lyng and Adelskold.²⁰

In September 1923, Adelskold attended the annual New Settlers League conference as a representative of the newly formed Scandinavian Progress Association. He excitedly reported to *Norden*’s readers in October 1923 that the keynote speaker, Victorian Premier Harry Lawson, was quite open to encouraging non-British

¹⁴ J. Lyng, ‘Denmark as a Recruiting Ground for Settlers: Paper read before the ‘New Settler’s League’ by J. Lyng’, *Norden*, 22 November 1924, p. 5.

¹⁵ In August 1922, Pastor Alfred Guldbrandsen of Melbourne’s Swedish Church had urged the Melbourne Scandinavian community to consider forming an association to assist newly arrived and unemployed Scandinavians with succeeding in their new home. ‘Appeal to Scandinavians,’ *Norden*, 9 February 1929, p. 1.

¹⁶ ‘To be or not to be’, *Norden*, 24 November 1923, p. 1. Koivukangas and Martin note that the religious overtones of Guldbrandsen led to a breakdown in his relationship with the antagonistic Fischmann, and the move to form a proper organisation allowed “Fischmann and his free-thinking associates... [to] separate the social work amongst immigrants and seamen from the activities of the Swedish Church”. Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1986, pp. 133-134.

¹⁷ ‘To be or not to be’, *Norden*, 24 November 1923, p. 1.

¹⁸ Stanley Melbourne Bruce, cited in Macintyre, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁹ ‘To be or not to be’, *Norden*, 24 November 1923, p. 1.

²⁰ According to Koivukangas and Martin, Adelskold believed that the Scandinavian Progress Association was “the only non-British organisation which had been fortunate enough to be admitted to the league”. Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

migrants, “and if all his promises could in future be realized, this State of Victoria should in years to come be the happy hunting ground for all immigrants. Our land flowing with milk and honey is open to all, he did not even exclude us Scandinavians”.²¹ However, Adelskold was discouraged by the strong sense of anti-foreigner sentiment espoused at the conference towards non-British migrants, including the Scandinavians. He heatedly explained to *Norden*’s readership that the prejudiced attitudes of others, such as Victorian Minister for Lands John Allan, who wished Australia only to recruit British migrants:

Sturdy young men [are] coming from foreign countries at their own expenses, and among them Danes, Norwegians and Swedes, [who are] denied all the inducement and help and yet they make good in this country. Still the poor foreigners are told by the Minister of Lands that they can go to the devil.²²

In the minds of *Norden*’s readers, the pervading societal attitude to focus purely on British migration was costing Australian development and their small Scandinavian community dearly. *Norden* despairingly explained that “in other parts of the world and the British Dominions Danes, Norwegians and Swedes are in great demand and very welcome”, and that Canada’s government in particular were currently offering “conditions fully so good as the Australian Government are offering to British settlers here”.²³ In November 1924, Lyng reported similar experiences whilst giving a paper concerning proposed recruitment of Danish settlers to the New Settler’s League. The paper was well received by the Melbourne crowd, with the Lord Mayor William Brunton even noting that Denmark should be given further thought as “the Danes were good colonisers, and would make desirable immigrants. The question of alien immigration was [however] involved, and it would necessitate deputations to the Federal Government”.²⁴ Once again, desires to keep migration firmly ‘British’ stymied the Scandinavians’ goals and relegated support amongst the general Australian population to idealistic sympathy rather than direct action.

Those involved in promoting further migration had, by 1924, become disillusioned and aware that their efforts were largely in vain. They continued regardless, yet the optimism of the early 1920s was fading quickly. Realising the difficulties in using the British-focused New Settler’s League, state and Commonwealth governments to sustain Scandinavian migrant growth, a disappointed Adelskold turned instead to the aging majority of the extant Scandinavian community in the hope that they would be more productive in supporting the Scandinavian Progress Association:

We have in our midst many wealthy Danes and Norwegians, and also a few Swedes. If some of those gentlemen came out of their retirement, and called a combined meeting of all Scandinavians, they would, in all probability, get an excellent attendance and some good results would be forthcoming, and our Scandinavian Progress Association be put on a footing, which for the future would ensure

²¹ C. A. Adelskold, ‘New Settlers League, *Norden*, 12 October 1923, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Jens Lyng, ‘Denmark as a Recruiting Ground for Settlers: Paper read before the ‘New Settler’s League’ by J. Lyng’, *Norden*, 22 November 1924, pp. 5-6.

real and lasting benefit for those arrivals who are most worthy of help, and who are now left to themselves.²⁵

The early 1920s had been a financially successful period for *Norden*, and with the purchasing of 'Scandinavia House', the small readership had worked hard to establish a new base of pan-Scandinavian support to see them through future crises. In 1924, with *Norden* saved from financial distress and attempting to recruit future immigration and trade prospects, Carl Fischmann decided to retire and settle on the land as he had originally intended. His family had become intertwined through several marriages of his children to those of a wheat-growing widow from the Wimmera, a Mrs Trollop. According to Lyng, after Fischmann's youngest daughter married Mrs Trollop's son, Fischmann was "deprived of his devoted housekeeper and assistant in his office. He was left alone, all his children having married. What could be more natural than his marrying Mrs Trollop?"²⁶ In 1924, Fischmann left the newspaper to head to the country, much as Lyng had twenty years before. Optimistic that *Norden's* financial security was now secure, the retired Fischmann and his new bride turned their attention to poultry farming – a welcome change from the busy schedule of newspaper production that, for the past decade, had occupied the elderly Dane's life.²⁷

The decade from 1914 to 1924 clearly illustrated to the readership of *Norden* that united pan-Scandinavian efforts were no longer relevant within a migrant context. World War I had encouraged the readership not only to seek refuge within the now more relevant Australian aspect of their identities, but also to strengthen the individual national causes of all three Scandinavian national groupings. Ultimately, this led to the Danish-Australian dominance of both *Norden* and the closely associated metropolitan migrant clubs such as Melbourne's *Dannebrog* and even Brisbane's Scandinavian Association *Heimdal*. Reacting to the rising sense of Danishness and fragmentation of the Scandinavian-Australian community, Carl Fischmann's editorial reign steered the newspaper even closer towards what he deemed to be a natural and timely development – *Norden* acting as a Danish-Australian publication, capable of servicing a persistent Danish element of Australian society. Fischmann's patriotic drive and commitment to his community had undoubtedly saved *Norden* from wartime collapse, but the newspaper's new Danish focus sealed its own fate by alienating those wider readers still interested in pan-Scandinavian co-operation. While the strong economic revival in the early 1920s led to an ideological resurgence in pan-Scandinavian sentiments and the building of the community's greatest monument in the form of 'Scandinavia House', the inability of the Scandinavian Progress Association to recruit further migrants made it clear that a united macro-national community was an unreachable and unrealistic goal, and that even their nationalised Danish, Swedish and Norwegian communities were in steep decline.

By the time that Fischmann resigned from *Norden* in 1924, most of the early stalwart defenders of pan-Scandinavianism had disappeared through reorganisation or community mortality, so that only *Norden* remained its ideological champion. Even

²⁵ C. A. Adelskold, 'The New Settlers; League: Lessons from the Annual Conference,' *Norden*, 27 October 1923, p. 5.

²⁶ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 67.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

the long-lived Scandinavian club of Brisbane, *Heimdal*, which had been a significant site of *Norden*'s early readership in Queensland and proponent of Scandinavian unity, finally altered its name in 1924 to the "Danish Association *Heimdal*" – a poignant marker for the decline of united organisations and, in their place, the rise of Danish-Australian identities.²⁸ No longer able to work together to create the vibrant pan-Scandinavian ethnic community envisaged by Jens Lyng, nationalist fragmentation and Australianisation had taken heavy tolls on the newspaper's community spirit. It soon became clear that *Norden*, and indeed its entire readership, were nearing the end of viability.

²⁸ As Martin and Koivukangas note, *Heimdal* had been predominantly Danish in consistency for most of its existence, however it seems to have cautiously remained united along an inclusive ideology even after World War I, especially as falling migrant numbers led to the opening of *Heimdal* to Australian members much in the same way that Melbourne's *Dannebrog* had. See: Martin and Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

Chapter 7

‘THE LONG DAY CLOSES’: *NORDEN*’S OBSOLESCENCE, 1924-1940

In December 1922, Danish migrant, returned Australian soldier and literary enthusiast Holger William Blöm (1885-1948) published a poem in *Norden*, calling for the renewal of pan-Scandinavian sentiments in Australia:

Awake Scandinavians, from your lazy,
unworthy, insufficiencies,
Not Swedish or Danish or Norwegian,
Not split in three are we;
Separated we are just persons,
United we are a people.
And beautiful, enchanting tones,
Come to us from *Norden*, our interpreter.²⁹

An avid reader, translator and contributor to the newspaper, the 37 year-old Cairns resident used prose to castigate the publication’s fragmented, aging readership as one that lacked direction; its readers blinded by nationalism’s “shabby little politics” rather than fully supporting the “beautiful, enchanting [Nordic culture] that Fischmann captures in our journal”.³⁰ A last example of the resurgent expression of pan-Scandinavian sentimentality that occurred within *Norden*’s readership during the early 1920s, such co-operative ideals in the migrant press contrasted heavily with the harsh realities of nationalist fragmentation as experienced by the Scandinavian-Australian community during and after World War I. Encouraged by a post-war atmosphere of economic confidence that had already allowed *Norden*’s readership to embark on several important macro-national projects that were designed to increase community participation, *Norden*’s own persistence relied solely on this remnant cohort of first-generation readers who romantically believed that *Norden* could still be a successful vehicle in promoting Scandinavian culture, cooperation and migrant achievements into the 1920s – provided sufficient support could be located within a

²⁹ H. W. Blöm was born in Hjørring, Denmark, and had arrived in Australia in 1911, aged 26, settling in the Esk region of South-east Queensland. In January 1916 he enlisted in the A.I.F. and in April of that year was sent overseas as a private in the 31st Battalion. His military service ended in June 1919. ‘Some of the 70,000 Scandinavians that assisted the Allied forces during the World War’, *Norden*, 14 February 1920, p. 2; Australian War Memorial, *First World War Nominal Role*, http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/nominal_rolls/first_world_war/page/R1558395/?preferred_name=blom&sort=asc&order=id&op=Search (Accessed 6/02/2014); H. W. Blöm, ‘Norden’, *Norden*, 9 December 1922, p. 5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

struggling, yet united, ethnic community.³¹ To this desperate, shrinking population of Nordic migrants, *Norden*'s only viable way forward was as a robust and inclusive pan-Scandinavian publication that could continue to appeal to a diverse macro-national readership.

However, despite Blöm's heartfelt call for Australia's apathetic Swedes, Danes and Norwegians to re-ignite pan-Scandinavian sentiments and ensure the persistence of their important news service, it was simply too little, too late. While *Norden* had survived the negative impacts of World War I and returned to a favourable economic position since 1918, the inability to attract new immigrants from post-war Scandinavia, the unimpeded and forced assimilation of the second generation, and the waning of community interest towards the newspaper's now out-dated aims, all converged to undermine *Norden*'s socio-cultural viability as the 1920s drew to a close. Significantly, the newspaper was enfeebled as the Scandinavian-Australian community began to lose its most stalwart first-generation readers to old age and death.³² *Norden* was becoming both antiquated and unviable as its original readership base crumbled – but for those who remained, the newspaper and its surrounding Scandinavian ethnic community would not disappear without a fight.

The revival of *Norden*'s pan-Scandinavian thrust over the 1920s and the community's strong resistance to the newspaper's decline are significant themes for discussion. As the Scandinavian diaspora wound to a close, and yet another editor, Frands Zimmerdahl, took up *Norden*'s reins in 1924, *Norden*'s future became increasingly uncertain. High levels of community mortality, as expressed through *Norden*'s lengthy obituary columns, made it clear to readers that the first-generation migrant community was in steep numerical decline. However, such desperation led several the innovative initiatives of the editors, directors and community figures to memorialise a community in decline. At the forefront of monument funding schemes and a Scandinavian-Australian encyclopedia project was *Norden* founder Jens Lyng, who aimed to strengthen the waning community's sense of ethnic identity and their perceived significance to Australian cultural history through the construction of memorials that included both physical monuments and their written life stories. In terms of *Norden*'s history, the late 1920s are best characterised by a vanishing community's determined attempts to chronicle the history of both *Norden* and its readers' lives to ensure that something would remain once their physical presence had long dissipated. Consequently, the return of ideological pan-Scandinavian co-operation during the 1920s was therefore only a desperate strategy by *Norden*'s supporters to negate the newspaper's – and the surrounding migrant community's – impending obsolescence.

Remarkably, the final years of *Norden*'s history, from 1929 to its last issue in March 1940 were characterised by the community's forceful resistance to decay. Aware of

³¹ See the end of Chapter 6 for more information regarding the acquisition of 'Scandinavia House' and involvement in the Scandinavian Progress Association as sites for continued pan-Scandinavian co-operation.

³² From the middle of the 1920s, *Norden* would begin to report the steady stream of elderly migrant deaths as those who arrived during the wave of 1870-1880s passed away. For example, Hans Christensen of Bundaberg, aged 70, received a front page obituary in 1926 that eponymously gives this chapter its name and theme. 'The Long Day Closes', *Norden*, 3 April 1926, pp. 1-2. By 1933, Scandinavian migrant numbers had dropped substantially, so that there were only 3,895 Swedes, 2,680 Norwegians, and 4,484 Danes in Australia – a drop of almost 3000 Scandinavians in the decade 1921-33. See Table 3 in Chapter 1.

Norden's impending demise, the remaining core community members, led once again by returned editor Carl Fischmann and aged founder Jens Lyng, desperately fought to keep *Norden* functioning until the calamitous events of the Great Depression and World War II conspired to bring about the newspaper's collapse. Eventually, *Norden* and the very idea of an ethnicised pan-Scandinavian community within Australia became nothing more than a dying ambition of a proud, yet tired, group of first-generation Scandinavian immigrants. Yet, in this period of desperation and community decline, the remnant readership's strong desires to hold onto their vision of a migrant community newspaper remained remarkably pervasive and illustrate *Norden's* significance to the community as a crucial site for migrant communication, social development, and pan-Scandinavian identity creation over a 44-year period. *Norden's* decline towards obsolescence was consequently an exceedingly lengthy process that only eventuated once the surrounding community of engaged Scandinavian-Australian readers had also been completely dismantled through community mortality, pressured assimilation, and indifference.

The beginning of *Norden's* end: Frands Zimmerdahl

The obsolescence of *Norden* during the interwar period was not a straightforward plunge towards obscurity, as the upsurge in economic activity and attempts to encourage stronger Scandinavian immigration between 1919 and 1924 has indicated.³³ However, the changeover of editors from Carl Fischmann to newcomer Frands Ragnar Zimmerdahl (1897/8-1973) in August 1924 can be seen as the fatal turning-point for both the publication and its surrounding, symbiotic migrant community. On 26 January 1924, Fischmann thanked readers for the many well-wishes that had flooded in from across the country to celebrate his 60th birthday.³⁴ This important milestone, a favourable economic climate, and his recent marriage certainly contributed to Fischmann's decision to leave *Norden's* editorial position. On 28 June 1924 he announced his retirement, effective from the next issue, after 10 years of editing the Scandinavian newspaper:

Now, as a good reason is laid for the future, and the magazine's founder and campaigner, Mr J. Lyng, is still closely linked to it, I find it timely for me to draw back and allow for younger forces with new ideas and a little optimistic ballast to carry it further. Here, as everywhere in the national life, it is necessary for 'new blood'. It is my hope that there will always be men who are willing to be involved in the work to maintain cooperative spirit and unity with the Nordic countries at home and amongst the Scandinavians here.³⁵

Since his return from New Guinea after World War I, Lyng had become once again a driving force in *Norden's* activities as secretary on *Norden's* board of directors, the pan-Scandinavian resurgence during the interwar period being encouraged through his direct involvement in activities such as 'Scandinavia House' and the

³³ See Chapter 6 for further details of economic success and the resurgence of hope for the community prior to *Norden's* decline.

³⁴ A party was held on 12 January where 80 ladies and gentlemen attended to celebrate Fischmann and his ongoing efforts for the Scandinavian community. *Norden*, 26 January 1924, p. 4.

³⁵ C. Fischmann, *Norden*, 28 June 1924, p. 3.

Scandinavian Progress Association.³⁶ With Danish-focused editor Fischmann bowing out and Lyng not wishing to return to his original position, Fischmann was forced to continue as editor for several months until August 1924, when Sydney-based Dane, Zimmerdahl, accepted an offer to take over.³⁷ *Norden* later advised its readers that:

The directors of the company have now engaged Mr Zimmerdahl of Sydney as *Norden's* future publisher and editor. Mr Zimmerdahl is a typesetter by profession, is of Danish birth and since his arrival in Australia a few years ago has worked in a printing plant in Sydney. Our new editor is expected to arrive in Melbourne by August 11.³⁸

Zimmerdahl had arrived in Sydney in the early 1920s with his newlywed wife, Amelie Jensen (1898-1979).³⁹ Both cultured artists and students from Copenhagen, Amelie had trained as a ballerina, ballroom dancer and pianist, eventually turning to painting to study at Fred Aamodt's art school in Copenhagen and under Leonard Richmond in London before the two emigrated to Australia, sometime between 1920 and 1924.⁴⁰ Being several decades younger than the majority of *Norden's* established Scandinavian community – Zimmerdahl himself was 26 when entrusted with the editorship, the youngest editor in the newspaper's history – the recently emigrated Zimmerdahls were tasked with breathing new life into an aging *Norden* through the encouragement of the contributions of newer, twentieth century migrants, such as H. W. Blöm, and perhaps even the uninterested second generation. Assisting her husband with *Norden*, Amelie contributed artwork to the newspaper, before her freelance work gradually extended to other newspapers and magazines – in particular the *Sydney Mail* – as well as children's book illustrations.⁴¹ She also worked as a theatre designer and dance instructor in Sydney.⁴² As a compositor and linotype operator, Zimmerdahl's editorial management of *Norden* began under the tutelage of main content contributor and founder, Lyng. Unfortunately, during Zimmerdahl's editorial reign, hope of the newspaper's renewal would quickly dissipate as a decade of lengthy problems began that only ended in *Norden's* permanent demise.

³⁶ Lyng was noted as an organiser of the Scandinavian Progress Association and secretary of the fund established to collect funds for Scandinavia House. 'To be or not to be', *Norden*, 24 November 1923, p. 1; *Norden*, 11 June 1921, p. 1.

³⁷ Jens Lyng, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia,' *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 4.

³⁸ Jens Lyng, 'Farewells and Welcomes,' *Norden*, 2 August 1924, p. 1.

³⁹ Few sources exist to expand knowledge of Frands Zimmerdahl's life and he remains a frustrating enigma given his significant position within *Norden* at this crucial time. More is known about his wife Amelie, due to her flowering artistic career, and he is often only mentioned in passing. David Angeloro, 'Zimmerdahl (Karina), Ami. A.', in Joan Kerr (ed.) *Heritage: The National Women's Art Book*, Roseville East, NSW, G + B Arts International Limited, 1995, p. 480; Provenance from a collection of artistic works belonging to Amelie Zimmerdahl, currently for auction, details further information of the Zimmerdahls' life not previously known, provided by Amelie's daughter. Author unknown, 'Karina (Ami, a.k.a. Ami Zimmerdahl, 1898-1979) a collection of the artist's varied work', <http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/5080761> (Accessed 8/2/2014).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* The Zimmerdahls had married in Copenhagen in 1920 prior to emigrating and had one child during their troubled marriage, which ended in divorce in 1932. 'Decree NISI granted', *Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners' Advocate*, 8 April 1932, p. 5; 'Danish Editor Secures Divorce', *The Horsham Times*, 8 April 1932, p. 4.

⁴¹ Angeloro, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

⁴² Amelie's work history makes it unclear as to whether she actually relocated to Melbourne with her husband to work on *Norden*, and their marriage broke down during Frands' editorship. Angeloro notes that Amelie was back working in Rockdale, Sydney, by 1929, no longer living with Frands (Angeloro assumed Amelie to be a widow by this time). *Ibid.*

Shortly after his editorial appointment was confirmed, Zimmerdahl asked readers for input into what role *Norden* should play in the future.⁴³ A relative outsider due to his necessary relocation from Sydney and status as a fresh immigrant to Australia, it is not surprising that the new editor took such steps to ensure local Melbourne readers were not alienated by Fischmann's departure, while emphasising that any major decisions regarding *Norden*'s operations would be made in close consultation with its invested readership. He was confident that *Norden* could be successful, providing his readers rallied behind a united pan-Scandinavian ideal and culture. With a similar pan-Scandinavian focus as had been encouraged by Blöm two years prior, Zimmerdahl wrote in September 1924 that his vision for the newspaper was one where readers, upon opening its pages:

... would immediately feel the Scandinavian way of thinking and feeling. That is a difficult task, of course, because even though the Nordic peoples are closely related in many respects, however [*sic*], we are so very different in others... but at one point we are the same, we stand on the same cultural level, and here it is that *Norden* would gather them all under its roof to be the messenger from home, in a concentrated form reflecting the events of the homeland.⁴⁴

The fact that Danish Zimmerdahl acknowledged the need for pan-Scandinavian co-operation in terms of content, culture, and readership numbers, yet grudgingly noted the difficulty of united efforts due to now strong nationalised differences, indicates that he was not as convinced of the benefits of pan-Scandinavianism as Lyng, but he was willing to try a united approach if it meant a greater chance of success. Zimmerdahl was still of the sensible opinion that *Norden* required a dramatic lift in subscriber numbers, and therefore called for ideas to make the newspaper better and attract further readers. *Norden*'s directors agreed and, in January 1925, committee member Henning Metes appealed to fellow readers to help identify *Norden*'s new goals and put in place a strategy for success:

A newspaper's viability, its right to exist, is determined by the readers' interest. Such interest should not be bound to the newspaper's regular entertainment material... *Norden* believes that it would benefit both its readers and even itself if it put on notice to its friends to express their opinion and views on the following questions:

1. What do they believe *Norden*'s primary object and its important tasks to be?
2. How could, in their opinion, *Norden* best achieve those aims, and by what means it should promote its tasks?⁴⁵

In response to this symbolic act of community democracy, several notable readers contributed their opinions concerning *Norden*'s future. Committee member and Sydney's Danish Consul Ove Lunn put forward his suggestions that *Norden* should

⁴³ *Norden*, 13 September 1924, p. 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ H. Metes, 'Readers and *Norden*'s goals', *Norden*, 3 January 1925, p. 1.

continue its main objective of maintaining a connection to Scandinavia, as well as assisting new immigrants in settling into Australia while further uniting the scattered pockets of settled Scandinavian migrants.⁴⁶ Fellow Consul P. J. Holdenson of Melbourne wrote that, in his opinion:

Norden's main objective is to keep up the knowledge of our mother tongue and the interest in our homeland, and work to good agreement between the resident Scandinavians... [to] use its columns for news of general interest from the home countries and draw attention to those Scandinavian goods likely to make inroads into the Aussie market; telling us everything interesting and good about our Scandinavian fellow citizens here in Australia while avoiding religion, politics, and other contentious questions.⁴⁷

Another reader, Carl Danielson from Farina, South Australia, believed that *Norden* should primarily "continue to be published in the style in which it has of late appeared, to be a connecting link between Scandinavians in Australia and the Homelands, and to bring more and more prominently before its readers articles of interest from the three Kingdoms".⁴⁸ Danielson was eager for educational articles "spreading Scandinavian culture amongst our fellow citizens in Australia and [that it should be done] in the English language", but that lengthy, serialised articles and those containing contentious, inflammatory subject material should be omitted for the good of readership stability.⁴⁹

Past editor Hans Clausen, now 66 years-old and struggling with illness, was perhaps the most vocal in outlining his vision for *Norden's* future.⁵⁰ He argued that *Norden* was the last bastion of defence between two competing cultures, "the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian. One is superior to another in each region and vice versa, but taken as a whole I assert that the Scandinavians stand on a higher cultural level than Australians".⁵¹ Clausen, despite living in Australia since a child, was adamant that the further loss of Scandinavian culture would be to the detriment of his shrinking community. *Norden* was therefore required to continue the fight against assimilation pressures and to act as a paragon of Nordic-Australian enlightenment:

In my opinion, *Norden's* task is to grieve for this culture of excellence that the Scandinavian immigrants possess, [to ensure] they do not get lost out here, and that they acquire some advantages that the English culture undeniably possesses over the Scandinavian. *Norden* must help in maintaining [Scandinavian immigrants'] innate and polite courtesies, their artistic senses, their quest for higher goals than simply the daily fight for sustenance, and not to degenerate into *sports enthusiasts*.⁵²

⁴⁶ Ove Lunn, *Norden*, 3 January 1925, p. 1.

⁴⁷ P. J. Holdenson, "Readers and *Norden's* goals", *Norden*, 17 January 1925, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Carl A. Danielsén, *Norden*, 17 January 1925, p. 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ H. A. Clausen, *Norden*, 17 January 1925, p. 1; Jens Lyng, 'Hans Clausen', 23 February 1929, p. 2.

⁵¹ H.A. Clausen, *Norden*, 17 January 1925, p. 1.

⁵² To do this, Clausen listed strong demands that were largely unworkable, stating that "the content must be made as interesting as possible, so that all subscribers keep the newspaper not because of patriotic considerations, but because they also see value for money. *Norden* should become a weekly.

Due to the outpouring of such idealistic opinions, Zimmerdahl and his close circle of contributors subsequently decided not to make any drastic changes to *Norden's* operation or ultimate function, but rather to continue to produce a publication similar in style and content to the earlier editions of Carl Fischmann. However, in doing so, Zimmerdahl and *Norden's* directors failed to take into account the inherent decline of the immigrant community that *Norden* relied on for survival. Nor did they attempt to locate a suitable replacement readership to ensure the publication's long-term viability. By the late 1920s, the lack of new immigrants and the widespread adoption of English-language communications between the shrinking numbers of *Norden's* original supporters made it increasingly difficult for the newspaper to garner sufficient support to stay in print.⁵³ Yet, the declining 'old-guard' of influential readers, such as Holdenson, Danielsen and Clausen, desired nothing less than *Norden's* continuation as a migrant-focused, community publication primarily for first-generation Scandinavians. Not one of the contributors above noted the need to involve their own children in community reinvigoration. Instead, the focus on assisting new immigrants and maintaining their connections to the distant homelands through a Scandinavian lens dominated their concerns. The committee's failure to respond adequately to the changing demographic of the Scandinavian-Australian community and find new avenues of readership would ultimately prove to be *Norden's* downfall.

The end of the diaspora: Scandinavian immigration ceases as migrant obituaries proliferate

Primarily, *Norden* needed to move away from being a Scandinavian immigrant publication if it was to stay in print. The great diaspora of Scandinavian migration was winding down by the mid-1920s and Australia would no longer be able to recruit sufficient numbers of Scandinavian migrants needed to replenish *Norden's* first-generation readership.⁵⁴ Despite the earlier inspired community efforts of *Norden*, Fischmann, Lyng and the Scandinavian Progress Association to encourage further immigration during that final influx of migrants between 1919 and 1924, it was becoming clear at the time of Zimmerdahl's takeover that the great migration was truly over.⁵⁵ According to Nordstrom, while the nations of Scandinavia had faced considerable hardship directly after World War I as the global economy struggled to recover – perhaps causing this final flight of Scandinavian migrants to the Americas and Australia between 1919 and 1924 – “the late 1920s are generally to be seen as

At least a page each should be devoted to excerpts from works of the best deceased and contemporary Scandinavian writers, reviews of the most important among newly released Scandinavian books, Scandinavian poetry, etc... We will stave off the mediocrity, the sporting zeal and inartistic surroundings out here that threatens to overwhelm us as a flood drowns a house by the water's edge". *Ibid.* [My emphasis.]

⁵³ For instance, by 1921 only 3 per cent of Danes in Australia could only read and write Danish, compared to 10 per cent in 1911. Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1986, p. 139. See Appendix 1 to see the steep decline in Scandinavian-language and Scandinavian-nationality advertisements in *Norden* by Zimmerdahl's editorship, indicating thereadership's own high levels of Australian assimilation.

⁵⁴ Byron J. Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500*, Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, pp. 230-236, 269; Olavi Koivukangas, 'Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II' PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974, p. 57.

⁵⁵ Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

years of recovery”.⁵⁶ This had been emphatically demonstrated to Lyng who, while working for the New Settler’s League in 1923, was granted government land in South Gippsland for 40 Danish farming families.⁵⁷ Upon arriving in Denmark to source the families, the plan faltered, as “things were booming in Denmark when I arrived there, and there was no desire amongst people with capital to migrate”.⁵⁸ To make matters worse for Lyng, the trip was cut short by the unexpected drowning of his adult son Niels.⁵⁹ To Lyng, the type of prospective emigrants available in Scandinavia had changed substantially since the earlier wave of the 1870s or even since his own arrival in 1891. Notably, Scandinavians were no longer easily convinced to leave the relative safety of Northern Europe for the trials of the Australian bush. As *Norden* wrote in March 1924, concerning the lack of enticements available to lure Scandinavians to Australian shores:

The modern immigrant is of a different casting [to the old migrants]. Deep down, it is probably still the desire for becoming rich and to return home like a king that is the reason of many people’s desire to travel from the old European countries, but the social conditions in these countries – particularly in northern Europe – has changed so tremendously, that no good comparison between the old and new immigrants can be made.⁶⁰

There was no longer the glut of Scandinavian poor and landless groups willing to try their luck far afield, especially as the important pull factors of gold and limitless farming opportunities in the Antipodes had diminished while favourable economic conditions within Scandinavia during the 1920s encouraged them to stay home.⁶¹ As Nordstrom wrote of the positive economic gains made in Scandinavia during the 1920s, “progress was made in almost every economic sector. On average, the output of goods and services rose throughout Norden. For the 1920s annual growth rates in the gross national product (GDP) averaged around 2.5% for Norway and Sweden, 3.9% for Denmark and 5.3% for Finland”.⁶² For Sweden especially, by 1922 signs of economic recovery and the rise of Hjalmar Branting’s first Social Democratic government had improved conditions at home to a point where overseas migration was no longer a priority.⁶³ Further Scandinavian emigration for economic betterment was therefore discouraged as the homelands promoted concepts of social and economic democracy designed for the betterment of Scandinavian society. Nordstrom agrees that, by the 1930s, such “important gains had been made to reduce at least some of the differences in Nordic societies in terms of income, education, opportunity, welfare, and the quality of everyday life”.⁶⁴ As such, the century of Scandinavian emigration was truly finished. Yet, this really was no surprise given the

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁵⁸ Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939, p. 29.

⁵⁹ ‘A Sad Reunion’, *Norden*, 13 October 1923, p. 2.

⁶⁰ ‘The Old and New Emigrants’, *Norden*, 8 March 1924, p. 1.

⁶¹ Herman Lindqvist, *A History of Sweden*, Stockholm, Norstedts, 2002, pp. 662, 665-666; Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁶² Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁶³ Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 665-666.

⁶⁴ Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

fact that the Scandinavians are believed to have always been economic migrants first-and-foremost.⁶⁵

Norden despaired at the differences between the old pioneering emigrants of the 1870s, who would do almost anything to open up opportunities for themselves in the harsh Australian landscape, with this new type of migrant not interested in the long term hardships needed to make success in Australia a reality:

The old settlers tell us with pride about those who came out here in the real good old days, it was determination and backbone these migrants possessed, and like Bismarck in his time ‘feared God and nothing else in the world’ – and many of them feared not even God... Nowadays it is different. Ships are comfortable hotels and the journey now takes only so many weeks where before it took months. Everything is catered for on-board, even cinema and ‘jazz bands’ belong to several steamers as the very articles of necessity. The wireless telegraph brings the latest news, and the domestic government prepares the way for [new] migrants.⁶⁶

But it was not simply the type of modern prospective emigrant that confounded the Scandinavian-Australians and their efforts to renew their community. As early as May 1924, *Norden* was also squaring the blame upon Commonwealth and state governments’ protective and selfish attitudes that continued to strongly discourage any form of non-British migration.⁶⁷ C. A. Adelskold’s damning reports of the New Settler’s League’s exclusionary pro-British migrant focus,⁶⁸ as well as Lyng’s mixed results at encouraging wider society of the benefits of Scandinavian migration to Australian development,⁶⁹ had demonstrated to the community that Scandinavian migrants were still not fully desired by the culturally homogenous Australian society of the interwar years. This was no surprise, as Freda Hawkins notes, “given growing class and sectional differences, intolerance, and narrow nationalisms developing in the international community, [the interwar years were not] a time when immigrants would be welcomed or immigration policies become more liberal” – particularly given that Australian immigration was tightly controlled and solely focused on attracting British migrants.⁷⁰ *Norden* highlighted the Scandinavian community’s concerns that their plans to encourage further immigration were being ignored. Drawing attention to the report of a recent sympathetic visitor to Denmark, Australian Educationalist Frank Tate, *Norden* argued:

⁶⁵ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 49.

⁶⁶ ‘The Old and New Emigrants’, *Norden*, 8 March 1924, p. 1.

⁶⁷ *Norden*, 17 May 1924, p. 1.

⁶⁸ C. A. Adelskold, ‘New Settlers League’, *Norden*, 12 October 1923, p. 1. See Chapter 6 for further details.

⁶⁹ Jens Lyng, ‘Denmark as a Recruiting Ground for Settlers: Paper read before the ‘New Settler’s League’ by J. Lyng’, *Norden*, 22 November 1924, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁰ Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, Kensington, NSW, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989, pp. 25-27. For further background on the impact of Australian national conservatism during the interwar period that disenfranchised the participation of non-British migrants in Australian development, see: Stephen Alomes, *A Nation at Last?: The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism 1880-1988*, North Ryde, NSW, Angus and Robertson, 1988, pp. 66-72; David Walker, ‘Race Building and the Disciplining of White Australia,’ in Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker, and Jan Gothard (eds), *Legacies of White Australia: Race, Culture, and Nation*, Crawley, WA, University of Western Australia Press, 2003, pp. 42-50

... that there were about 3000 skilled [Danish] agriculturalists available for immigration each year. They went to America, as the general opinion was Australia had little enthusiasm for admitting even her own kin from England. It was considered that even the “white Australia” policy was tainted with selfishness, and that Australians had little sense of trusteeship in not seeing that the country was developed in the best possible way.⁷¹

While Canada and the United States were well advertised as enticing migration destinations throughout Northern Europe during the 1920s, *Norden*’s contributors and outside observers, such as Tate, both agreed that Australians’ expressions of ignorance and intolerance towards the value of non-British migrants were extremely damaging and counterproductive.⁷² To complicate matters, the 1920s saw a marked increase of Southern Europeans into Australia, the influx of hardworking migrants from other locales, such as Italy, filling many existing gaps in labour markets that unintentionally provoked episodes of intolerance and violence against migrants.⁷³ Such developments limited Australian society’s perceived need for further Scandinavian immigrants in particular, who were no longer available in large numbers, were now uninterested in the prospect of coming to Australia, and had proven difficult to attract regardless of *Norden*’s efforts. As a result, no government assisted passages for Scandinavians became available between the two World Wars, and Scandinavian immigration to Australia remained insignificant during the 1920s before diminishing even further during the 1930s.⁷⁴ While Fischmann had earlier noted the need for an intake of “new blood” to revitalise his ailing first-generational

⁷¹ *Norden*, 17 May 1924, p. 1.

⁷² *Ibid.* *Norden* and Tate drew attention to comments by Australians such as “we do not want a lot of ‘Dagoes’ in our country”, and a continued strong feeling of anti-foreigner sentiment – ironically encouraged by protectionist White Australian sentiments – as the reason for their failings to secure further Nordic immigrants.

⁷³ Gianfranco Cresciani notes that the years directly after World War I, Italian labour undoubtedly competed with Australian labour for the few jobs available, furthering societal hostilities. Later, the success of Italian farmers in areas such as North Queensland further enflamed resentment and tension. Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 66-67. According to Catherine Dewhirst, such negative sentiments towards migrants in North Queensland encouraged the Ferry Report in 1925, which was critical in reframing government restrictions on a racial calibre – ultimately in favour of British preferences. Catherine Dewhirst, ‘The “Southern question in Australia”: The 1925 Royal Commission’s Racialisation of Southern Italians,’ *Queensland History Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 2014, pp. 316-332. Koivukangas also noted these attempts of the Commonwealth Government to “prohibit the entry of any alien not possessing a written guarantee from some sponsor in Australia or £40 of his own”, but that this actually assisted the growth of Southern European chain migration in the period through family sponsorship. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 202. The Italians, for example, grew in number from only 8,135 in the 1921 census to an overwhelming 26,756 by 1933. See Table 3 in Introduction.

⁷⁴ Koivukangas noted that while the net migration of Scandinavian males in 1921-1933 (1596 persons) seemed quite similar to that of 1911-1921 (1901 persons), the large number of Finns (648) arriving in Australia hid the fact that the Danes (358), Swedes (220), and Norwegians (370) received very few new immigrants in the period 1921-1933. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-201. Finland continued to lose migrants during this time due to its intense political instabilities following its descent into civil war towards the end of World War I and then the continued antipathies between socialists and non-socialists; Finland had also maintained the old problems of “too few landowners, too many farmers who held their land on short-term leases, and too many landless agricultural workers” that encouraged continued emigration. Nordstrom, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.

community, such negative developments meant that *Norden*, as a migrant-focused publication, was floundering towards an unviable future.⁷⁵

Ostensibly, the other major problem facing *Norden*'s readership at this time was the decline of its aging Scandinavian supporters, as its original and most enthusiastic readership-base crumbled. From the early 1920s onwards, increasing numbers of *Norden*'s frequently referred "old pioneers" began to die of old age, many of whom had been present in Australia since the 1870s and had supported *Norden* since its inception in 1896.⁷⁶ Indeed, the Commonwealth census statistics show a dramatic fall in the number of overseas-born Scandinavians present in Australia between 1921 and 1933; Australia lost some 3,000 Scandinavians within a decade, a fifth of the entire migrant population.⁷⁷ In February 1923, for example, *Norden* reported on two such old pioneers, Mrs Anna Faroe, aged 69, who after a long life involved with the Scandinavian Church's missionary work had died in Cheltenham hospital, and another, 71 year old Jens Uhd of Pascoe Vale, a migrant who had died after years of community support; "despite physical frailty he participated in many [of *Norden*'s] festivals here in Melbourne", wrote *Norden* upon his passing.⁷⁸ These early obituaries noted that the loss of elderly members would have strong consequences to the quality of community engagement and social activity available, which was compounded as the major leaders of Australia's widespread Scandinavian migrant associations also began to pass away. In May of 1923, *Norden*'s staunch Brisbane ally, O. F. Youngberg, died and was given a fond farewell in the newspaper.⁷⁹ Eighteen months later, influential Brisbane Dane and past Consul, Poul Poulsen, had also died, aged 70.⁸⁰ Such important figures and early supporters of *Norden* – some, like Youngberg and Poulsen, who had supported *Norden* since the beginning and had been critical players in its growth outside of Melbourne – were not being replaced.

Reports from further afield also described the accumulation of Scandinavian deaths in relatively quick succession during the early 1920s as smaller pockets of migrant readership disappeared. An infatuation with the community's own impending demise – symbolised through such first-generation migrant obituaries – gained momentum at this time. Evident through the obituaries of the older generation, most between the ages of 70 to 83 at their time of passing, was *Norden*'s continual focus on the pioneering spirit of a bygone age, migrants' connections to the distant homelands of their youth, but most significantly that these elderly readers were the only subscribers still interested in *Norden*'s Scandinavian message.⁸¹ In November 1925, for example, Bundaberg farmer Niels Peter Rasmussen died, aged 77. One of the pioneers of Bundaberg settlement, *Norden* relayed the long obituary from the *Bundaberg News* which noted Rasmussen as:

⁷⁵ C. Fischmann, *Norden*, 28 June 1924, p. 3.

⁷⁶ *Norden*, 17 February 1923, p. 5.

⁷⁷ The census records that there were some 14,041 Scandinavians in the 1921 census, but only 11,059 present in 1933 – a 21% reduction in a decade. By the next census reading in 1947 it had halved to only 6,992 Scandinavians. See Table 1 in Introduction. Statistician Jens Lyng would also note this dramatic fact in his last work, published in 1939, but by this time it was too late to react. Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op cit*, p. 67.

⁷⁸ *Norden*, 17 February 1923, p. 5.

⁷⁹ 'O. F. Youngberg,' *Norden*, 23 June 1923, p. 3.

⁸⁰ 'The Late P. C. Poulsen,' *Norden*, 17 January 1925, p. 4.

⁸¹ See, for example: 'Death of a Pioneer,' *Norden*, 13 September 1924, p. 5; *Norden*, 13 September 1924, p. 5; 'Death of Pastor H. Ries,' *Norden*, 1 May 1926, p. 4;

... one of the early day farmers, men who worked hard and cheerfully, and paved the way for thousands who have since made their home in Bundaberg, under comfortable surroundings, and who cannot appreciate the great debt they owe to those noble band of pioneers who turned a wilderness into an habitable settlement... [his death] now severs one more link in the connection of the older and the present day generation.⁸²

By the time 70 year old “well known and highly esteemed” Bundaberg Dane Hans Christsen died in early 1926, *Norden* was becoming aware of what this declining readership meant; not only was the long day closing for many of its pioneering readers outside of Melbourne, but the end was also drawing near for the newspaper itself.⁸³ Christsen’s obituary, a front page article that detailed the full life of a Copenhagen native and his 51 years of pioneering exploits under the Southern Cross, ended with a strong indication of the Dane’s contributions to Australian development: “The name of H. T. Christsen will remain a household word throughout the Burnett and Port Curtis districts, where Mr Christsen will ever be spoken of with kindness and esteem”.⁸⁴ A parable to *Norden*’s own situation of a long print-run drawing to a close, the passing of such great community figures was a crushing blow for *Norden*’s organisers and the remaining readership. Such extensively described biographical obituaries of these older pioneers predominated the last decades of *Norden*, significantly indicating that *Norden*’s prime concern had always been the first-generation migrants of the Scandinavian diaspora.

As well as the numerous pioneering deaths and retirement of notable Scandinavians from public life, other community members were unintentionally deserting the readership by leaving Australian shores or adapting to new ways of remaining connected to their homelands that ultimately circumvented their need for *Norden*. Now that travel technology had increased in speed and comfort, the economically-driven Scandinavians’ sojourns to the Antipodes were no longer as permanent as they had been in a bygone age of business-orientated settlement. As Robert Murray has indicated, while air travel was in its infancy and still out of reach of the majority during the 1920s, it did emphasise the shrinking of the globe. Furthermore, “regular passenger steamers plied most of the Australian coast... the fare from Sydney to London cost as little as £40 second class and the journey lasted about five or six weeks”.⁸⁵ In September 1923, for example, the shrinking Danish Club of Melbourne said farewell to its secretary, Poul Clausen, who was leaving Australia to take up a new position in Los Angeles. The small gathering of 15 members noted that Clausen “had been a worthy secretary to the Club, was well liked, and had made himself very popular in the short time that he had spent here in Australia, which amounted to only about 12 months”.⁸⁶ Greater transnational movements and more frequent, shorter stays undoubtedly caused havoc to local migrant community organisations, such as

⁸² *Norden*, 28 November 1925, p. 3.

⁸³ ‘The Long Day Closes,’ *Norden* 3 April 1926, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 2. Deaths would continue throughout the later 1920s, such as: ‘Peter Green’, *Norden*, 31 March 1928, p. 4; Lars Halvorsen, ‘In Memoriam’, *Norden*, 17 March 1928, p. 2. In February 1929, even past editor Hans Arrboe Clausen was interred after a long illness, his continued literary contributions to *Norden* ending in his death. Jens Lyng, ‘Hans Clausen’, 23 February 1929, p. 2.

⁸⁵ Robert Murray, *The Confident Years: Australia in the 1920s*, Ringwood, Allen Lane, 1978, pp.152-153.

⁸⁶ ‘Bon Voyage,’ *Norden*, 29 September 1923, p. 5.

Norden, that had grown accustomed to relying on permanent Scandinavian-Australian settlers for readership stability.

The rise of other new technologies, such as radio and telephone, also meant that *Norden* no longer maintained a monopoly in terms of how migrants remained connected to each other and their faraway homelands. Following the first radio broadcasts in late 1923, by 1929 there were 300,000 licensed listeners in Australia as radio had quickly become “another potent medium for advertising and communication”.⁸⁷ The radio had also been quickly adopted by Scandinavian language and music enthusiasts to broadcast, on occasion, Scandinavian-language records into homes, thrilling many migrants who had not heard their native tongue for many years.⁸⁸ The ability for telephone calls to be made all the way to the Scandinavian countries was another modern marvel that negated the need for *Norden* to relay important messages. In 1930, *Norden* reported on probably the first conversation between Melbourne and a Swedish country town, when Melburnian Oberon Olsson spoke to his elderly parents in Kalmar, who he had not seen for six years. According to *Norden*, Olsson’s parents had the “most unusual sensation of hearing the voice of their son 16000 miles away”.⁸⁹ Furthermore, with second and third generation of migrants now thoroughly engrossed in mainstream Australian life, Australian newspapers and news about local affairs of the wider community and nation took on a more important focus, trimming *Norden*’s readership heavily.⁹⁰ Koivukangas notes that “while the first generation of Scandinavians were changing to the English tongue, the younger generations were becoming completely Australian”.⁹¹ He cites examples of only the elder children of migrants as being able to understand the language of their parents, as well as being clumsy and therefore reluctant speakers even then.⁹² *Norden*’s move to even greater use of English-language articles in the 1930s was made to hold the interest of the second generation of Scandinavian-Australians, but they had their own interests separate from that of their aging parents. According to Koivukangas and Martin, the lingual shift of the population away from the Scandinavian languages towards English made it increasingly difficult for *Norden* to interest even the first generation of Australia’s Scandinavians in the newspaper, “and this lack of national cohesion led *Norden* to concentrate mainly on the Melbourne Danish community”.⁹³ With the first generation failing and other competing modes of communication becoming available, it became clear that *Norden* would be unable to continue without drastic change. However, instead of seeking new forms of income or audience participation

⁸⁷ Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 4: The Succeeding Age 1901-1942*, South Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 219.

⁸⁸ ‘Scandinavian Music on the Radio’, *Norden*, 23 July 1927, p. 1; The Danish church of P.C. Ligaard also attempted to provide radio sermons at this time, with little success. *Norden*, 5 March 1927, p. 5; Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

⁸⁹ *Norden*, 23 August 1930, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Koivukangas and Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, *op. cit.*, p. 139. Koivukangas goes into detail as to the reasons for such a strong adoption of English amongst Scandinavians, in particular the general low standards of cultural and linguistic education received by emigrants prior to leaving their homelands, a lack of strong patriotic sentiments, the isolation of individual migrants, and strong levels of intermarriage to English-speaking spouses. The inability for Australia’s migrant churches and ethnic societies to foster a greater understanding of their parent’s language within the second generation also hastened their monolingual shift to English. Koivukangas, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

to save the publication, *Norden*'s cohort of first-generation organisers and readers began to accept the eventual death of their ethnic community, as illustrated by the publication's focus on obituaries. As such, *Norden*'s contributors began a phase of retrospection and commemoration of a bygone age, building both physical and written memorials to champion their past exploits and contributions.

Memorialising a migrant community in decline

In reaction to the decline of *Norden*'s primary audience of first-generation readers, the publication's most stalwart figures began to memorialise their vanishing community through a series of innovative activities. First, the 1920s saw continuous waves of fundraising by the newspaper's community to build physical monuments and place upon the landscape; symbolic memorials to acknowledge the role played by Scandinavian-Australians in both Australia and the Nordic homelands. Such efforts at memorial building can be seen as a defensive reaction by the older generations of Scandinavian migrants who were still seeking their right to be included as citizens within an evolving White Australian identity. Contradicting this idea, however, is the fact that many of these calls for fundraising and monuments were designed to emphasise the migrants' activities to their own homelands, rather than to the Australian society in which they occurred. Many were therefore heavily nationalistic in outlook as symbols of Danish patriotism, as they tried to reinforce romantic homeland identifications of their youth, rather than the realities of a homogenised Australian nation that did not properly acknowledge their existence. On 23 February 1924, for example, *Norden* focused its attention on rallying the shrinking readership behind an ambitious project instigated by Western Australian Dane N. C. Ove – the erection of a monument in Denmark to remember the Danes and sons of Danes who fell in the World War I as part of the Allied forces (See Plate 23). *Norden* wrote that at least 3,000 Australians with some form of Danish heritage had died in World War I and that a monument, joining the Danish-Australians' sacrifices with those of the global diaspora, would be a fitting goal.⁹⁴ As Ken Inglis notes of modern war memorials that focus on the citizen-as-soldier, "war memorials celebrate victory, give thanks (though the *object* of thanksgiving may not be easy to decipher), and also commemorate people who died in the cause: an element of grieving, mourning, is now present".⁹⁵ The fact that *Norden*'s community wished to give thanks to those fellow migrants who had contributed to the Australian war effort was therefore a direct means for the community to promote their continued place in a modern Australia that was increasingly focused on the myth of Anzac and associated memorials. Headed by Lyng, Consul Holdenson, Danish Club chairman J. P. Nielsen and Carl Fischmann, a committee was established to gather at least 1,000 Danish Crowns as an appropriate contribution from the Danish-Australian community.⁹⁶ While there were some initial doubts over the interest that both Denmark and the Danish-Australian community would have in the project,⁹⁷ the monument fund grew

⁹⁴ It is unsure if this figure is a wild guess, or a dramatic embellishment. *Norden*, 8 March 1924, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Ken Inglis, 'Monuments in the Modern City: The War Memorials of Melbourne and Sydney', in John Lack (ed.) *Anzac Remembered: Selected Writings of K. S. Inglis*, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, 1998, p.172.

⁹⁶ 'Monument of Danes and sons of Danes who fell in the Allied armies,' *Norden*, 23 February 1924, p. 2.

⁹⁷ One reader, J. Larsen from Sydney, was quick to state that while he, "as one of the old Diggers from the World War fully sympathises with what Mr. N.C. Ove writes about a monument in Denmark for our fallen comrades", the neutrality of Denmark would limit the interest such a monument would have

steadily over April and May. Readers from Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane and even as far afield as Gympie in Queensland, Beechworth in Victoria, and Norsewood in New Zealand sent in donations. As B. C. Miller from Merrigum noted with his donation of 10 shillings:

I regard the movement as a most worthy one, and Danish-Australians, I think, owe it to their kinsmen who fell to aid in erecting a monument to their memory. It is the least, and about all we can now do to pay our tribute to those brave men, who, by their deeds, helped to make our native land secure from the dreaded German aggression, which, in my boyhood, was a source of ever-present anxiety to all.⁹⁸

In two months, over £24 had been raised and by August 1924 *Norden* reported approximately £40 had been raised in total.⁹⁹ Requests were also made by *Norden* on behalf of the Danish Foreign Office to the A.I.F. for records of Danish migrants and their sons who fought with the Australians, but the A.I.F. noted the long time it would take to collate such information, if at all possible.¹⁰⁰ Yet, this was necessary if the Danish government was to approve the project, while further problems in Denmark destabilised the monument fund's ability to get permission for erecting it. In a letter to *Norden* from the Danish monument committee secretary, Mr Nielsen-Sorring, the Danish organisers noted the delay in gaining a government subsidy for the project and, furthermore, at lack of support from Danish compatriots in the United States, who had originally pledged funds to the memorial.¹⁰¹ Because of these setbacks, the monument was, for the moment, put on hiatus despite some 120,000 Crowns being collected already:

When collection in Australia has been completed, the committee will appreciate to have a list of contributors sent. Of course, we appreciate the economic support, but we are much more excited about the underlying moral support the Danes in Australia have given us, for which they have our hearty thanks.¹⁰²

The funds, Nielsen-Sorring assured, would be put to good use, and other plans were being suggested, such as a memorial parkland or museum. *Norden* thus dropped the project, seeking out new projects to raise funds and memorials. As Lyng wrote, the best they could hope for was the increase in national sentiment and unity such fundraising efforts had on his community:

It seems to me that the Danes in Australia should be thankful that we, in the context of the monument, got a chance to show the Danish

at home, especially as many Danes had been conscripted and died as part of the German forces as well. *Norden*, 8 March 1924, p. 2.

⁹⁸ B. C. Miller, 'Letter, Merrigum, March 29 1924', *Norden*, 5 April 1924, p. 5.

⁹⁹ 'Monument fund', *Norden*, 19 April 1924, p. 5; 'Danes and the Great War', *Norden*, 30 August 1924, p. 5. This last article claimed that all up, due to some creative uses of statistic by Lyng, close to 100,000 Danes and their immediate descendants took part in World War I, in an attempt to rally more donations to what *Norden* saw as a very important fundraiser.

¹⁰⁰ 'Letter to Norden from Captain W. Macintosh,' *Norden* 13 September 1924, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ 'Letter from Nielsen-Sorring to Norden', *Norden*, 13 September 1924, p. 4.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

Plate 22 (bottom left): 'Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australasia', *Norden*, 11 October 1924, p. 8.

Plate 23 (bottom right): 'The Monument', *Norden*, 5 April 1924, p. 3.

DEEDS AND DOINGS Of Scandinavians in Australasia.

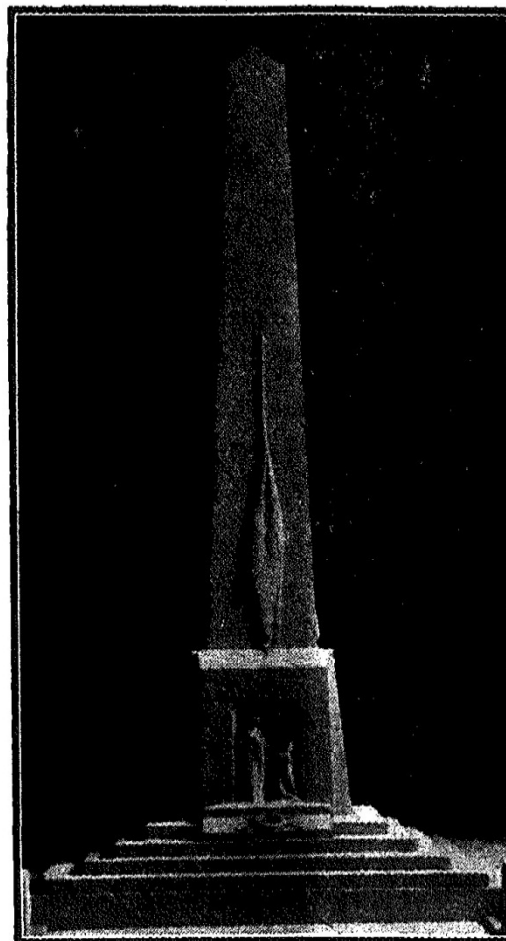
(Compiled for the Scandinavian Progress Association, Melbourne.)

Engman, Harald.—Born in Oster-Gotland, Sweden. Trained as a horticulturist. Migrated to South Africa in 1894, and from there proceeded to Victoria in 1897. For fourteen years he was in charge of the Fitzroy Gardens, during which period, he was elected a committee member of the Horticultural Society of Victoria, secretary to the Metropolitan Parks and Gardens Mutual Help Society, and judge, secretary, and lecturer in connection with numerous flower shows. In 1911 he was appointed manager of the School of Forestry at Creswick, which position he held for some years.

Jensen, Jorgen.—Born in Horsens, Denmark. Migrated to Queensland in or about 1880 and settled in Charters Towers. After some years he went to Brisbane and opened a gentlemen's outfitting business in Queen Street. He next became manager of an underwear factory. This establishment he eventually took over and conducted on his own account till his death in 1909. He was at one time president of the Scandinavian Society in Brisbane.

Cohn Brothers.—Jacob, Moritz, and Julius Cohn were born in Horsens, Denmark, whence they migrated to Victoria in 1853. Together they established a store in Bendigo, naming it the "Continental Store." In 1857 they started the "Victoria Brewery," and afterwards a brewery in Talbot. In 1883 they added the manufacture of lager beer to that of ale and stout, and they claim to have been the pioneer lager beer brewers in Australia. A cordial factory and an ice-works were in time added to their business in Bendigo. Julius, in 1862 or 1863, organised the first mounted corps in Bendigo and was its commanding officer for several years. Jacob became a leading citizen in his adopted town. He was made a justice of the peace, elected a member of the municipal council, and in 1888, and on subsequent occasions, elevated to the position of mayor. He was elected president of the Agricultural Society for Bendigo and District, president of the art gallery, a member of the hospital committee, etc. He also took a keen interest in mining, and was one of the directors of the School of Mines. In recognition of the worthy manner in which he upheld the name of his native land he was, by the Danish king, created a Knight of Dannebrog. He died in 1911, having survived his two brothers.

Ries, Hans Madsen.—Was born in North Slesvig in 1860 (one of 18 children) and trained as a State School teacher. Afterwards he qualified as a missionary with the intention of going to India, but instead, in 1886, accepted the call as minister to the Scandinavian Lutheran congregation in Norsewood, N.Z. In 1888 the settlement was swept by a fire which devoured 44 buildings, including the Scandinavian church and



MONUMENTET.

Description: The last decades of *Norden's* life were characterised by a period of resistance to community decline and, most significantly, the monument-building ventures of a diminishing first-generation readership. Notably, Jens Lyng's encyclopedia project and the Danish war monument indicate how both written and physical markers were to be left to remind future generations of the migrant community's very existence.

people that – despite time and distance – our hearts still strike hot for our old homeland.¹⁰³

Despite the inability for the Danish war monument to be erected, the flurry of activity surrounding its fundraising caused many of the leading Danish-Australians to search out new ways to unite their communities through collective action. Six months later, in June 1925, *Norden* and a committee of Danish consuls from across Australia joined the appeal to revitalise Denmark's national museum, which had fallen into disrepair. *Norden* urged its readers to give to a new national cause:

Countrymen! The Danish national museum contains unique and irreplaceable collections that include the visible reminders of Danish people's life and work from its first settlement to 8000 years ago to the present, yet many artifacts are crammed in undignified, cramped and extremely flammable conditions.¹⁰⁴

In a call for Danish solidarity abroad and a sense of cooperation, *Norden* noted that it "would be very pleased to receive contributions, large and small, from our compatriots who so desire to support this great national cause".¹⁰⁵ To revitalise the symbol of Danish national culture, the Danes of Australia rushed to show their support even more strongly than that of the Danish war memorial. By December 1925, *Norden* had collected £69.1.6 from some 90 Scandinavians, noting that "this collection... is beautiful testimony to the interest and sympathy still shown amongst Danes and Scandinavians in Australia. We bring a thanks to all contributors".¹⁰⁶ As the community of aging Scandinavian migrants, particularly the Danish majority, reminisced about their past and thought fondly of their homelands, it is not surprising that *Norden* used such activities to strengthen its own readership though a new sense of purpose. Over the last 15 years of *Norden's* lifespan, such fundraising ventures would be used often to rally the shrinking community to a common cause, ultimately to demonstrate the persistent power and pride this shrinking community had in embracing their migrant heritage.

Written 'monuments' historicise *Norden's* vanishing community

As well as physical monuments designed to imprint wider society with permanent reminders of the Scandinavian-Australians' successful and valued contributions both at home and abroad, the 1920s also saw increased interest in collecting migrant histories, biographies and life stories as written monuments to the vanishing Scandinavian-Australian community. Founder Lyng, who had been working as chief draughtsman for the Bureau of Census and Statistics since 1920 and involved in demographic analysis of Australia's ethnic groups, was particularly aware of *Norden's* increasing vulnerability, especially as his own data began to note the substantial decline of Scandinavian migrant numbers between 1921-1933.¹⁰⁷ But,

¹⁰³ Jens Lyng, 'Monument for Fallen Danes', *Norden*, 13 September 1924, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ 'A National Museum Fund', *Norden*, 25 July 1925, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ 'Collection for a National Museum Fund', *Norden*, 26 December 1925, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ In 1921, his statistical analysis actually showed a stable population between 1911 and 1921, with only a decline of approximately 700 Scandinavians over the decade. Jens Lyng, 'How many are we?', *Norden*, 14 April, 1923, p. 3. Lyng also noted that in 1921, almost 75% of the Scandinavians present in the census were naturalised Australians. However, Lyng would later note that by his calculations, between 1921 and 1933, the Scandinavians in Australia declined by about 3000, indicating the sharp

instead of further trying to recruit the heavily assimilated second-generation as new readers and community members, his own contributions to *Norden*'s pages turned inwards towards a period of reminiscence and written monument-building.¹⁰⁸ As early as January 1924, the historically interested Lyng began to assemble an 'encyclopedia' of Scandinavian migrant stories and, to ensure nothing was forgotten, asked aging members of the community to contribute their own life stories, biographies and histories for publication as a *Norden* serial and then, later, to be collated as a published book.¹⁰⁹ Undoubtedly, this move to chronicle the endeavours of a rapidly disappearing community was the most significant contribution *Norden* made from 1924 to its decline in 1940. Lyng remarked that 'Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australasia', as it would be called, was:

...intended to be a collection of condensed hard facts of the achievements of as many Scandinavians in Australasia as it is possible to dig up, and who by their labor have contributed to the advancement of their adopted country.¹¹⁰

The plan to focus on Scandinavian contributions to Australian development was clearly designed to memorialise a hardworking and pioneering community on death's door, but it was also the last effort by Lyng and the Scandinavian Progress Association to encourage further Nordic immigration. The frustrated Lyng, who had directly heard the anti-foreigner sentiments expressed by Victorian Minister for Lands, John Allan, at the annual New Settler's League conference, had also been dismayed by the pro-British comments of Victoria's Agent-General in London, Sir John McWhae, that undermined the Scandinavian Progress Association's efforts.¹¹¹ By using such material accounts to offset continued negative opinion of foreign-born, non-British members of Australian society, it was hoped that government decision makers could be convinced of the Scandinavians' value as new citizens. 'Deeds and Doings' was thus contrived "partly to convince such people as Mr. Allan and Sir John McWhae that, as far as Danes, Norwegians and Swedes are concerned, they never have been idlers or parasites, but to the contrary have discharged their duties as citizens honourably and well".¹¹² The encyclopedia entries were to be printed fully in English so that the full impact of Scandinavian migration upon Australia's development could be realised by the entirety of the Commonwealth (See Plate 22).

Personally, the encyclopedia project was also a bold plan by Lyng to collect material for his own continued career as a historian and an academic, as he forged closer links

drop felt by the community across the 1920s and causing *Norden* to look inwards towards community memorialisation activities. Jens Lyng, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia,' *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Shortly after his son Niels' death and return from Denmark in 1923, Lyng embarked on a greater involvement in the Scandinavian Progress Association, but was also intent on memorialising his community with written monuments and published works, as if he was becoming acutely aware that his legacy was in danger.

¹⁰⁹ Lyng used the word 'Lexicon' to describe his ambitious plan, but the work really was to be more of an encyclopedia than a dictionary. 'Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australia', *Norden*, 26 January 1924, p.1.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ According to Lyng, Mr. Allan had stated that foreigners were not wanted in Australia, and Sir McWhae had commented "that Australia owed everything to Great Britain and nothing to anybody else". *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

to the University of Melbourne and sought appropriate material for a new scholarly work linked to Australian migration and development. By 1927, Lyng's determination to promote future Scandinavians migration and possible future contributions to Australian development were brought to new heights with the publication of his own work, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, in 1927, and his inclusion in one of the first academic works to be produced discussing Australian migration and development, P. D. Phillips and G. L. Wood's *The Peopling of Australia*, in 1928. Both of these works marked Lyng as a serious scholar and contributor to issues of migrant development within Australia, certainly influenced by his experiences working with *Norden* and his own community, but also with the New Settler's League, his own employment with the Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics, and his growing ties to the University of Melbourne.¹¹³ However, as funds for the project were scarce, Lyng turned to *Norden* and its widespread community to gather the much needed material:

It will depend on the assistance rendered by Scandinavians scattered all over Australia. There is no money available for anybody to travel about and collect information... If everybody will help, who can help, the work will be carried out; otherwise it is an impossibility, and it will be dropped. It will be fatal to the plan if people, out of modesty, refrain from telling anything about their own achievements – and contemptible to render the work valueless by invented achievements.¹¹⁴

The request was accompanied by several examples of the excerpts to be compiled, with short biographies of migrant colleagues who had distinguished careers in farming and business after migrating in the mid-nineteenth century, as well as an excerpt about H. Graff's failed newspaper, *Skandia*.¹¹⁵ In asking *Norden*'s community to contribute information concerning the Scandinavian migration saga, Lyng called for community reinvigoration and a stronger sense of ethnic identity through the interactive creation of a proud historical legacy, ultimately to help him document and 'invent' a strong sense of migrant heritage. Through this project, Lyng was also collecting valuable first-hand accounts before those elderly migrants of the 1870s expired and the community lost their stories forever. Yet, it was also notably pan-Scandinavian in scope, unlike the concurrent physical monument projects that had been staunchly Danish in focus. The written memorials of *Norden*, including Lyng's encyclopedic work, were purposefully designed to accentuate the pan-Scandinavian element of the community and ensure the newspaper's economic survival by chronicling the past deeds of all Danish, Swedish and Norwegian migrants as one united group with similar ambitions, hopes and dreams.

As it turned out, the result of Lyng's call for migrant success stories was phenomenal, particularly as the aging community struggled to come to terms with its impending destruction. Readers from across Australasia sent Lyng information for his grand encyclopedic vision, a monument of Scandinavian migrant histories relating to their lives and how they had influenced Australia's development.

¹¹³ Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1927; P. D. Phillips and G. L. Wood (eds) *The Peopling of Australia*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1928.

¹¹⁴ 'Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australasia', *Norden*, 26 January 1924, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Contributors willingly reminisced over long-dead friends and corrected erroneous material within Lyng's collected biographies, strengthening the content and their own migrant identifications in the process.¹¹⁶ The significance of the encyclopedia project also attracted interest from later generations who were keen to share information regarding their Scandinavian ancestors' exploits in the Antipodes. Notably, poet Henry Lawson's daughter Bertha, then employed in the Sydney Public Library, provided a full biography of her Norwegian grandfather Peter Hertzberg Larsen, much to the delight of Lyng. Accompanying a detailed biography, Bertha summarised her grandfather in the following way:

Peter Larsen was a sailor, miner, carpenter and bush selector. He was a stockily short build man with blue eyes and auburn hair. He had received a good education. His son Henry says: "He was well educated in his own language, could understand and appreciate German poetry, knew French well enough to understand a Frenchman, was a fine penman and wrote good English." He had an independent spirit and a quiet, very kindly disposition.¹¹⁷

In locating worthy Scandinavian-Australian figures to give his encyclopedia sufficient gravitas to enable subsequent printing in book format, Lyng acknowledged the power of such biographies as important contributions and memorials from a dwindling migrant community. "As Henry Lawson is the greatest literary genius Australia hitherto has produced and his works are read from one end of the continent to the other," wrote Lyng, "Miss Lawson's account of her grandfather is of particular interest to us Scandinavians – more particularly, of course, the Norwegians".¹¹⁸ Yet, while remembering such grandiose figures as German Harry or Peter Larsen, the encyclopedia project was perhaps more notable in allowing even the smallest deed or person to be promoted as a significant member of a continuous and well-established Scandinavian community.¹¹⁹ 'Deeds and Doings' mixed notable biographies of Victoria Cross recipient J rgen Jensen and the first Scandinavian Consul to Australia, J. B. Were, with stories of smaller farmers and businessmen – demonstrating that *all* were symbolically important in terms of ethnic community involvement. As such, this project provided a new reason for the older Scandinavians to read *Norden* and to contribute to its pages in another renaissance of community activity.

The column continued well into 1926, before being replaced by Lyng's serialised history, entitled 'The Scandinavians in Australia', which was published over August and September 1926.¹²⁰ Lyng continued the impetus of interest in this material with his most influential book, *Non-Britishers in Australia*, in 1927, using *Norden* and the

¹¹⁶ For example, Lyng had initially asked the community if they had any concrete knowledge of a character known as 'German Harry' in May 1924's 'Deeds and Doings', and the following month A. Bastian had responded. Another reader from Sydney then verified and debunked some of Bastian's account. 'German Harry', *Norden*, 17 May 1924, p. 5; A. Bastian, 'German Harry', *Norden*, 14 June 1924, p. 7; 'Letter to Norden', *Norden*, 28 June 1924, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ Bertha Lawson, 'Peter Hertzberg Larsen', *Norden*, 6 December 1924, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ Jens Lyng, *Norden*, 6 December 1924, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ 'Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australasia', *Norden*, 13 June 1925, p. 5.

¹²⁰ Jens Lyng, 'The Scandinavians in Australia: Scandinavians coming to Australia', *Norden*, 28 August 1926, pp. 3-5; Jens Lyng, 'The Scandinavians in Australia: Contribution to Economic Development', *Norden*, 11 September 1926, pp. 5-6; Jens Lyng, 'The Scandinavians in Australia: Science, Art, Literature and Sport', *Norden*, 25 September 1926, pp. 3-5.

earlier ‘Deeds and Doings’ section to promote the sale of his study to now very interested parties.¹²¹ In an interview about the book’s launch, Lyng noted that he felt he had “struck something which has a more than usually wide appeal to the general public” than his pure Scandinavian histories.¹²² Indeed, by addressing the well-established racial hierarchies that pervaded contemporary British-Australian thought – as well as Lyng’s own stance regarding Nordic racial superiority over other supposed ‘white’ races – the book proved quite successful. But *Non-Britishers* was perhaps most significant in how it allowed Lyng to respond directly to the negative issues he had experienced while trying to promote Scandinavian immigration through the New Settlers League. Read as a long and rational plea from Lyng to wider Australian society, *Non-Britishers* made a case for the recognition of his own Scandinavian community as valuable contributors to White Australia in racial, economic, and cultural terms. Furthermore, it was hoped that such publicity from Lyng’s *magnum opus* would affect some change for the better. With the release of *Non-Britishers in Australia*, copies of Lyng’s work were given free to new subscribers of *Norden* in an attempt to swell the newspaper’s circulation amongst interested parties.¹²³

Despite such strong interest in collecting the material from ‘Deeds and Doings’ for another book, Lyng quickly realised that funds for the publication of what he now called “An Austral-Scandinavian Encyclopedia” would never be forthcoming, as a sufficiently interested market could not be proven other than *Norden*’s small readership. The format would also have been so large that printing and editing the manuscript would have been costly, and the project was eventually abandoned, as Lyng noted in 1930:

For various reasons my stamina was stretched on this rather large work, and I decided not to continue, and after about 18 months it went to a standstill. One reason was that I realised the difficulty of getting such a work published in print. The sale of such an encyclopedia would not be great – so where could the money for its release come from?¹²⁴

Over the late 1920s and early 1930s, *Norden*’s interest in collecting and publishing the stories and biographies of aging migrants continued regardless. The newspaper therefore became a main receptacle of knowledge regarding Scandinavian migration. In June 1929, E. H. Fromen of Adelaide provided *Norden* with his father’s diary, detailing the Swede’s travels to Australia in the 1850s as a sailor.¹²⁵ Such input from *Norden*’s readership would also help Lyng in compiling his own historical studies of New Zealand and Queensland’s communities during the 1930s.¹²⁶ In February 1931, Lyng, working as librarian and draughtsman with the Commonwealth Statistical Bureau in Canberra, completed his study on Scandinavians in New Zealand and embarked on a project to collate information concerning the other great bastion of his

¹²¹ ‘Non-Britishers in Australia’, *Norden*, 1 October 1927, p. 3.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ ‘J. Lyngs New Book Free to our Readers’, *Norden*, 20 August 1927, p. 3.

¹²⁴ ‘An Austral-Scandinavian Encyclopedia’, *Norden*, 26 July 1930, p. 1.

¹²⁵ ‘Echoes of Early Days’, *Norden*, 29 June 1929, pp. 10-11.

¹²⁶ Most significantly, this entailed material for his final work – Jens Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1939.

compatriots: Queensland.¹²⁷ On 7 February 1931, he stated his desire to collect information from the community, being “particularly interested in knowing the names of all the places where Scandinavian Lutheran congregations existed, particulars about them, including the names of clergymen who served them”.¹²⁸ He was also particularly anxious to know about earlier Scandinavian societies in Queensland “and of Danes, Norwegians and Swedes who became outstanding”.¹²⁹ From the outpouring again of new information he received on Queensland migrants, Lyng embarked on a series of articles, with an aim to chronicling the experiences of the Queensland group before it disappeared.¹³⁰ The last two issues of the serial made use of information collated from ‘Deeds and Doings’, noting both Queensland’s successful migrants as an addendum and the significance of the earlier drive to collate such important historical information by the community.¹³¹ Similarly, by August 1935, Lyng had contributed a history of the Scandinavian consular services to *Norden*’s pages.¹³² He also contributed a story of Scandinavian place names across the Australasian landscape, as he attempted to solidify the heritage of Scandinavian pioneers within the shrinking readership through the dissemination of his research.¹³³ Throughout the last decades of *Norden*, the spreading of this significant historical knowledge and the chronicling of Scandinavian migrant stories clearly became a main focus, and the public response to Lyng’s efforts remains a remarkable demonstration of the dwindling community’s continued zeal in making clear their own valued place within Australian society.

The turn to create both written and physical monuments near the end of *Norden*’s lifespan can be seen to mirror the Scandinavians’ involvement and efforts at Federation 30 years prior, and suggest significant attempts to promote their continued existence as an ethnic community. However, instead of using such activities to memorialise their continued contribution as a vibrant ethnic group within a developing pluralist Australian nation, these later attempts were designed to allow a now disenfranchised and assimilated group of elderly migrants to leave their mark on a post-war Australian cultural landscape that had taken on new levels of homogenised and conservative national traditions.¹³⁴ As Hawkins noted, the interwar years were not a tolerant time in Australia for migrant communities to be outwardly promoting a sense of difference, nor their non-British heritage, as “no one felt secure enough or concerned enough to propose or even contemplate anything like a non-

¹²⁷ John Stanley Martin, ‘Lyng, Jens Sorensen (1868–1941)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2005, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lyng-jens-sorensen-13059/text23615>. (Accessed 10/06/2014).

¹²⁸ Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavians in Queensland’, *Norden*, 7 February 1931, p. 5.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavian Settlement in Queensland, Part I,’ *Norden*, 16 May 1931, pp. 6-7. He began with Part 1 in May 1931 and concluded with Part 12 in November 1931. During this period, Lyng discussed the early days of European settlement, German migrants, and then the experiences of the Scandinavians in detail from city migrants to gold miners, church groups and societies. If it was not for *Norden*, much of this material would not have been created, nor preserved, for later studies, and was incorporated into Lyng’s 1939 book, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*. See: Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavian Settlement in Queensland,’ *Norden*, 30 May 1931, pp. 5-6; *Norden*, 13 June 1931, pp. 5-7; *Norden*, 27 June 1931, pp. 5-6; *Norden*, 23 July 1931, pp. 5-6; *Norden*, 8 August 1931, pp. 5-6; *Norden*, 5 September 1931, pp. 5-6; *Norden*, 19 September 1931, pp. 6-7.

¹³¹ *Norden*, 24 October 1931, pp. 5-6; *Norden*, 28 November 1931, pp. 6-8.

¹³² Jens Lyng, ‘Scandinavian Consular Service in Australia’, *Norden* 17 August 1935, pp. 1-2, 4.

¹³³ Jens Lyng, ‘Scandinavian Place Names in Australia’, *Norden* 20 July 1935, p. 2.

¹³⁴ Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

discriminatory immigration policy, let alone a program of multiculturalism”.¹³⁵ Inward-looking and narrow-minded, with little interest in the outside world, the Australian society of the interwar period did little to encourage *Norden*’s original pluralist agendas. Yet, this did not stop the dwindling Scandinavian-Australian readership of *Norden* during the interwar period from becoming involved in quite innovative methods of remembering their vanishing community’s contributions and experiences. As the Scandinavian diaspora ended and *Norden*’s growing number of migrant obituaries indicated the end of the Scandinavian-Australian community’s viability, many of *Norden*’s commemorative activities, designed to memorialise and recognise the pioneering spirit of many passing first-generation migrants, were quite effective at enabling *Norden* to re-ignite its own sense of worth as a community-driven migrant publication. In reality, the ways in which *Norden* rallied the community to contribute to monument funds, fundraising efforts and written memorials all acted to extend the lifespan of a community’s united Scandinavian identity – one that had really been a lost hope since the outbreak of World War I. While still slowly losing ground to a wider Australian society that sought to wipe any memory of non-British migration from a new Australian national consciousness, *Norden*’s community struggled on into the 1930s, even if it was on the verge of abandoning readers’ dreams of an enduring ethnic group.

The Great Depression and the end of financial security

Although *Norden* survived the 1920s intact under Zimmerdahl’s editorship, by 1929 economic events and the shrinking first-generational readership conspired to plunge *Norden* into a decline that would prove impossible to recover from. As Geoffrey Spenceley asserts, by the mid-1920s “the Australian economy had come to depend increasingly on good seasons and the capacity of the governments to draw in investment funds from overseas to balance the current account and maintain the level of employment”.¹³⁶ Already in recession by 1927-1928, a downturn in foreign investment and the subsequent collapse of export prices during 1929 highlighted an increasingly problematic situation for Australian markets.¹³⁷ By 1929, the Australian government could no longer continue to borrow heavily from a now exhausted London loan market, resulting in the need “to pay the interest on earlier loans [while it] could not borrow much new money”.¹³⁸ Without funds for government services and programs, spending was cut and customs duties were increased to pay back the loans, the result being the reduced spending power of the community, a skyrocketing unemployment rate, and a 10% to 20% reduction in wages for those who precariously held on to their jobs.¹³⁹ Following the Wall Street Crash of the New

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Geoffrey Spenceley, *A Bad Smash: Australia in the Depression of the 1930s*, Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1990, p. 15.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Humphrey McQueen, *Social Sketches of Australia 1888-2001*, St Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland Press, 2004, p. 124.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* McQueen notes an almost 40% unemployment rate in 1932, whereas Hawkins notes that unemployment peaked around 30% in the winter of 1932. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 28. As there were no official government statistics, and only trade unions kept records of their unemployed members, the actual unemployment rate during this time is subject of debate – 40% is therefore not an unrealistic figure and the actual percentage of unemployed may have been even higher. Spenceley draws attention to the some 200,000 men employed on public works projects who quickly lost their jobs when foreign investment stalled, setting “in motion a multiplier effect of declining income, employment and production”. Spenceley, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

York Stock Exchange in October 1929, the global economy was plunged into chaos, and, according to Spenceley, by 1930 “there was no escaping the fact that the Australian economy was in depression”.¹⁴⁰

The next decade would thus prove abysmal for *Norden*’s economic outlook and threaten its closure several times. As the economic depression spread across Australia during 1930-1931, *Norden* lost almost all of its’ advertisers yet again as all the hard work of the post-war boom unravelled.¹⁴¹ According to Lyng, once the Great Depression hit, “only with difficulty could expenditures be met. At last even that could not be done. A second mortgage had to be obtained on [Scandinavia] house, and afterwards an overdraft arranged with the bank, four of *Norden*’s friends going guarantee”.¹⁴² Even the few Scandinavian migrants who made it to Australia during the Depression could not be expected to swell *Norden*’s community as many were forced through economic difficulties to move constantly or to link up with other migrants of differing nationalities, rather than join the Scandinavians, let alone pay for a newspaper – economic survival took precedence over community and cultural persistence.¹⁴³ As Wendy Lowenstein argued, migrants were especially vulnerable in Australia during the Great Depression and were often a visible outlet upon which a desperate Australian society could vent their frustrations: “most often had no family or friends to call on for help, many single men had not even a place where they could receive letters...” and many newer migrants were widely resented for competing for work against the swathe of similarly unemployed Australians.¹⁴⁴

The early 1930s was a particularly trying time for both *Norden* and Zimmerdahl’s family situation. By 1929, Zimmerdahl had relocated to Melbourne permanently to work on *Norden*, however Amelie, with her own aspirations and growing influence on the Sydney art scene, remained in the Sydney suburb of Rockdale.¹⁴⁵ Significantly, Lyng noted that sometime in 1930-1931 “the editor’s salary and trading accounts fell in arrears. Things looked almost as gloomy as they ever had done, when Mr. Zimmerdahl was offered a position as paid secretary of the Danish Club, and retired from *Norden*”.¹⁴⁶ The stresses of the economic depression, *Norden*’s piecemeal success, and the permanent breakdown of his marriage clearly caused him to abandon *Norden* for the safety of the Danish Club. In April 1932, he

¹⁴⁰ Spenceley, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16. Rothermund further points out that, due to an inexperienced government, no central bank nor official co-ordination among its commercial banks, Australia had little institutional or conceptual equipment which would have enabled it to cope with the financial crisis. Dietmar Rothermund, *The Global Impact of the Great Depression, 1929-1939*, London, Routledge, 1996, p. 86.

¹⁴¹ As Koivukangas and Martin note, “The depression severely aggravated the financial stability of *Norden* when all the advertisers were lost except for a few patriotic Scandinavian stalwarts” Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p.139; Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op cit.*, p. 67. This is corroborated by Appendix 1 (Table 1 and Chart 3), where the number of advertisers halved from 39 in June 1931 to just 19 in June 1932.

¹⁴² Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia,’ *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 4.

¹⁴³ Lisa Erikson, ‘Sweden to Australia - A Migrant Experience’, in Hank Nelson (ed.) *Voices from a Vanishing Australia: Recollections of the Way Things Used to Be*, Crows Nest, NSW, ABC Enterprises, 1988, p. 86.

¹⁴⁴ Wendy Lowenstein, *Weevils in the Flour: An Oral Record of the 1930s Depression in Australia*, Melbourne, Hyland House, 1978, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ Angeloro, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

¹⁴⁶ Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia,’ *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 4. Zimmerdahl is still listed as editor of *Norden* until June 1931. *Norden*, 13 June 1931, p. 8.

was granted a decree of divorce from his wife on the grounds of desertion, and Amelie, remarrying and changing her name to Ami Karina, returned to Europe in 1933.¹⁴⁷

The abandonment of *Norden* by Zimmerdahl was not as disastrous as the poor financial situation in which the organisers found themselves. In late 1931 Fischmann, who only had experienced limited success in his retirement as a poultry farmer, “went to Melbourne once more to take upon himself the burden of its continuance”.¹⁴⁸ The old editor realised that *Norden*’s existence was precarious, yet was willing to try to rescue the newspaper yet again. Lyng, admiring Fischmann’s patriotic capabilities and determination, wrote later that:

...if anybody could put the paper on its feet again, it was Fischmann, although by now getting on in years. Besides being capable of self-sacrifice in quite an unusual degree, he combines a thorough knowledge of the printing trade with a natural gift for journalism.¹⁴⁹

By the time of 67 year-old Fischmann’s return, however, the extent of *Norden*’s community mortality was being even more keenly felt.¹⁵⁰ The old pioneering readership base was vanishing in considerably higher numbers, as exemplified by *Norden*’s continual focus on these first-generation migrants’ legacies through lengthy obituary columns.¹⁵¹ Yet, by the 1930s, each deceased reader was now being intrinsically linked to *Norden*’s own impending demise, as one less supporter of a proud migrant newspaper that had been unable to find new readers. In August 1931, for example, *Norden* lamented the loss of “one of our old friends, as Mr. Lars Peter Hansen [who] ha[d] met with death on 13 June”.¹⁵² The obituary specifically noted Petersen’s previous support for *Norden* as a defining characteristic of his identity: “We can add that the deceased was a faithful Dane who over many years has shown our magazine his interest, and from whose hand small contributions now and then have been printed”.¹⁵³ Further staunch supporters of *Norden* dissipated as the 1930s wore on. October 1931 signalled the death of well-known Bundaberg chemist, dentist and teacher Jacob Christensen, aged 67.¹⁵⁴ Christensen had been a leading Dane while based in Brisbane in his early years in Queensland, and had been Queensland Consul for Denmark for many years. *Norden* lamented Christensen’s passing:

Mr Christensen took a great interest in national matters, and on one occasion he was president of the Danish-Association in Brisbane

¹⁴⁷ Angeloro, *op. cit.*, p. 480; ‘Decree NISI Granted’, *Newcastle Morning Herald & Miners’ Advocate*, 8 April 1932, p. 5; ‘Danish Editor Secures Divorce’, *The Horsham Times*, 8 April 1932, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia,’ *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia,’ *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Obituaries proliferated *Norden* in the 1930s, demonstrating the steep decline of the first generation of readers. ‘Under the Southern Cross,’ *Norden*, 22 August 1931, p. 4; ‘G. G. Danielson’, *Norden*, 20 February 1932, p. 5; ‘Anton Hornemann’, *Norden*, 10 April 1932, p. 5; ‘Emil Petersen’, *Norden*, 28 May 1932, p. 5; ‘Anders Carlson’, *Norden*, 25 June 1932, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ *Norden*, 13 August 1930, p. 7; ‘Old Sydney Swede Dies’, *Norden*, 25 July 1931, p. 4; *Norden*, 13 December 1930, p. 5.

¹⁵² The Danish wheelwright and builder from Tinana, Queensland, had been in Australia since 1873 and had occupied many positions within organisations within Tinana Shire Council. ‘Deaths’, *Norden*, 8 August 1931, p. 4.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ ‘Under the Southern Cross,’ *Norden*, 10 October 1931, p. 4.

(1896-98). He has also for many years been an ardent supporter of our Scandinavian Journal, and it is with great regret we have received the news of his unexpected death.¹⁵⁵

The same loss of significant patriotic figures was also occurring in Melbourne. In April 1932, Anton Hornemann, a past president of Melbourne's Danish Club and yet another Dane described by *Norden* as one that "despite some seventy years still had a warm heart for his old fatherland", died.¹⁵⁶ A month later, another influential old Dane, Emil Petersen, collapsed after visiting Zimmerdahl at the Danish Club to borrow some Danish-language books.¹⁵⁷ *Norden* wrote that "Emil Petersen was a faithful and reliable worker for *Norden*, probably from the magazine's first beginnings, and his last efforts before his death was to collect money for the magazine, [we have] suffer[ed] a great loss by losing this effective and reliable employee".¹⁵⁸ In October 1932, Fischmann's son Paul, *Norden*'s early compositor, also died aged 42, after a long battle against a sickness of the nervous system.¹⁵⁹ Any hopes of Carl Fischmann receiving further assistance from his son as *Norden* continued to struggle on in its final years, or of the community looking to Paul to take over from his father, were now dashed. In terms of those interested in continuing *Norden*'s work as an immigrant-focused publication, such obituaries made it clear to the remnant readership that not even pan-Scandinavian co-operation could allay the decline of *Norden*'s much needed first-generation readership – nor ensure the publication's continued existence.

Deaths of notable Scandinavian contributors would continue unabatedly during the later 1930s.¹⁶⁰ Yet, despite the obvious decline of the now ancient pioneering generation, *Norden* rarely discussed the encouragement of the second and third generations' contributions to the Scandinavian community (See Plate 24). The years from 1924 to 1940 were obsessively focused on looking backwards, not forwards, and celebrating those who they were losing through old age rather than those who they were gaining through marriage, birth, and community spirit.¹⁶¹

The demise of a truly worthwhile migrant institution

In 1932, in response to such strong levels of decay amongst the immigrant community, *Norden*'s directors finally noted that the newspaper no longer served its original purpose and that to survive further it would need to shift its focus

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ 'Deaths,' *Norden*, 10 April 1932, p. 5.

¹⁵⁷ The 81 year old Petersen had come to Australia in 1874 and had been influential in forming one of Melbourne's early Scandinavian Associations as its first president. Later in life, Petersen had joined *Dannebrog* and been its first Vice-president, and had shown a great interest in club affairs, as well as the running of *Norden*. Petersen even became *Norden*'s debt-collector. 'Emil Petersen', *Norden*, 28 May 1932, p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Norden*, 12 November 1932, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰ 'J. W. Cappelin, 75 years,' *Norden*, 11 June 1932, p. 6; 'Anders Carlson', *Norden*, 25 June 1932, p. 5; 'Lauritz Hansen', *Norden*, 20 January 1934, p. 5; 'Otto Romcke', *Norden*, 8 June 1935, p. 4; 'Theodor Bloch', *Norden*, 8 June 1935, p. 4; 'Peter Eriksen', *Norden*, 3 August 1935, p. 5.

¹⁶¹ The efforts of Swedish tailor Ernst Stenborg and his children to demonstrate Swedish culture and folk dance was one of the few examples of second generation involvement in *Norden*'s community, and by 1936 it was too late to propagate a strong sense of ethnic continuity. *Norden*, 22 February 1936, p. 5.

Plate 24: The Second Generation, *Norden*, 22 February 1936, p. 5.

Plate 25 (Bottom): Stalwart Supporters, *Norden*, 14 January 1939, p. 1.



OLAF, LORRAINE, VANDA, AND ERNST STENBORG, sons and daughters of the well known Swedish tailor in South Melbourne, performing Swedish folk dances at the International Club in Kurrajong House, Collins Street, Melbourne. (By courtesy of "The Argus").



Mr. Heyman hand over Cheqen to Consul Holdenson.

Description: *Norden's* end was dictated, in part, by its inability to involve later generations in continued ideas of ethnic expression. While the children of Swedish tailor, Ernst Stenborg, kept some aspects of their father's migrant heritage alive, this was an exception and one that arrived too late. With the decline of first generation supporters such as Consul Holdenson and J. A. Heyman, *Norden* was destined to eventually fold. The fact that this decline was so forcefully resisted marks the continued importance placed upon the newspaper by the declining community.

substantially.¹⁶² They attempted to reforge the obsolete *Norden* into a Scandinavian trade and tourist journal, an English language publication that, according to Lyng, would be useful “to large-scale manufacturers in Scandinavia as an advertising medium, and appeal to a second generation of Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes in Australia”.¹⁶³ This did not seem such a difficult task given that the focus had shifted towards such content in previous years, ever since calls were made to expand trade during the post-war economic boom. *Norden*’s committee put forward the plan and a request for funding to the Scandinavian Consuls General in Sydney, but it was rejected, most likely as other publications, such as the Sydney Swedish Chamber of Commerce’s *Swedish-Australian Trade Journal*, had already established themselves in this niche.¹⁶⁴ A petition for a grant to preserve *Norden* as a historical national newspaper printed in the Scandinavian languages was supported by the Consuls General and sent to the home nations although the Depression had reached Denmark, Sweden and Norway by this stage and no funds could be spared.¹⁶⁵

Lyng, on his annual pilgrimage from Canberra to Melbourne for Christmas 1932, noted the despair felt by a migrant community strained by economic collapse and migrant mortality:

When I visited Victoria twelve months ago metaphorically speaking the sky was overcast. An exceptionally large number of old friends had passed away during the year, while financially others had been knocked almost senseless by the depression. To be sure, the depression was manifest everywhere. And the prevailing spirit, at the best one of heroic resignation to the inevitable – and the worst one of gloom.¹⁶⁶

With half its advertisers lost, subscription numbers plummeting, and the inability to recoup income from both the unoccupied shop and destitute residential portions of Scandinavia House, *Norden*’s financial situation was in tatters.¹⁶⁷ Even the holding of a Scandinavian carnival in St. Kilda Town Hall, designed specifically to raise funds for the Swedish Church and *Norden*’s continuation, had resulted in a heavy loss.¹⁶⁸ In failing to restructure *Norden* towards more current and viable objectives, January 1933 should have seen its folding. Indeed, plans were put in motion to cease the newspaper by the directors, including Lyng:

As I had played an important part in connection with *Norden*’s birth, it was considered fit and proper that I should be present at its funeral, for which reason it was fixed so as to coincide with my Christmas

¹⁶² Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, *op. cit.*, p. 68

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Lyng noted elsewhere that “As Sweden had a trade journal and tourist journal already in Australia, printed in the English language, the attitude of the Swedish Consul-General was natural enough. In regard to Denmark and Norway, it is probable that their representatives in Australia considered the ‘Danish Foreign Office Journal’ and ‘Norway’, of which copies are sent to the various consulates for distribution, would suffice. It is, however, doubtful if, for the purpose of propaganda, that these official publications are very effective”. Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia,’ *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 4.

¹⁶⁵ Jens Lyng, ‘The Scandinavian Press in Australia,’ *Norden*, 21 December 1935, p. 4.

¹⁶⁶ Jens Lyng, ‘My Trip South’, *Norden*, 20 January 1934, p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix 1 for further indications of the plummeting commercial advertising from 1932 to 1940, where limited income could be derived from minimal numbers of advertisers.

¹⁶⁸ Jens Lyng, ‘My Trip South’, *Norden*, 20 January 1934, p. 1.

vacation in Melbourne. The 4th January was chosen for the burial ceremony and the winding up of the Scandinavian Newspaper Company.¹⁶⁹

At the last moment, however, *Norden* was spared. “During the preceding days there were signs of a considerable number of Danes, Norwegians and Swedes still being ‘on deck’, of national sentiment not being entirely dead, and of slowly improving financial power”, wrote Lyng the following year:

Fearing the extinction of ‘Norden’ several arrears were paid, a number of one-time subscribers came back, the big hearted Swedish nobleman, Mr, Adelskold, although by no means a well-to-do man, volunteered to subscribe 10/- monthly as long as he lived; old, heroic and ever self-sacrificing Mr. Fischmann offered to move into ‘Scandinavia House’ and draw only just sufficient pay to keep the pot boiling for himself and his wife, if ‘Norden’ could be saved”.¹⁷⁰

Notably, *Norden*’s resurgent focus on ideologically inclusive ‘Scandinavian’ terminology throughout the last decades of the publication’s lifespan was primarily responsible for enabling the troubled publication to stave off destitution. With the remnants of all three national groups rallying behind *Norden*, the community leaders became convinced of the significant role *Norden* still played, despite the dwindling readership. A subsequent pan-Scandinavian meeting between Danish Consul Holdenson, Norwegian H. Petersen, Swede E. Stenborg, Danes N. F. Jensen, M. Clausen and Lyng was convened within the Danish Club, in the hope that the Club’s ties, with some 300 members, could be looked upon for fundraising support through raffles and donations.¹⁷¹ As Lyng argued in early 1934:

Is there not reason to hope that the determination of a handful of what well may be called the ‘old guard’ will be an incentive to many other Danes, Norwegians and Swedes in all parts of Australia to roll up [?] It can be done in various ways – by donations, by suitable prizes for the above raffles, by paying possible arrears for the paper, by getting new subscribers, and by supporting those advertising in *Norden*. Each of us almost weekly subscribes to the maintenance of religious, philanthropic and various other institutions. Why not make a contribution to preserve our own hard pressed national paper[?] If it succumbs, it shall never rise again.¹⁷²

Lyng’s appeal encouraged Hugo Lassen of Yeppoon to donate £10 to the cause: “I have just read Lyng’s article and see therefrom that *Norden* is very sick,” he wrote in February 1934, “so I am sending a present, and hope it will help a little to bring the patient about again”.¹⁷³ It was hoped that more readers would do the same, and spurred on by Lassen’s donation, other readers, such as C. Ekstedt and Kay Frandsen, wrote to *Norden* pledging funds and buying raffle tickets.¹⁷⁴ Committee member M. Clausen, under the pseudonym ‘Struggling Poultry Farmer’, wrote of his

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁷² *Ibid*.

¹⁷³ H. Lassen, ‘An Encouraging Letter,’ *Norden*, 2 February 1934, p. 5.

¹⁷⁴ *Norden*, 24 February 1934, p. 5.

happiness for such endeavours and, as the vice-president of the Danish Club, put forward the idea of a new function to provide funds for the ailing newspaper, much like the *Aarsfest* of old:

If a success, and I cannot see why it should not be, it could be repeated with intervals. Two good purposes would be served:- to succour 'Norden' and create a more intimate amity and fellowship between the Scandinavians in Melbourne.¹⁷⁵

The funds from such activities, however, proved largely insufficient. According to Lyng, Danish Consul Holdenson had been responsible for paying *Norden's* bills for some time during the Depression and "except for the special support rendered by Consul Holdenson, 'Norden' would be already dead".¹⁷⁶ In Lyng's next trip to Melbourne for Christmas 1934, he remarked that, while *Norden* had been saved:

National life amongst the Scandinavians in Melbourne seemed very much dead. The Swedish congregation suffered from the after effect of Pastor Ericson's ignoble crash, and the church was closed, only the reading room being kept open for the benefits of visiting sailors. The Danish Club, though financially sound, was even less Danish than twelve months ago, and I wondered if at the next election of office bearers the Danes would be able to fill the positions allotted to them by the Club's constitution. The small, heroic band, who stuck to the Club, did their best to keep the flag flying, but the apathy of the general body of Danes in Melbourne commenced to tell.¹⁷⁷

Norden's committee once again appealed to Scandinavian readers to donate funds to save the newspaper, especially after Danish metalworker and patriot, J. W. Heyman, had advised Lyng that: "I am not a wealthy man; but if you can raise £25 by voluntary subscription, I will stand in with Mr Holdenson paying the balance of the deficit for 1935".¹⁷⁸ Within a month of this statement, subscribers had donated £26.15.0 to the cause of seeing *Norden* through 1935.¹⁷⁹ By March, this amount had grown to £34.13.¹⁸⁰ Several subscribers also wrote finally to pay for their late subscriptions.¹⁸¹ Despite some further fundraising efforts of *Norden* in 1935, designed to inspire Danish-Australian patriotism and effect further support for the struggling newspaper, including a call to provide an expensive gift to mark Denmark's King Christian X's 25 year jubilee, the efforts of *Norden's* dying readership to memorialise its past activities through physical monuments, patriotic

¹⁷⁵ 'Norden's Future', *Norden*, 24 February 1934, p. 5.

¹⁷⁶ Jens Lyng, 'My Trip South', *Norden*, 29 January 1935, p. 1.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Eric Gosta Ericsson, minister for the Swedish Church in Melbourne, and typist Jean Stewart, were charged and convicted of indecent behaviour, "committed in broad daylight", in Studley Park, Kew, on August 24 1933. Both were fined £3 and the surrounding uproar of a clergyman caught up in such a case, reported in both Sydney and Brisbane, must have unsettled the Swedish Church's congregation substantially. 'Swedish Minister Convicted of Indecency', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 September 1933, p. 15; 'Clergyman Fined: Indecent Behaviour', *The Courier-Mail*, 14 September 1933, p. 19.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ 'Contributions towards seeing 'Norden' through 1935', *Norden*, 9 February 1935, p. 5.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Norden*, 24 April 1937, p. 4; *Norden*, 28 August 1937, p. 5.

fund-raising activities, and written memorials had ceased by 1936.¹⁸² Instead, the newspaper's organisers looked to whether *Norden* should be saved or discontinued yet again.

By the time of Lyng's trip to Melbourne for Christmas of 1937, his perception of *Norden*'s situation had worsened considerably:

The question I asked myself was: 'Does it serve any useful purpose to continue the struggle for keeping our little Scandinavian paper going?' It had seemed to me that 'Norden' had been a comfort and a help to the many thousands of Scandinavian immigrants who came to this remote part of the world during the seventies and eighties of last century in order to start life afresh under novel conditions. But few of these pioneers were now alive, and much pointed to [the fact] that the fewer Scandinavians who had arrived since neither needed nor desired a national newspaper.

I sorely regretted this, because to my own way of thinking love of one's native land has a psychological value equal to that of religion to a devout Christian. It is a spiritual force – an antidote against the gross materialism which degrades human existence to-day. But there it is – 'Norden' is not wanted any longer, and that is the end of it.¹⁸³

Another hurriedly convened meeting held in the Danish Club during Lyng's brief stay in Melbourne over December 1937 discussed *Norden*'s position, and was well attended by Scandinavians of all three nationalities:

Several of the old stalwarts had turned up. Consul Holdenson was there, old Fischmann, Henning Metes, Miss Olga Clausen, Schellern, Stenborg, Vanmehren, Mrs. Larsen... It was learned at the meeting that 'Norden' is published in 400 copies, of which 200 copies are regularly paid for. The remainder of the subscribers are either lax with regard to payment or they are poor and receive the paper free of charge. Possibly 800 people scattered throughout Australia read 'Norden'.¹⁸⁴

Like the previous meetings during 1932, where *Norden*'s fate had been the pressing issue, December 1937's encouraging resolve was again to continue *Norden* while possible. In January 1938, *Norden* appealed for new subscribers while noting that "declining immigration and the different outlook of the rising generation" would certainly cause the publication to cease in a few years unless significant change occurred.¹⁸⁵ It was only now that serious thought was given to the new generation taking over *Norden* from the old readership, as encouraged by *Norden* secretary A. C. Schellern:

¹⁸² 'To the Danes and Descendants of Danes in Australia and New Zealand,' *Norden*, 10 October 1936, p. 1. As one elderly contributor, Anders Neilsen from Rockhampton, noted, "although it is about 70 years since I left Denmark I still have a warm place in my heart for my native land and its people". 'Contributions to King Christian X Jubilee', *Norden*, 21 November 1936, p. 5.

¹⁸³ Jens Lyng, 'Norden's Problem', *Norden*, 16 January 1938, p. 1.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ A. C. Schellern, *Norden*, 29 January 1938, p. 4.

Patriotic Danes, specially, have been and are the principal mainstay. They have repeatedly with and without prompting donated and wherewithal to carry on the ideal as visualised by the founders. Sentiment and tradition has meant something to them; let it mean something to the present generation of Scandinavians.¹⁸⁶

Economically, however, the newspaper was simply seen as not viable, with the subsequent balance sheet for the 1937-1938 financial year proving a £27 loss.¹⁸⁷ The Depression had caused assets such as 'Scandinavia House' to fall into disrepair and it was not until October 1938 that Danish builder L. Manniche donated his time to renovate and paint the building. This provided a small push for *Norden's* committee to reclaim the building as a proper office, and a request was issued for yet another reader-donated fund for office equipment.¹⁸⁸

The death of avid reader and supporter Hugo Lassen in September 1938, who had donated £10 to *Norden* each year for the past four years, bequeathed £100 to *Norden* upon his death, aged 76.¹⁸⁹ Similarly, wealthy Danish metalworker and philanthropist J. A. Heyman pledged £100 per year to *Norden* while he lived, but this was simply delaying the inevitable.¹⁹⁰ By 1939, only the very few older Scandinavians who had not been culled by age as yet – including 70 year-old Lyng, 75 year-old Fischmann, 76 year-old Holdenson and other patrons such as 82 year-old J. A. Heyman – continued to support *Norden's* ideals, but even they could not be counted on for much longer. *Norden's* patron Heyman was appointed by the King of Denmark to the Order of the Knights of the Dannebrog in January 1939 for recognition for his overseas charity work, yet at the same time he developed pneumonia. Bedridden, one of *Norden's* last supporters presented visiting Consul Holdenson with a cheque for £100 in January 1939 (See Plate 25):

...to *Norden's* maintenance, a gift the donor was just as glad to give as we to accept. Mr Heyman, in spite of a long life spent mostly in foreign lands, has preserved his Danish nationality, and lately made a £3000 legacy for the benefit of his countrymen in Australia which will come into force after his death, and at the same time granted *Norden* £100 yearly as long as he is alive. Mr Heyman and the late Mr Hugo Lassen are the only two Danes who have bequested our struggling paper with such gifts.¹⁹¹

The newspaper was therefore afforded one last reprieve through such large donations from the separate estates of Lassen and Heyman.¹⁹² In May 1939, Lyng pleaded for readers to continue to support the publication by embarking on a recruiting drive to commemorate the June 1939 anniversary of the 44th year of its foundation, writing that: "Unless *Norden's* income can be doubled, we cannot look to the future with

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ 'Norden', *Norden*, 24 September 1938, p. 4.

¹⁸⁸ 'Scandinavia House,' *Norden*, 17 October 1938, p. 4.

¹⁸⁹ 'Death: Hugo Edvard Lassen', *Norden*, 24 September 1938, p. 4; M. McMahon, 'Letter to *Norden* re: Hugo Edvard Lassen - Decd', *Norden*, 24 September 1938, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ 'Norden', *Norden*, 24 September 1938, p. 4.

¹⁹¹ *Norden*, 14 January 1939, p. 1.

¹⁹² *Norden*, 14 January 1939, p. 1; 'The 42nd Annual General Meeting of the 'Norden' Newspaper Association', *Norden*, 9 September 1939, p. 4.

confidence".¹⁹³ But, by this time, the physical Scandinavian community had shrunk so much that it could not be rallied to the struggling institution's benefit. By Consul Holdenson's 76th birthday celebrations in February 1939, for example, only 36 Danes were left to celebrate the occasion.¹⁹⁴ *Norden* could no longer rely on the support of even the Danish Club *Dannebrog* and, without interested readers or funds, *Norden's* uninterrupted print run of some four decades finally faltered.

In reality, it was the ill health of Fischmann, then in his late 70s and suffering from eye complaints, that dictated *Norden's* end.¹⁹⁵ The newspaper had to be suspended for six weeks during the middle of 1939 so that Fischmann could recover from illness, as no other interested party was available to substitute as editor.¹⁹⁶ Finally, after struggling past the economic crises of the late 1930s, the coinciding outbreak of World War II in September 1939 was simply devastating to an overworked Fischmann. Not willing to concede defeat even then, it was decided by the committee to publish *Norden* on a monthly basis in order to counteract the impending hardships of another wartime period.¹⁹⁷ By early 1940, Lyng put forward a last-minute, desperate plan to turn *Norden* into an English digest focusing on happenings in Scandinavia; a joint commercial and cultural publication produced possibly with the help of the *Swedish Chamber of Commerce Journal*.¹⁹⁸ "Is the idea of a new *Norden*," asked Lyng, "with a new objective, not worth being given serious thought by the younger generation?"¹⁹⁹ Yet, his pleas for assistance fell largely on deaf ears, with the few remaining readers believing that *Norden* had continued much longer than it should have. In March 1940, issue number '1092' was printed and, without any official notice, the newspaper was abandoned.²⁰⁰

While *Norden* eventually folded in 1940, the fact that it survived the interwar years at all, publishing over 1000 issues in total, is a remarkable feat given the level of cultural homogeneity promoted by wider Australian society and the strong assimilation pressures felt by this small group of white, non-British migrant readers. An ethnic newspaper that really should have vanished amongst the intense home front antagonisms of World War I, this chapter has argued that *Norden's* extended persistence into the interwar years was due to both the resurgence of pan-Scandinavian co-operation during the early 1920s and the dogged determination of its shrinking first-generation readership. Despite *Norden's* inability to refresh its waning cohort of loyal subscribers and their own defeatist efforts to memorialise the Scandinavian-Australian community's contributions to wider Australian society, this

¹⁹³ Jens Lyng, 'Norden', *Norden*, 13 May 1939, p. 1.

¹⁹⁴ While *Norden* was quick to point out that "there are far more Danes present in Melbourne than those present at the birthday tea on the 15th February, but a good few who gladly would have participated were not aware of the event," it definitely did seem as if the Danes in Melbourne were drifting apart, given Holdenson's eminent positions in business and the Danish community. 'A Birthday Celebration,' *Norden*, 25 February 1939, p. 4.

¹⁹⁵ Jens Lyng, 'Norden', *Norden*, March 1940, p. 1.

¹⁹⁶ 'The 42nd Annual General Meeting of the 'Norden' Newspaper Association', *Norden*, 9 September 1939, p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Jens Lyng, 'Norden', *Norden*, March 1940, p.1.

²⁰⁰ Martin, 'The Scandinavian Press in Australia', *op. cit.*, p. 72; Koivukangas and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 139. Remarkably, this was only one month before the German occupation of Denmark during World War II. Had the newspaper survived for a few more weeks, the interest of such events may have saved *Norden* in terms of new interested subscribers.

aging readership continued to rally around *Norden* throughout the 1930s, delaying the inevitable for an extra decade. The simple fact that *Norden* continued for so long, against a backdrop of several negative societal developments that, even individually, could have signalled the end of the publication much earlier in its history, demonstrates *Norden*'s immense value to a widespread immigrant community.

While eventually being unable to ethnicise a sustainable community of Scandinavian-Australians around the united tenets of pan-Scandinavianism, *Norden* remained a crucial rallying point for those who wished to retain their sense of migrant heritage, shared common languages and traditions, and ultimately find fulfilment and belonging as part of something larger than their own immediate concerns. It was this sense of unity, co-operation and shared history that Lyng, as a Scandinavian-Australian and *Norden*'s most ardent supporter, had championed his entire migrant life and this was the true reason for *Norden*'s success. Two months after *Norden*'s last issue, on 22 May 1940, Lyng's wife, Gertrude, passed away and, within another 18 months, on 25 October 1941, Lyng too died. "But why be apologetic?" Lyng had asked in his last book, published just before the abandonment of *Norden*: "Does not the very fact that, in spite of obstacles, of which a newspaper proprietor at home can have no conception, the paper endured for more than 43 long years, prove that *Norden* has been worthwhile?"²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, op. cit., p. 69.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

It is perhaps quite apt that Jens Lyng's last words regarding the significance of his beloved newspaper are solidly echoed by the findings of this research project. For some 44 years, *Norden* provided a scattered population of diasporic migrants with a valuable tool to maintain connection to the lands and languages of their births, as well as to re-establish lost links to one another. Adapting their own traditions, social events and ethnic identifications to their new lives within a changing Australian society, *Norden* was instrumental in both promoting and chronicling a unique Scandinavian-Australian migrant community, one that without the publication's influence might otherwise have simply disappeared without a trace. Notably, the fact that *Norden*'s editors, organisers and readers even *tried* to use the foreign-language press to maintain some form of cultural difference from an increasingly homogenous Australian society during the early twentieth century marks it as a significant institution for scholars studying the rise – and fall – of minority ethnic communities.

This thesis has charted the full history of the Scandinavian foreign-language press in Australasia over a century of immense societal changes. Significantly, the efforts of a succession of enthusiastic, hard-working and patriotic migrants who took it upon themselves to be editors and, consequently, community leaders, must be acknowledged as those most keenly responsible for ensuring *Norden*'s survival and continued influence upon the migrant community. As such, the thesis began with a discussion of the few pioneering migrants who attempted to establish Scandinavian-language print services in Australasia during the nineteenth century, notably Corfitz Cronqvist during the height of the Victorian gold-rush and later others, such as *Skandia*'s H. Graff, *Skandinavien*'s T. Söderberg and S. Franzén, and *Hjemlandstoner*'s Pastor Søren Pedersen. Despite the strong influence of pan-Scandinavianism within late-nineteenth century migrant associations and churches, Chapter 3 argued that even against the pluralist backdrop of colonial Australia, all of these elitist, educated and often overwhelmed editors' ventures failed quickly and unceremoniously, unable to gain sufficient support from recently-arrived migrant communities. The thesis then moved on in Chapter 4 to discuss the founding of *Norden* in 1896, and the motivations behind Jens Lyng's pan-Scandinavian vision of a united, co-operative ethnic community of Scandinavian-Australians. While late-nineteenth century leaders of minority migrant groups, such as Lyng, still held views that Australia could be built upon cultural pluralist beliefs, the contemporaneous rise in Australian nationalist sentiments and cultural homogenisation surrounding Federation overshadowed *Norden*'s aims to celebrate and preserve the Scandinavian readership's sense of ethnic difference from mainstream Australian society. The hard-working Lyng was able to garner sufficient support from the widespread and better-established Scandinavian communities at the height of their numerical power, and subscriber numbers were strengthened as important nationalist events of the Boer War and Federation caused negatively-affected migrants to "opt in" to their

Scandinavian aspect of their identities and promote their separate, but valuable, place within a pluralist Australian nation. Following homeland nationalist concerns, such as Norwegian Independence driving wedges in *Norden*'s pan-Scandinavian front by 1906, the exhausted Lyng abdicated; the newspaper then being given over to new editors who would attempt to revitalise the migrant community through stronger societal interactions.

Olga Clausen's editorial period, discussed in Chapter 5, was driven by the need to locate new avenues of interested readership, thereby diversifying the newspaper's audience and ensuring *Norden*'s survival as a warranted social institution. The rising influence of emancipated female voices in *Norden*, and Australian society in general, were critical for the newspaper's survival post-Federation as it attracted a new market of self-interested, often family-orientated readers that increasingly included not only Scandinavian women but also many non-Scandinavian readers who had married into *Norden*'s networked migrant communities. Despite her efforts, pan-Scandinavianism waned further in this period, especially after her brother Hans Clausen ascended to the editor position and began to promote Danish-dominant identifications to the community prior to World War I.

It is clear that World War I was a turning-point for the Scandinavian community, as it was for many other migrant groups and Australian society in general. Chapter 6 examined the growing disparity between the 'Australian' battlefield and the 'British-Australian' home front, and how the readership of new Danish editor Carl Fischmann was affected negatively by both the loss of members as physical casualties of war and very hostile anti-foreigner sentiments that enforced home front trends of cultural homogeneity. Ultimately, the chapter noted that the continued loss of 'Scandinavian' identifications in favour 'Danish-Australian' prior to a stronger, overarching shift towards 'Australian' identities caused untold problems for *Norden*'s united macro-national community. Given the severity of the situation, it is indeed remarkable that *Norden* managed to survive the pressures of assimilation, newfound Australian patriotism, and tense wartime insecurities at all. The post-war economic boom was then posited as the only reason that *Norden*'s community continued into the 1920s, as a resurgence of economic hope and pan-Scandinavian co-operation filtered into a revitalised community. The acquisition of 'Scandinavia House' and the community's renewed interest in promoting Nordic migration through the Scandinavian Progress Association mark *Norden* as the centre of this community resurgence. Lastly, however, the thesis used Chapter 7 to chart *Norden*'s spiral into obsolescence, as the newspaper failed to recruit future generations in their ethnicising venture. With the Scandinavian diaspora ending, the chapter noted the strong decline of elderly first-generation migrants who had supported *Norden* since its inception, but even more remarkable was their forceful reluctance to let the newspaper fold. Demonstrating *Norden*'s strong emotional importance to this shrinking readership, the chapter analysed the growing number of migrant obituaries as well as the community's innovative responses to their own mortality, namely the construction of written memorials and physical monuments while leaders searched for some way avert *Norden*'s collapse. Due to the immense value placed upon *Norden* by its constituents even then, and a pan-Scandinavian ideological resurgence that continued to unite shrinking groups of Danes, Swedes and Norwegians together as one aging readership, the newspaper's decline was slowed considerably during the late 1920s and 1930s. *Norden*'s lifespan therefore did not end with a bang, but with a whimper – never being abandoned, but slowly weakened – as the surrounding community of

supportive migrant readers slowly capitulated to old age and death while later generations remained indifferent towards *Norden*'s original goals. This was an unavoidable end to a first-generational migrant institution that had given so much support and a sense of united belonging to its fragmented and isolated migrant readership.

In systematically analysing *Norden*'s responses to major societal developments across half a century, this study has situated this small and often invisible migrant community within wider Australian society, which has been crucial in fully understanding how the migrant readership – as well as their ideals, motivations, and identifications – changed over time. In this way, my thesis has demonstrated the Scandinavian-Australian readership of *Norden* not simply to be a static, one-dimensional minority that arrived, built a community and one that eventually disappeared, but rather a vibrant series of interwoven 'imagined communities' that have consistently existed in a fluid and evolving sense of ethnic characterisation and identity politicisation.

The main thrust of this thesis' argument has centred upon analysing the extent of pan-Scandinavian sentiments in *Norden* and its effect on both the newspaper's survivability and the community's sense of united ethnic identity. As discussed in Chapter 1, pan-Scandinavianism has been downplayed in terms of its significance in Australia by past scholars, such as John Stanley Martin and Olavi Koivukangas, who maintain that homeland nationalist concerns have always been more pervasive and responsible for the deleterious fragmentation of most co-operative migrant institutions.¹ However, when discussing *Norden* in detail – undoubtedly one of the most influential and successful migrant institutions accessed by the Scandinavian community – the extent of pan-Scandinavian idealism is quite striking throughout its history. Despite *Norden*'s continual Danish dominance and the period during 1910-1920 where Danish leanings were quite distilled, *Norden* still returned to its founding tenets of pan-Scandinavian co-operation during the 1920s and 1930s as the community faltered numerically. For *Norden*'s editors and readership, strength really did lie in unity, as their motto "*Enighed Gör Staerk*" inferred.²

It seems that this discrepancy is due to earlier studies' focus on the fragmented physical communities as an accurate gauge of migrants' national sentiments, rather than considering the impacts of *Norden*'s united, symbolic community as this study does. Therefore, to compromise, this thesis concludes that, while homeland nationalism did indeed force physical Scandinavian migrant clubs, societies and churches to fragment and remain so throughout the early twentieth century, *Norden* acted as a symbolic institution that was subtly removed from the physical hostilities of migrant nationalism. In the far-reaching, imagined realm of the migrant press, devoid of many face-to-face migrant contacts that could inflame nationalist disagreements, idealistic and romantically-charged notions of pan-Scandinavian co-operation could continue to predominate *Norden*'s pages.

¹ John Stanley Martin, 'Ethnicity and the Swedish Church in Melbourne 1883-1991' Master of Theology thesis, Melbourne, College of Divinity, 1992, p. 9; Olavi Koivukangas and John Stanley Martin, *The Scandinavians in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1986, pp. 52-4, 57, 75-6, 82, 83-5, 92, 133-4, 140-1.

² MS, State Library of Victoria: Microfilm 8437, Reel No. 2 (May 1902- December 1906), 24 December 1904.

Furthermore, it is clear that such pan-Scandinavian sentiments in *Norden* were not simply the influence of Jens Lyng, as Martin infers. Throughout *Norden*'s history, other community figures, organisers and readers championed co-operative macro-national measures in an attempt to strengthen *Norden*'s numerical advantage as a united group, which was vital for political and social visibility. This was also a financial reality as much as an ideological principle, as even the migrant newspapers prior to *Norden* had required an inclusive pan-Scandinavian readership for economic and social survival. At the very least, this survivalist aspect regarding *Norden*'s pan-Scandinavian focus needs to also be taken into account to explain its reluctance to reorganise as a Danish-Australian publication during World War I, at a time when most other Scandinavian migrant institutions had already done so. While all of *Norden*'s editors were indeed Danish, most, in some fashion, facilitated the pan-Scandinavian ideal as a way to recruit more subscribers, to emphasise numerical strength of their communities, and to make their individual nationalised groups more noticeable within Australian society by linking with other fraternal Nordic peoples.

Norden's pan-Scandinavian ideals must not be overlooked for their significance in keeping *Norden* in business and allowing many co-operative ventures to occur between 1896 and 1940. Significantly, it was pan-Scandinavian *Norden*'s establishment in the 1890s that finally enabled scattered readers from all three nationalities to identify as a small yet unified cultural group, and their ensuing involvement in wider society marks it as a significant site for migrant community-building despite Australia's vast distances. It was also pan-Scandinavian ideals that caused them to band together at Federation for the Scandinavian Commonwealth Commemoration Cot, and even later within the Scandinavian Progress Association and Lyng's Scandinavian-Australian encyclopedia project. *Norden* was clearly 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 destroy a united readership. It was also because of this romantically-driven pan-Scandinavian focus that *Norden* transcended initial goals of reconnecting migrants to their countries of origin, and instead was critically influential in attempting to ethnicise a united Scandinavian-Australian identity.

This brings the discussion to the other overarching theme of this thesis – *Norden*'s role in abating Australian assimilation pressures within its readership. In terms of assimilation pressures, there is little doubt that the second and third generations of Scandinavian migrants whole-heartedly embraced the Australian aspects of their identities, losing their ties of Nordic descentance in the process. Once again, Koivukangas was correct in stating that the Scandinavians quickly and easily assimilated into Australian society, and W. D. Borrie was also correct when he states that this had really occurred by the 1920s.³ As a result, *Norden* struggled to enable any form of intergenerational continuity or viable ethnic community capable of continuing after the first generation had diminished. Therefore, *Norden* really was a publication created solely for a first-generation migrant audience. However, this does not mean that *Norden* failed to delay the Scandinavian migrant community's dissolution into wider society. It is important to understand that the assimilation of

³ Olavi Koivukangas, 'Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II' PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, published as a monograph, Turku, Institute for Migration, 1974, p. 278; W. D. Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1954, pp. 44-45.

Scandinavian migrants was not passive, or guaranteed; rather it was forced by the open hostility of British-Australia towards non-English speaking and non-Anglo traditions in Australia. Here, *Norden* was vital in combating a sense of requisite assimilation by advocating persistent migrant links. Instead of simply abandoning their heritage in the face of even strong assimilation pressures, first-generation Scandinavian migrant groups were encouraged by the migrant press to adapt in unique ways and to take on new layers of identification – ones that would allow limited differentiation amongst them, strengthen numbers and social unity – and to limit the growing trend of Australian cultural homogenisation within their migrant communities, as this thesis has shown.

Enabling isolated Scandinavians to reconnect on grounds of shared heritage and receive relevant news based on their individual circumstances, tailored to them in their own vernacular languages, *Norden* gave this fragmented segment of Australia's immigrant population a much-needed sense of direction and purpose. Forsaking small national differences for wider cultural similarities, this thesis demonstrated how *Norden* forged its own macro-national 'imagined community' of readers from the fragments of smaller, nationalised Danish, Swedish and Norwegian communities. Anderson's famous concept, in very broad terms, can also be used to explain macro-national and 'pan' sentiments, especially within the confines of migrant communities where limited numbers cause many to venture outside of national groupings to seek a viable sense of belonging. Notably, as the migrant press acted to strengthen migrant unity through pan-Scandinavian sentiments and by providing national groups with a vehicle for increased membership, the negative influences of loneliness, societal awkwardness, and continual anti-foreigner sentiment that drove migrants to assimilate were replaced with a positive sense of belonging, pride in their heritage and an acknowledgement of the benefits of remaining somewhat culturally distinct from the Australian majority. It is here that *Norden*'s significance is evident yet again. In re-establishing macro-national 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.

While both *Norden* and the surrounding migrant community did indeed succumb to forced assimilation pressures and were ultimately unable to form a lasting ethnic group within Australian society, the fact that they attempted it at all is remarkable. Building on a methodological framework of social constructivism, this thesis argued that through the migrant press, inclusive Scandinavian-Australian groups attempted to forge a separate ethnicity and identity in ways that were acceptable in mainstream Australian society largely through processes where migrants behaved as "active, conscious agents engaged in the construction of a shared social reality".⁴ The fact that *Norden* eventually failed to ethnicise a Scandinavian-Australian community capable of transcending simple goals of migrant connection and instead allowing generational continuity, is a moot point. The vibrant activities of this community, such as the *Aarsfest*, *Fugleskydningen* and the plethora of causes the readership rallied behind across the newspaper's lifespan, are attestations of *Norden*'s success as much more than simply a failed group; instead, the thorough continuous history of

⁴ Graham Day and Andrew Thompson, *Theorizing Nationalism*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 85.

Norden allows modern observers to really see how ethnicisation processes occur within a minority population, even when they fail to result as intended.

In conclusion, *Norden*'s true value comes from the sheer fact that it acted to undermine notions of Australia as a culturally homogenous nation during the first half of the twentieth century. Continually arguing that the migrants who constituted its staunchly first-generation readership were a significant, yet greatly undervalued aspect of Australia's past and future, the newspaper was critical in giving this minority group of racially white, yet culturally distinct, peoples a forum of opinion, a venue for networked social interaction, and a place where they could foster a sense of shared cultural belongings. Reconciling these migrants' Scandinavian past with their Australian future, *Norden* not only acted as a bridge between competing identifications but, through pan-Scandinavian ideals, gave its readership a sense of united – and also 'imagined' – community greater than individual nationalist concerns could provide. In fighting to maintain migrant ideas of cultural heritage, social inclusion and to strengthen their commitment to both Scandinavia and Australia, *Norden* was indeed attempting to forge its readership into a sustainable ethnic group – one that was capable of maintaining some distance from the homogenous British-Australian core while also seeking greater inclusion in the policies of a 'racially-superior' White Australia.

As such, both the inclusive and socially-constructed nature of *Norden*'s macro-national community – and importantly, the readership's continued ties to each other, their homelands and their adopted country – is possibly no more evident than in the originating statement that began this thesis: '*Vi er alle Australiere*'. Without an understanding of the presence and influence of such far-reaching migrant institutions, capable of enabling discussions of identity, community interaction, and social change amongst its members as well as wider society, the true complexities and values of what it meant for such peoples to call themselves Australian – and still means to us today, by any individual or group – cannot be realised.

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- Lyng, Jens. 'Norden', *Norden*, March 1940, p. 1.
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- Lyng, Jens. 'Scandinavian Consular Service in Australia', *Norden* 17 August 1935, pp. 1-2, 4.
- Lyng, Jens. 'Scandinavian Place Names in Australia', *Norden* 20 July 1935, p. 2.
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'Miss Olga Clausen', *Norden*, 1 April 1911, p. 1.

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Norden, January 1898, p. 8.

Norden, February 1898, pp. 1, 6.

Norden, April 1898, p. 9.

Norden, September 1898, p. 1.

Norden, September 1898, p. 6.

Norden, November 1898, p. 1.

Norden, December 1898, p. 6.

Norden, August 1899, p.1.

Norden, August 1899, p. 7.

Norden, August 1899, p. 8.

Norden, 18 November 1899, p. 3.

Norden, 27 January 1900, p. 6.

Norden, 10 February 1900, p. 11.

Norden, 15 June 1901, p. 7.

Norden, 31 May 1902, p. 7.

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Norden, 26 May 1906, p. 1.
Norden, 23 June 1906, p. 10.
Norden, 10 August 1907, p. 9.
Norden, 21 September 1907, p. 5.
Norden, 5 October 1907, p. 9.
Norden, 14 March 1908, p. 8.
Norden, 15 May 1909, p. 9.
Norden, 29 May 1909, p. 13.
Norden, 3 September 1910, p. 11.
Norden, 18 March 1911, p. 9.
Norden, 13 March 1913, pp. 2-3.
Norden, 30 August 1913, p. 11.
Norden, 11 October 1913, p. 16.
Norden, 23 May 1914, p. 1.
Norden, 15 May 1915, p. 11.
Norden, 26 June 1915, p. 1.
Norden, 24 July 1915, p. 5.
Norden, 21 October 1916, p. 5.
Norden, 4 November 1916, p. 5.
Norden, 27 January 1917, pp. 3-4.
Norden, 19 May 1917, p. 4.
Norden, 2 November 1918, p. 6.
Norden, 19 July 1919, p. 6.
Norden, 11 June 1921, p. 1.
Norden, 9 December 1922, p. 3.
Norden, 17 February 1923, p. 5.
Norden, 26 January 1924, p. 4.
Norden, 8 March 1924, p. 2.

Norden, 17 May 1924, p. 1.

Norden, 13 September 1924, p. 1.

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Norden, 23 August 1930, p. 8.

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Norden, 27 June 1931, pp. 5-6.

Norden, 23 July 1931, pp. 5-6.

Norden, 8 August 1931, pp. 5-6.

Norden, 5 September 1931, pp. 5-6.

Norden, 19 September 1931, pp. 6-7.

Norden, 24 October 1931, pp. 5-6.

Norden, 28 November 1931, pp. 6-8.

Norden, 9 July 1932, p. 6.

Norden, 12 November 1932, p. 5.

Norden, 24 February 1934, p. 5.

Norden, 22 February 1936, p. 5.

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‘Norden’, *Norden*, 14 April 1906, p. 5.

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‘Norden’s Aarsfest’, *Norden*, May 1898, p. 8.

‘Norden’s Aarsfest’, *Norden*, 29 June 1901, p. 7.

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‘Norden’s Future’, *Norden*, 24 February 1934, p. 5.

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‘Our Album: Hans Clausen’, *Norden*, 23 June 1923, p. 7.

‘Our Associations’, *Norden*, December 1913, pp. 15-16, 29-30

‘Our Club’, *Norden*, 16 August 1913, pp. 22.

‘Our English Page’, *Norden*, 29 May 1909, p. 14.

‘Our Compatriots in America and Australia’, *Norden*, January 1899, pp. 1, 5.

‘Party in Sydney: Telegram (to Norden)’, *Norden*, July 1899, p. 6.

‘P. C. Poulsen’, *Norden*, 22 December 1900, p. 1.

‘Petition of Support for Norden’s English Page’, *Norden*, 15 May 1909, p. 8.

‘Remember! To all Non-naturalised’, *Norden*, 7 October 1916, p. 6.

‘Roast Beef vs. Sauerkraut’, *Norden*, 11 May 1912, pp. 1-2.

‘Scandinavia House,’ *Norden*, 17 October 1938, p. 4.

‘Scandinavian and Nordic Culture in Australia’, *Norden*, December 1912, p. 15.

- ‘Scandinavian Books in Boston’s Library’, *Norden*, April 1898, p. 6.
- ‘Scandinavian Emigration’, *Norden*, 6 June 1914, p. 1.
- ‘Scandinavian Masquerade Ball’, *Norden*, 3 October 1903, p. 6.
- ‘Scandinavian Music on the Radio’, *Norden*, 23 July 1927, p. 1.
- ‘Scandinavians in Queensland’, *Norden*, July 1898, pp. 1, 7.
- ‘Scandinavism?’ *Norden*, 20 June 1914, p. 1.
- Schellern, A. C. *Norden*, 29 January 1938, p. 4.
- ‘Sir Edward Knox’, *Norden*, 10 February 1900, pp. 1, 7.
- ‘Some of the Leading Scandinavians in Maryborough’, *Norden*, March 1898, p. 7.
- ‘Some of the Leading Members in Melbourne’s Danish Association’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 11.
- ‘Some of the 70,000 Scandinavians that assisted the Allied forces during the World War’, *Norden*, 14 February 1920, p. 2.
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- ‘The Commonwealth Fund’, *Norden*, 21 August 1901, p. 1.
- ‘The Dane who got the Victoria Cross’, *Norden*, 30 June 1917, p. 5.
- ‘The Danish Association “Dannebrog”’s Bazaar for the Australian Red Cross,’ *Norden*, 19 February 1916, p. 5.
- ‘The Danish Club Dannebrog’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 11.
- ‘The First Patient’, *Norden*, 31 October 1903, p. 1.
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- ‘The Fallen’, *Norden*, 22 September 1917, p. 5.
- ‘The Federal Elections’, *Norden*, 7 June 1913, p. 9.
- ‘The Late P. C. Poulsen’, *Norden*, 17 January 1925, p. 4.
- ‘The Monument’, *Norden*, 5 April 1924, p. 3.

- ‘The “Norden” Maintenance Fund: 100 Guineas Wanted!’, *Norden*, 24 July 1915, p. 5.
- ‘The Old and New Emigrants’, *Norden*, 8 March 1924, p. 1.
- ‘The Position of Norden’, *Norden*, 6 March 1915, p. 4.
- ‘The Scandinavian Lutheran Sunday School in Brisbane’, *Norden*, 1 July 1911, p. 5.
- ‘The Scandinavian Women’s Association in Melbourne’, *Norden*, September 1898, p. 1.
- ‘The Scandinavian [*sic*] Commonwealth Commemoration Fund’, *Norden*, 10 January 1903, p. 6.
- ‘The Swedes in Sydney,’ *Norden*, 13 June 1925, p. 5.
- ‘Thor’s Birdshoot’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, p. 19.
- ‘To be or not to be’, *Norden*, 24 November 1923, p. 1.
- To Friends of “Norden”, *Norden*, 3 October 1914, p. 6.
- ‘To the Danes and Descendants of Danes in Australia and New Zealand,’ *Norden*, 10 October 1936, p. 1.
- ‘To Scandinavians in Australia and New Zealand’, in *Norden*, 26 February 1915, loose letter, no page number available.
- ‘To the Scandinavians in Australia’, *Norden*, 17 June 1916, p. 1.
- ‘Under the Southern Cross: Scandinavians in Australia’, *Norden*, 28 November 1914, p. 13.
- ‘Under the Southern Cross’, *Norden*, 4 March 1916, p. 4.
- ‘Under the Southern Cross’, *Norden*, 9 March 1918, p. 5.
- ‘Under the Southern Cross,’ *Norden*, 22 August 1931, p. 4.
- ‘Under the Southern Cross,’ *Norden*, 10 October 1931, p. 4.
- ‘Union Celebrations in Sydney’, *Norden*, 24 December 1904, p. 6.
- ‘Union Lecture’, *Norden*, 22 July 1905, p. 6.
- ‘Victoria: Australia’s Garden’, *Norden*, 1 March 1913, pp. 4-13.
- ‘What is a Scandinavian?’, *Norden*, February 1899, p. 5.
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Advertising Analysis

In order to complement the qualitative aspects of this research project, a small advertising analysis was conducted to provide some concrete figures and corroborate the personal recollections of community figures such as Jens Lyng, in regards to *Norden's* finances and historic developments. The purpose of this analysis was to ascertain how commercial advertisements across *Norden's* history – one of the few stable features of the newspaper across its long publication record – reflected shifting trends concerning language use, nationality and geographical location of *Norden's* perceived market, as this was believed to give a relatively good indication of the type of readership available to *Norden* across the decades. It could also serve as a crude index of assimilation within the migrant readership.

To gain a snapshot of *Norden's* advertisement record across such a long timeframe, one mid-year issue from each year of available newspapers (June 1898- June 1939) was selected. This was normally taken to be the first issue in June each year, but the September issue was substituted when the corresponding June issue was unavailable or unreadable due to degradation of the records. Each advertisement was counted in terms of the language of the advertisement (to indicate the perceived market's nationality) and can be found in Chart 1. Only commercial advertisements were counted and community/migrant association classifieds were omitted, as it is clear that the latter group of unpaid and community-orientated advertisements would inflate the analysis' findings.

Norden's advertisements were lively and often illustrated for the purpose of attracting attention. Normally, they were grouped together as full pages at the end of each issue, with large advertisements taking precedence on these pages. Smaller advertisements were mixed amongst the columns of news and ephemera, as space-fillers and attention-grabbers. A mix of languages, nationalities and businesses jostled for position as their goods and services were touted to *Norden's* captive readership – from 'White Bear' brand sardines to 'Skipping Girl' vinegar, and Consul Holdenson's Danish butter factory to Swedish tailor Ernst Stenborg's emporium.

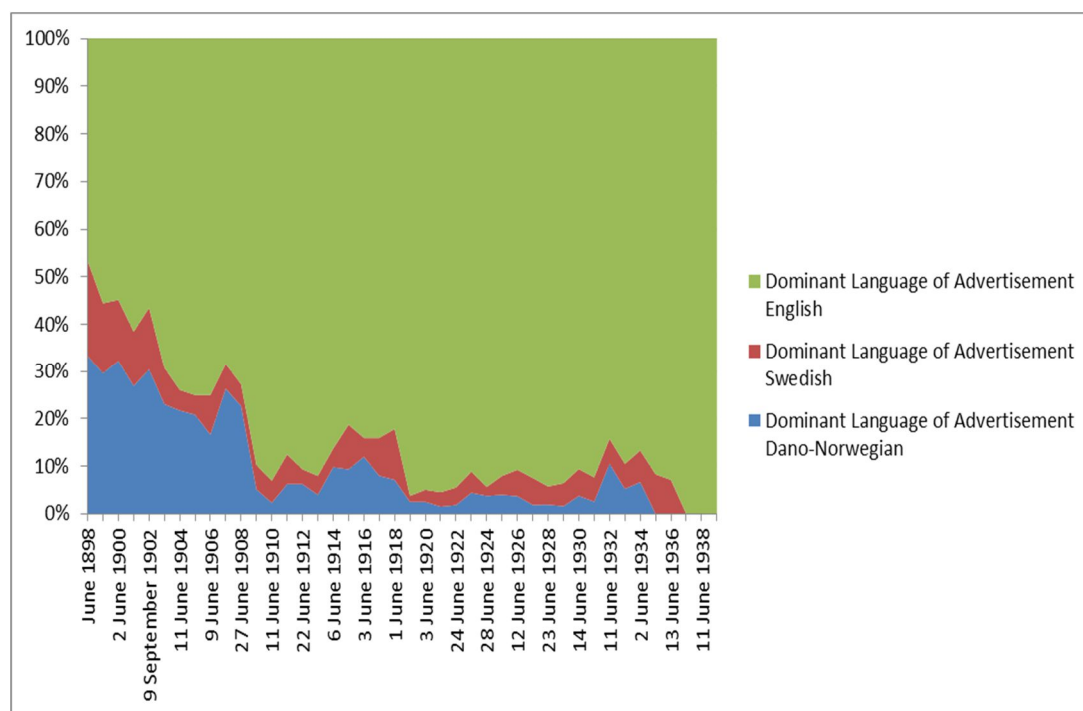
Each advertisement was also counted in terms of the advertiser's nationality, where known, to give an indication of commercial support provided to *Norden* by Scandinavian-owned migrant businesses over the newspaper's lifespan. This data collection also aimed to uncover the extent of Australian advertisers' support for the newspaper, especially after World War I.

Lastly, the location of each advertised business, where noted, was collected to examine the geographic location of those sponsoring *Norden's* publication to see if businesses' locations corresponded to potential areas of high readership, or if most advertisers continued to be from the local Melbourne community.

Table 1: Dominant Language of *Norden* Advertisements (Raw Data)

Issue	Editor	Pages	Dominant Language of Advertisement			Total
			Dano-Norwegian	Swedish	English	
June 1898	Jens Lyng	12	10	6	14	30
June 1899	Jens Lyng	10	8	4	15	27
2 June 1900	Jens Lyng	12	10	4	17	31
1 June 1901	Jens Lyng	12	7	3	16	26
9 September 1902	Jens Lyng	12	7	3	13	23
13 June 1903	Jens Lyng	12	6	2	18	26
11 June 1904	Jens Lyng	12	5	1	17	23
24 June 1905	Jens Lyng	12	5	1	18	24
9 June 1906	Olga Clausen	14	4	2	18	24
1 June 1907	Olga Clausen	14	5	1	13	19
27 June 1908	Olga Clausen	10	5	1	16	22
12 June 1909	Olga Clausen	20	2	2	35	39
11 June 1910	Olga Clausen	21	1	2	40	43
16 September 1911	Hans Clausen	16	2	2	28	32
22 June 1912	Hans Clausen	16	2	1	29	32
21 June 1913	Hans Clausen	24	2	2	46	50
6 June 1914	Carl Fischmann	24	5	2	44	51
26 June 1915	Carl Fischmann	8	3	3	26	32
3 June 1916	Carl Fischmann	6	3	1	21	25
3 June 1917	Carl Fischmann	6	2	2	21	25
1 June 1918	Carl Fischmann	6	2	3	23	28
7 June 1919	Carl Fischmann	8	2	1	76	79
3 June 1920	Carl Fischmann	8	2	2	75	79
1 June 1921	Carl Fischmann	8	1	2	63	66
24 June 1922	Carl Fischmann	8	1	2	51	54
9 June 1923	Carl Fischmann	8	2	2	41	45
28 June 1924	Carl Fischmann	8	2	1	50	53
13 June 1925	Frands Zimmerdahl	8	2	2	46	50
12 June 1926	Frands Zimmerdahl	8	2	3	49	54
11 June 1927	Frands Zimmerdahl	8	1	3	49	53
23 June 1928	Frands Zimmerdahl	8	1	2	49	52
1 June 1929	Frands Zimmerdahl	12	1	3	58	62
14 June 1930	Frands Zimmerdahl	12	2	3	48	53
13 June 1931	Frands Zimmerdahl	8	1	2	36	39
11 June 1932	Carl Fischmann	8	2	1	16	19
10 June 1933	Carl Fischmann	8	1	1	17	19
2 June 1934	Carl Fischmann	8	1	1	13	15
8 June 1935	Carl Fischmann	8	0	1	11	12
13 June 1936	Carl Fischmann	8	0	1	13	14
12 June 1937	Carl Fischmann	8	0	0	12	12
11 June 1938	Carl Fischmann	8	0	0	15	15
10 June 1939	Carl Fischmann	8	0	0	13	13

Chart 1: Dominant Language of *Norden* Advertisements (As a percentage of total)

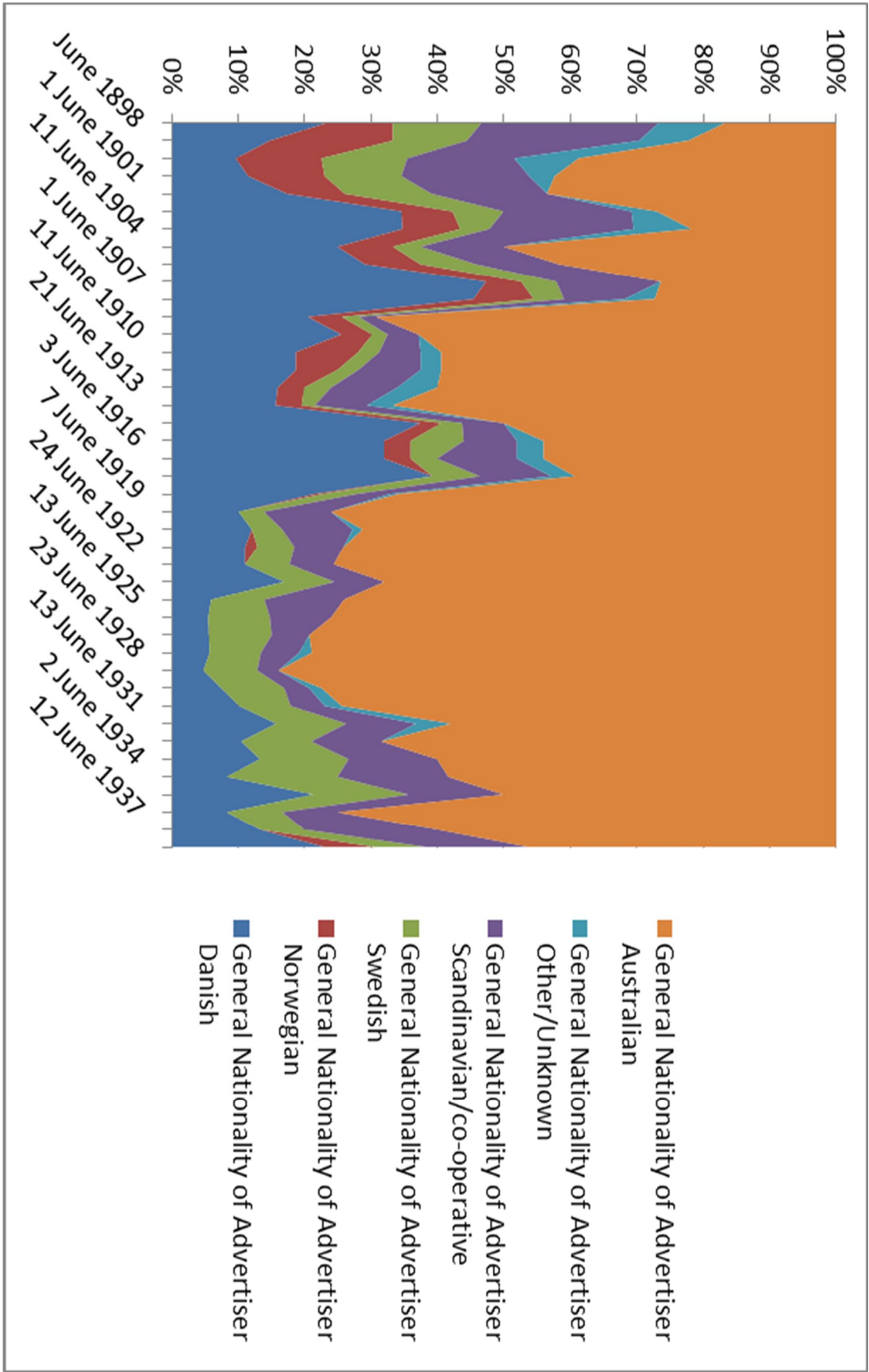


As Chart 1 demonstrates, English-language advertisements dominated *Norden*'s pages from the beginning. However, Scandinavian-language notices constituted a large portion of early *Norden*'s advertising revenue, suggesting advertisers' perceived notion that for their products and services to become well-known within the migrant community, they had to advertise in Swedish or Dano-Norwegian. Interestingly, the drop in Scandinavian-language articles in 1909/1910 corresponds to the implementation of an English page during Olga Clausen's inclusive editorial period that encouraged wider community engagement with Australian society. The small peaks during World War I (1914-1918) and the Great Depression (1930-1934) can be explained as a steep loss of Australian advertisers during the respective terse wartime or financial situations, rather than a rise in Danish or Swedish advertisements, which remained minimal.

Table 2: General Nationality of *Norden* Advertisements (Raw Data)

Issue	General Nationality of Advertiser					
	Danish	Norwegian	Swedish	Scandinavia	Other/Unkno	Australian
June 1898	7	3	4	8	3	5
June 1899	4	5	3	7	2	6
2 June 1900	3	4	4	5	3	12
1 June 1901	3	3	3	5	1	11
9 September 1902	4	2	3	4	0	10
13 June 1903	9	2	2	5	1	7
11 June 1904	8	2	1	5	2	5
24 June 1905	6	2	1	3	0	12
9 June 1906	7	2	2	3	0	10
1 June 1907	9	1	1	3	0	5
27 June 1908	10	2	1	2	1	6
12 June 1909	8	2	1	1	0	27
11 June 1910	11	2	1	2	0	27
16 September 1911	6	3	1	2	1	19
22 June 1912	6	2	1	3	1	19
21 June 1913	8	2	2	5	3	30
6 June 1914	8	2	1	4	2	34
26 June 1915	12	1	1	2	0	16
3 June 1916	8	1	2	2	1	11
3 June 1917	8	1	1	3	1	11
1 June 1918	11	0	2	3	1	11
7 June 1919	17	1	4	4	1	52
3 June 1920	8	0	3	8	0	60
1 June 1921	8	0	3	7	1	47
24 June 1922	6	1	3	4	0	40
9 June 1923	5	0	3	3	0	34
28 June 1924	9	0	4	4	0	36
13 June 1925	3	0	4	6	0	37
12 June 1926	3	0	5	5	0	41
11 June 1927	3	0	5	3	0	42
23 June 1928	3	0	4	3	1	41
1 June 1929	3	0	5	2	0	52
14 June 1930	4	0	5	2	1	41
13 June 1931	4	0	3	2	1	29
11 June 1932	3	0	2	2	1	11
10 June 1933	2	0	2	2	0	13
2 June 1934	2	0	2	2	0	9
8 June 1935	1	0	2	2	0	7
13 June 1936	3	0	2	2	0	7
12 June 1937	1	0	1	1	0	9
11 June 1938	2	0	1	3	0	9
10 June 1939	3	1	1	2	0	6

Chart 2: General Nationality of *Norden* Advertisements (As a percentage of total)



As can be seen from Chart 2 (previous page), Scandinavian-owned businesses continued to have an impressive stake hold in *Norden* for much of the newspaper's history, with approximately 60%-70% of businesses being Scandinavian in nature for the first decade of publication. The Danish dominance of businesses beholden to *Norden*, however, is also clear, with a peak of approximately 45% of all advertisements being Danish in 1906. The similar percentages of Swedish and Danish advertisers from 1922 onwards was due to a few stalwart Swedish businesses continuing to advertise in *Norden* alongside the few remaining Danish-owned concerns, but by this time the actual numbers of those supporting *Norden* via paid advertisements is very low, which may exacerbate the graph's later results, particularly Swedish involvement in *Norden*. What Charts 1 and 2 do not properly show is the number of advertisements from Australian businesses whose advertisements were in a Scandinavian language, and vice versa. While nationality and language generally correlate in the above graphs, the reasons behind language choice for these businesses seem to be quite whimsical.

In terms of geographical location, Table 3 (overleaf) unremarkably makes clear that for the majority of *Norden*'s history, advertisements were sourced from the local area. While each issue often had one or two advertisements from close supporters in other Metropolitan centres, such as Brisbane in the early years of the publication and later, in Sydney following the influence of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce, the reality continued to be that advertisers only wished to support *Norden* if the nearby community could repay the patronage with their custom. Despite large communities of interested readers in Brisbane and Sydney, *Norden* could not, and did not, rely on any financial support from further afield.

Finally, Chart 3 (page 438) documents the rise and fall of *Norden*'s actual number of paying advertisers between its founding and destruction, to show general trends in the publication's fiscal viability. Peaks in total advertisements in 1909/1910 and again in 1913/1914 correspond to the rising interest in *Norden* by businesses prior to World War I (especially 1913/14 following the Victorian government's strong support of *Norden* as a promotional tool for prospective immigrants). Following the negative financial environment of World War I, the huge spike in commercial content during the post-war boom explains the immense feelings of hope felt by a community intent on keeping *Norden* alive. This strong sense of financial security ended with the Great Depression, as indicated by the quick abandonment of *Norden*'s advertisers in 1932. Minimal numbers of advertisements during the last years of *Norden*'s life (1932-1939) finally confirm its obsolescence as even a viable advertising medium, let alone a migrant community publication.

This quantitative advertising analysis has been very influential in corroborating *Norden*'s ongoing successes and problems in attracting both Scandinavian and Australian commercial advertisers for revenue, but also subtly demonstrates the perceived rapid assimilation of *Norden*'s readers in terms of language use, and the dominant Australian/Danish leanings of its readership in terms of commercial desires. The financial realities of those migrants able to advertise in *Norden* indeed seems to have been at odds with the ideological underpinnings of *Norden*'s pan-Scandinavian message. However, that fact that most issues did have some advertising input from each Scandinavian nationality (even the underrepresented Norwegians) still makes a good case for *Norden* as a macro-national, inclusive publication rather than simply a vehicle for Danish-Australia.

Table 3: Main Location of Businesses advertising in *Norden*

Issue	Main Location of Businesses						Total
	Melbourne	Brisbane	Sydney	Other Australia/NZ	Overseas	Not Stated	
June 1898	26	1	0	2	0	1	30
June 1899	21	1	1	3	0	1	27
2 June 1900	25	0	2	1	1	1	30
1 June 1901	20	1	3	2	0	0	26
9 September 1902	18	0	3	1	0	1	23
13 June 1903	18	1	4	2	0	1	26
11 June 1904	17	0	3	1	1	1	23
24 June 1905	20	0	1	2	1	0	24
9 June 1906	20	0	1	1	2	0	24
1 June 1907	17	0	0	1	1	0	19
27 June 1908	19	0	0	2	1	0	22
12 June 1909	37	0	0	2	0	0	39
11 June 1910	38	1	0	3	0	1	43
16 September 1911	29	0	0	1	0	2	32
22 June 1912	30	0	0	0	0	2	32
21 June 1913	45	0	1	1	0	3	50
6 June 1914	48	0	1	1	0	1	51
26 June 1915	28	0	1	1	0	2	32
3 June 1916	21	0	1	1	0	2	25
3 June 1917	22	0	1	0	0	2	25
1 June 1918	22	0	1	2	0	3	28
7 June 1919	69	0	1	4	0	5	79
3 June 1920	66	0	4	0	0	9	79
1 June 1921	55	0	1	1	0	9	66
24 June 1922	46	0	1	0	1	6	54
9 June 1923	38	0	0	0	0	7	45
28 June 1924	45	0	0	0	0	8	53
13 June 1925	39	0	1	0	0	10	50
12 June 1926	38	1	2	0	0	13	54
11 June 1927	39	1	2	0	0	11	53
23 June 1928	39	1	1	0	0	11	52
1 June 1929	47	1	1	0	0	13	62
14 June 1930	35	1	1	0	0	16	53
13 June 1931	28	0	1	0	0	10	39
11 June 1932	14	0	0	0	0	5	19
10 June 1933	16	0	0	0	0	3	19
2 June 1934	14	0	0	0	0	1	15
8 June 1935	10	0	0	0	0	2	12
13 June 1936	12	0	0	0	0	3	15
12 June 1937	9	0	0	1	0	2	12
11 June 1938	12	0	0	1	0	2	15
10 June 1939	11	0	0	0	0	2	13

Chart 3: Total number of Advertisements in *Norden* over time

