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ÉTUDES SCANDINAVES AU CANADA

GURLI AAGAARD WOODS
Editor/Rédactrice

AASSC

ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES IN CANADA

L'ASSOCIATION POUR L'AVANCEMENT DES ÉTUDES SCANDINAVES AU CANADA

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Editor's Introduction

The Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies in Canada is proud to present the second volume in its series *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Études Scandinaves au Canada.*

This volume contains thirteen articles, all of which have been presented at AASSC conferences. One paper dates back to the founding conference of AASSC at the University of Ottawa in 1982, two of the papers were presented at the AASSC meetings during the Learned Societies Conference at the University of British Columbia, and the remaining ten papers were given in 1984 or 1985 at the University of Guelph or the University of Montreal, respectively. The reader will find a note at the end of each paper indicating the conference at which the paper was presented.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first part relates to the literary scene. Errol Durbach opens the volume with a discussion of Strindberg's play *Miss Julie* based on his own experience of this drama in the theatre through Robin Phillips' production for the Royal Shakespeare Company in the early 1970s. In the second paper, Anne-Charlotte Hanes Harvey discusses T. Anstey Guthrie's parodies of Ibsen's plays published in *Punch* in the 1890s. The third paper focusses on Shakespeare in Finland. Antony Landon discusses performances of Shakespeare's tragedies in various theatres in Finland in the 1970s. Kathryn Hanson examines the Danish poet Adam Oehlenschläger's work at the turn of the nineteenth century and points to his originality which goes beyond the strong influence from German romanticism. Based on the large collection of Hamsun letters at the University of Wisconsin, Harald Naess compares excerpts from these letters relating to Knut Hamsun's daughter Victoria with the theme of pride and humility in the novel *Victoria*. The final paper in this section could be regarded as a link between the first and the second parts. Marshall Matson discusses *Utrest*, a book by Swedish emigrant writer Rönnog Seaberg which sums up her own as well as other emigrants' sense of expatriation in their chosen new country (the United States).

The second part in our volume concentrates on the Scandinavian presence in Canada or, more specifically, on the internal migration among Icelandic settlers within Canada between 1875 and 1891 (James Richtik) and Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish settlements in Saskatchewan (Alan Anderson).

The third part addresses political, economic, and social concerns in Scandinavia in their contemporary as well as historical contexts. Stewart Oakley describes peasant social life in Scandinavia and traces the gradual loosening of the ties which held the community together, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. In his paper, Mark Lapping concentrates on Sweden's policy towards the Saami minority from the signing of the Border Codicil in 1751, which established the Saami rights to land in northern Sweden, to the problems of the present day. Richard Cornell's paper examines the activities of the Danish Minister of Justice in the late 1930s, K.K. Steincke, with reference to the issue of freedom of expression. Patricia Appavoo draws a comparison between Canadian and Swedish foreign aid policy from 1950 to 1970. The last paper in the volume

brings us to the socio-economic situation of Sweden in the 1980s. Gunnar Eliasson of the Industrial Institute for Economic and Social Research in Stockholm discusses the question of whether or not the Swedish welfare state is in trouble.

Finally, I wish to thank all those who helped in the preparation of this second volume of *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Études Scandinaves au Canada*, including the members of the Editorial Board and other readers who helped assess and edit the many papers submitted for consideration, and especially Dr. Jocelyn Lillycrop (Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council) who assisted in the preparation of the manuscripts, and Martha Healey, a Research Assistant with Comparative Literature (Carleton University), who helped with the arduous task of proofreading during the final stages of the production. A word of thanks also goes to the Dean of Arts at Carleton University, Dr. Naomi E.S. Griffiths, who generously presented AASSC with a grant towards the publication of this book. It has been a privilege to prepare this volume, and I sincerely hope that our readers will enjoy reading the wide assortment of views and topics presented.

Dr. Gurli Aagaard Woods
(Carleton University)

Ottawa, 1986

SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE — AND LITERATURE IN SCANDINAVIA

The Eclectic Theatricalism of *Miss Julie*

Errol Durbach
(University of British Columbia)

There is a moment of tremendous violence towards the end of *Miss Julie*, an almost Artaudian "spurt of blood," when Jean butchers the little song-bird that would otherwise have been an encumbrance to their elopement:

> JULIE, *taking the bird out of the cage and kissing it.* Dear little Serena, must you die and leave your mistress?
>
> JEAN, Please don't make a scene. It's *your* life and future we're worrying about. Come on, quick now! *He snatches the bird from her, puts it on a board and picks up a chopper.* JULIE *turns away.* You should have learnt how to kill chickens instead of target-shooting. Then you wouldn't faint at a drop of blood.
>
> JULIE, *screaming.* Kill me too! Kill me too! You who can butcher an innocent creature without a quiver. Oh, how I hate you, how I loathe you! There is blood between us now. I curse the hour I first saw you. I curse the hour I was conceived in my mother's womb . . . *Going to the chopping block as if drawn against her will* . . . You don't think I can bear the sight of blood. You think I'm so weak. Oh, how I would like to see your blood and your brains on a chopping block! I'd like to see the whole of your sex swimming like that in a sea of blood. I think I could drink out of your skull, bathe my feet in your broken breast and eat your heart roasted whole . . .[1]

And so on, with the rising hysteria of a Tennessee Williams heroine who has abandoned the prosaic language of Realism for the febrile poetry of one pushed to the very edge of endurance. One does not say that sort of thing in the attenuated language of nineteenth-century Realistic drama. There is an unleashing that bursts the boundaries of convention, a tipping over of the play into a rhetorical tradition that defies the "real." And, of course, as the thematic critics have pointed out,[2] the "real" is merely an occasion for the dramatic enactment of ritual, an ironic version of an archetypal sacrifice. The play takes place on St. John's Eve; the sermon Kristin wants to hear is about the beheading of St. John the Baptist; and the incident with the bird is an ominous foreshadowing of Julie's fate, her throat cut with Jean's razor. The blood on the chopping-block, moreover, like Macbeth's dripping hands, is a piece of stage "realism" that

gives dramatic life to an abstract image pattern in the play. The viscosity in *Miss Julie*, the imagery that presents the body as organic process — menstrual flow, excrement, semen — finds its visual counterpart in the bloody death of the bird. It is another instance of the objectively "real" unleashing the morbid fears and the subliminal disgust that Strindberg would seem to share with his protagonists: an obsessive concern with the functions of the body, a deeply rooted anxiety in the face of sexuality, and an overwhelming fear of death.

I am suggesting, in other words, that Strindberg has subverted the most basic principles of Realistic drama in his most tenaciously realistic of plays. "Faire vrai," Zola had decreed as the guiding injunction to his school of Naturalists: represent the phenomenal world *dispassionately*, scientifically, acknowledging that the objects of perception have a fixed existence outside of the perceiving mind. This is the very basis of Ibsen's realistic creed in writing *Ghosts*:

> My intention was to try and give the reader the impression of experiencing a piece of reality. But nothing would more effectively run counter to this intention than inserting the author's opinion into the dialogue.[3]

For the Realist, the author remains absolutely extrinsic to the artwork he has created. But Strindberg is never absent from his drama. "No playwright," writes George Steiner, "ever made of so public a form as drama a more private expression."[4] This is a point to which I want to return. What concerns me more immediately is how one deals onstage with the "realism" in Strindberg's theatre — and especially with the messy decapitation of the bird.

My only experience of *Miss Julie* in the theatre has been Robin Phillips' production for the Royal Shakespeare Company in the early 70s. It was staged in the round with an unrelenting realistic emphasis: a real kitchen with real cooking which stank realistically as Kristin prepared the medicine to abort Miss Julie's dog. The greenfinch, needless to say, was a real bird which hopped up and down in its cage. At the climatic moment, Julie caught it, removed it gently from its cage, and Jean whacked it with the cleaver. Who would have thought such a small creature could have shed such a voluminous quantity of blood? My wife said she was going to faint and put her head between her knees. She was not the only one in the theatre unable willingly to suspend disbelief. All that Robin Phillips had proved was the thoroughly distracting nature of reality on the stage, and I went back to check on Strindberg's directions. He discreetly fails to specify decapitation. There's a cleaver and Julie

speaks of blood, so one infers a blow. But Strindberg seems indifferent to the act itself. Birgitta Steene, indeed, claims that Jean merely breaks the song-bird's neck[5], implying that Julie's reference to the "blood between us" is metaphorical and that her sea-of-blood speech is a visionary projection from the overwrought imagination. I don't believe that this is so. But it represents more accurately Strindberg's achievement in the play than his insistence on Realism. I have seen a production of *The Father* where Laura's realistic presence is so shaped by the Captain's extreme misogyny that she was made to appear — through slide projections on a screen — as an emanation of his psychic fears and anxieties. The text almost sanctions this leap into Expressionism. Zola, at the beginning of Strindberg's career as a Naturalist, had already detected something at variance in his drama with the Realistic creed. When Strindberg sent his translation of *The Father* to the master, hoping for his approval and seeking to discover a Continental audience for his plays, Zola replied in terms of faint praise mingled with strong reservations:

> Vous savez peut-être que je ne suis pas pour l'abstraction. J'aime que les personnages aient un état civil complet . . . Et votre capitaine qui n'a pas même de nom, vos autres personnages qui sont presque des êtres de raison, ne me donnent pas de la vie la sensation complète que je demande.[6]

To these objections, Zola might have added the hysterical tone of the play and its failure to dramatise the complexity and wholeness of life without the appearance of authorial bias. Noting these reservations, Strindberg tried again, creating in *Miss Julie* (so he claimed) "the first naturalistic tragedy of the Swedish drama."[7] Adding apologia to over-protestation, he appended a preface to the play which has become a *locus classicus* of Naturalist theory — but which bears the same misleading relationship to the text that some of Shaw's teasing and provocative prefaces bear to *his* plays.

This pursuit of appending the correct "—ism" to the style of a particular play may appear pedantic and irrelevant. But the actor on the stage, the dramatic character enveloped by his environment, is the most basic metaphor for Man in the World; and every significant tragedy rephrases in its own terms Hamlet's crucial question about man's nature or Lear's great ontological cry: "Who is it that can tell me who I am?"[8] To say that Strindberg was writing a Naturalistic tragedy is to imply a very specific kind of answer to these questions. Naturalism, as a definition of Man, is deeply rooted in a post-Romantic mood of disillusionment, all hope for the free and expansive spirit cancelled by the experience of history and the determin-

ism of science. The negation of Romanticism's promises is already evident in Büchner's neurological researches into the cranial nerves in the 1830s, and in the ghastly limitations that he saw the human body imposing upon the human will. He was the first of the great dramatist/scientists of the new age — just as Strindberg, in his chemical experiments to isolate carbon from sulphur and his interest in psychology, is one of the last. And just as Büchner's *Woyzeck* seems to anticipate Darwin's biological theory and Claude Bernard's view of man trapped in nature's relentless chain of cause-and-effect,[9] so Strindberg's *Miss Julie* seems to sum up, in a rather narrowly formulaic way, the major theories of mechanistic behaviour, environmental conditioning, and biological entrapment. Like Woyzeck, Julie is presented to us as a creature without volition, at the mercy of the determinist Gods of Heredity and Environment, and a plaything of the body with its insistent sexual needs and its unsettling metabolism. "Is man no more than this?"[10] — a bundle of nerve-endings whose destiny is located in his anatomy? This is the image that Strindberg, echoing every French Naturalist from Hippolyte Taine to Théodule Ribot,[11] imposes upon Miss Julie in his preface:

> I see Miss Julie's tragic fate to be the result of many circumstances: the mother's character, the father's mistaken bringing up of the girl, her own nature, and the influence of her fiancé on a weak degenerate mind. Also, more directly, the festive mood of Midsummer Eve, her father's absence, her monthly indisposition, her preoccupation with animals, the excitement of dancing, the magic of dusk, the strongly aphrodisiac influence of flowers, and finally the chance that drives the couple into a room alone . . . (p. 63)

And this is the vision which, in the last few years, a number of significant studies of Strindberg's drama has consistently rejected as reductive and misleading.

Harry Carlson in *Strindberg and the Poetry of Myth* calls the play a "fairy tale manqué,"[12] dislocated from the crude specifics of environmental reality and set in "mythic time and space: outside the Garden after the Fall."[13] Edmund Napieralski, similarly, has argued that in *Miss Julie* "Strindberg shows through his use of fairy-tale motifs that naturalism could not satisfy him and that its narrow definitions could never contain his vision of tragic human experience,"[14] and Evert Sprinchorn has shown Strindberg moving towards a "greater naturalism" which transcends photographic reality in the type of ritualistic action that characterises the drama of Sartre and Genet.[15] Zola, as I have suggested, had already detected something renegade

in Strindberg's Naturalism; and in the juxtaposition, as in the songbird episode, of harsh realism and a deeply subjective response to the event, one is reminded of Stanislavski's *Caveat*: "The theory of environment ends where the subconscious starts."[16] The subject of *Miss Julie*, I would suggest, is the *inner* reality of the heroine's consciousness, and the rhythm of the drama is a relentless inward drive towards an implosion of the naturalistic conventions of the nineteenth-century stage. This is conveyed primarily through the language: the hysterical response to the death of the bird, those passages of blatant dream-analysis in which the protagonists' subconscious desires are revealed in poetic parable — in short, the intensely introspective and confessional style of the entire play. But the rhetoric is contained within the visual metaphor of the stage-set itself, and what we *see* in terms of theatrical effect underscores that sense of Realism straining against its own boundaries until it finally breaks into another dramatic style. If *Naturalism* refers to the image of man and the philosophy that sustains it, then *Realism* is that dispassionate and objective style which is its vehicle in the theatre. My point is that the stagecraft of the play so thoroughly undermines the "reality" of what we see that we are obliged, finally, to locate the ontologically "real" beyond the world of the stage and in the perceiving imagination of the heroine herself.

The play is set in the kitchen of a Swedish manor house in the 1880s, an early kitchen-sink drama, with lovemaking amid the coffee grounds and onion skins. In his stage directions and in the preface Strindberg demands an almost photographic stage picture: "When one has only one set, one may expect it to be realistic" (p. 71), with *real* pots and *real* pans. In the next breath he calls for modifications; "for to make the stage into a real room with the fourth wall missing," he writes, "would be too upsetting altogether" (p. 73). In fact, he goes one step further: he eliminates the third wall as well so that the traditional perspective of the box-set is radically altered. Everything is set on the diagonal, leading the eye, says Strindberg, "to unfamiliar perspectives" (p. 72), to an incomplete and slightly distorted angle of vision which truncates and delimits what we see. The angularity is designed to lop the edges off real objects, like the stove and table, so that the set begins to look like the café paintings of van Gogh. In conceiving his set, Strindberg acknowledges his indebtedness to the new school of graphic art:

> I have borrowed from impressionist painting its asymmetry and its economy . . . For the fact that one does not see the whole room and all the furniture leaves scope for conjecture — that is to say imagination is roused and complements what is seen. (p. 71)[17]

To look at reality with the eyes of the French Impressionists, moreover, is to see beyond and beneath the surface of the phenomenal world. Cézanne, looking at Mont Ste-Victoire, calls in doubt the sufficiency of what is objectively visible. For Seurat, reality is a series of atomic particles which dissolve into abstraction as one approaches the world of bourgeois holiday-makers on the lawns of La Grande Jatte. And while Strindberg was writing *Miss Julie*, van Gogh was painting those traumatic portraits in green and turquoise in which the self is seen from the inside out against a field of emotional energy. The *real* has receded into the realm of the invisible, the intensely felt, the fantastically conceived. Nothing is, but *feeling* makes it so. Psychological reality now displaces the empirically observed external world, and the image of Man modulates from that of a creature determined by his environment to one whose consciousness recreates the world.

I do not mean to overestimate the novelty of *Miss Julie* or to argue for it as a major restatement of Man in the World. But, almost unconsciously, Strindberg has begun to shift his play from Realism to an incipient form of Expressionism in the modern theatre. I think it is unconscious, for whatever he *says* in the preface is countermanded by the play's stagecraft. The Gods who preside over the play, for all his special pleading, are not the Gods of Darwin and the Naturalist philosophers. They are the Gods of the psyche, the Expressionist Gods who preside over impulse and desire; and we should not mistake the view from the kitchen window as a mere piece of garden decoration:

> *Through these glass doors can be seen part of a fountain with a cupid, lilac bushes in flower and the tops of some Lombardy poplars.* (p. 75)

Eros may be reduced, in nineteenth-century drama, to baroque statuary, but he is as potent a force of sexual energy as Euripides' Aphrodite and presides as relentlessly over the action of *Miss Julie* as his counterpart does over the *Hippolytus*. Like the Dionysiac revel at the centre of the play's action, Eros functions as an objective correlative of the heroine's psychic experience. There is, indeed, something almost cinematic in the orgiastic dancing of the peasants, a montage-effect which finds an analogue in dramatic ritual for the off-stage rites of Midsummer taking place in the servant's bedroom. And this

dual focus — a simultaneity of real and surreal effects which keep shifting with one's changing angle of vision — is maintained throughout the play. At the dénouement, however, an extraordinary shift occurs, again manufactured out of the techniques of stage realism, which makes us see Miss Julie's deeply subjective view of reality *through her own eyes*. This may be the first genuinely Expressionist moment in Strindberg's drama.

The effect at the end depends upon the actress's ability to convey a state of self-induced trance, a form of poetic hallucination, and a lighting effect which anticipates the Symbolist experiments of Appia. For, like Appia, Strindberg uses the stage-lighting not merely to illuminate reality but to transform it. Jean, at this stage, has changed into his black livery, reduced by the Count's arrival to his servile position in the household; but Julie, in her extreme emotional anguish, no longer responds to the realities of the phenomenal world. What she sees before her is the Angel of Death in all its fearsome Romantic attractiveness, the realistic presence of Jean in his servant's coat transformed by the power of psychic suggestion and a trick of the light into an hypnotic force beyond human will:

> JULIE, *as if in a trance.* I am asleep already . . . the whole room has turned to smoke — and you look like a stove — a stove like a man in black with a tall hat — your eyes are glowing like coals when the fire is low — and your face is a white patch like ashes. *The sunlight has now reached the floor and lights up* JEAN. How nice and warm it is! *She holds out her hands as though warming them at a fire.* And so light — and so peaceful. (p. 113)

Now *we* see him, irradiated in a shaft of brightness, as Julie does — surrealistically — the seductive lover who lures her towards the peacefulness of death. "In this last scene," writes Evert Sprinchorn, "the audience is at one with Julie, no longer watching her but participating, and the real world has ceased to exist for both."[18]

Strindberg's Naturalism appears to have been an essentially transitional phase in his career, a way of looking at the world which was obliged, finally, to accommodate environmental reality to the reality of the subconscious, and the phenomenal world to the visionary one of nightmare, dream, and fantasy. As with any dramatic "—ism," if Naturalism aspires to an absolute and static idea instead of a dynamic movement, it congeals and dies in the nastiness of its vision. The genius of *Miss Julie* is to have eluded the petrifying theory of Strindberg's preface to the play, even in productions which insist most resolutely on a realistic style. There was, indeed,

something quite theatrically surreal when the song-bird was butchered in the Royal Shakespeare Company's production. Not only had Realism tipped over into ritual, but as several outraged members of the audience discovered on later inspection of the chopping board, a *real* greenfinch could never have contained the volume of blood shed so dramatically by the wooden model on the stage.

Notes

[1] Strindberg, "Miss Julie," *Six Plays of Strindberg*, trans. Elizabeth Sprigge (New York, 1955), pp. 106-107. Subsequent references are given in parentheses.

[2] See, for example, Edmund A. Napieralski, *"Miss Julie:* Strindberg's Tragic Fairy Tale," *Modern Drama*, XXVI, 3 (September, 1983), p. 283.

[3] *The Oxford Ibsen*, V (London, 1961), p. 476.

[4] Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy* (London, 1961), p. 298. One of the best studies of the "private expression" in *Miss Julie* is Robert Brustein's in *The Theatre of Revolt* (Boston, 1964).

[5] Steene, *The Greatest Fire: A Study of August Strindberg* (Carbondale, 1973), p. 56.

[6] Quoted by Børge Madsen in *Strindberg's Naturalistic Theatre* (Seattle, 1962), p. 57.

[7] Madsen, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[8] *King Lear*, I. iv. 230.

[9] Darwin's *The Origin of Species* appeared in 1859, and Bernard's *Introduction à l'étude de la médecine expérimentale* in 1865.

[10] *King Lear*, III. iv. 103.

[11] For a detailed account of all the French influences on Strindberg's Naturalistic theory, see Børge Madsen's *Strindberg's Naturalistic Theatre*.

[12] Carlson, *Strindberg and the Poetry of Myth* (Berkeley, 1982), p. 71.

[13] Carlson, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[14] Napieralski, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

[15] Sprinchorn, *Strindberg as Dramatist* (New Haven, 1982), pp. 22ff.

[16] Stanislavski, quoted by Martin Esslin, "Naturalism in Context," *The Drama Review*, 13, No. 2 (Winter, 1968), p. 73.

[17] Sprinchorn, *op. cit.*, p. 28, comments interestingly on the set.

[18] Sprinchorn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Paper originally presented at the AASSC meetings during the Learned Societies Conference at the University of Guelph in 1984.

Punch's "Hedda": An Approach to Ibsen Through Parody

Anne-Charlotte Hanes Harvey
(San Diego State University)

Great works of art give rise to imitations and parodies. But whereas imitation may well be "the sincerest form of flattery," parody is not necessarily flattering at all. And whereas an imitation can function happily without sidelong glances at the work imitated — it would, in fact, rather replace it than be compared with it — parody cannot function unless it is perceived in relation to the work parodied.

Since it is in the nature of parody to function only if and when the work parodied is well known, the mere existence of a parody attests to the familiarity — though not necessarily popularity — of the work parodied.

A case in point: The appearance in London, in the spring of 1891, of four parodies and one burlesque of Ibsen's dramas suggests that Ibsen was — to put it mildly — well known at the time.[1] To a certain literary audience, he was, in fact, *l'enfant terrible* of the day, the man you loved to hate. Two separate editions of his dramas in translation were in the process of publication.[2] In January of 1891, there had been a juicy fight in the press between England's two foremost Ibsen translators, William Archer and Edmund Gosse, about the rights to translate *Hedda Gabler*. Since his tentative introduction in England in translation in the 1870s and on the stage in 1880, Ibsen had become increasingly more controversial, increasingly more attacked and defended. In March of 1891 the controversy reached a peak with the outraged response to J.T. Grein's production of *Ghosts* at the Independent Theatre. The entire spring of 1891 was, in fact, punctuated by Ibsen productions. The runs were admittedly short — three of the plays receiving only one performance, two having 5-day runs, and one a run of 37 performances — and the format modest — mostly matinees for private audiences — but nevertheless, in this single spring, the London *literati* had an opportunity to see productions of *Rosmersholm, Ghosts, The Lady From the Sea, Hedda Gabler*, and no less than two productions of *A Doll's House*, one at the beginning and the other at the end of the season. In parenthesis, the only one

of these productions to go "public" was *Hedda Gabler*, which after five private matinees at the Vaudeville Theatre was put on the regular evening program for a month at the same theatre.[3] And later, in October of the same year, George Bernard Shaw published his *Quintessence of Ibsenism*, in part inspired by the spring surge in stage presentations and the surrounding press debate.

But the main product, for our purposes, of the spring's preoccupation with Ibsen was the above-mentioned crop of parodic treatments.[4] Four of these were purely literary efforts, while one was intended for stage performance in the venerable English burlesque tradition. There had been a few literary parodies of Ibsen earlier, but apparently none written for the stage. The exact dates and titles of these very first English Ibsen parodies are not recorded.[5] They were followed, in the fall of 1890, by a brief parody, "The Ghost of Ghosts," attributed to J.M. Barrie.[6]

Barrie's next "Ibsene" effort was the first parody intended for the stage. Entitled *Ibsen's Ghost or Toole Up to Date*, it was produced at Toole's in late May — in fact, it opened the same day that *Hedda Gabler* closed at the Vaudeville. It was primarily a burlesque of current stage performances, as is clear from, e.g., the reviewers' praise of the two actresses Irene Vanbrugh and Eliza Johnstone for so remarkably capturing the mannerisms of Elizabeth Robins and Marion Lea, the two actresses who had just finished playing Hedda and Thea, respectively, at the Vaudeville. The script provided the theatregoing audience with a timely comment on Ibsen's plays on stage; it was not intended to be read or printed.[7]

Ibsen's Ghost or Toole Up to Date purports to be a fifth act of *Hedda Gabler*. We find Thea Elvsted married to George Tesman, who insists on calling her "Hedda," which annoys Thea no end. The two other characters are Thea's grandmother and grandfather, the latter miraculously transformed into Ibsen halfway through the play. The production was widely acclaimed. Both William Archer, Ibsen's translator and champion, and Clement Scott, Ibsen's fiercest critic, applauded the performance — no doubt for different reasons. As Scott put it, "The admirers of 'the master' will probably laugh at it just as heartily as his conscientious opponents, unless indeed their worship has gone beyond the bounds of reason."[8]

But of the greatest impact, and perhaps cleverest of all, were the series of parodies by Thomas Anstey Guthrie (F. Anstey), appearing in weekly installments throughout the spring in the literary magazine *Punch* under the collective title of "Mr. Punch's Pocket Ibsen."

Beginning on March 21 was "Rosmershölm," which was followed by "Nora; or The Bird-Cage (Et Dikkisvöet)" and "Hedda Gabler." The series ended on May 30th with the final installment of "The Wild Duck." These parodies were clearly inspired by the recently published translations by Gosse — in fact, many lines and stage directions are directly taken from Gosse — and also by the spate of current stage productions, the order of the parodies' appearance in *Punch* almost exactly following that of the stage performances.[9] The fourth parody, "The Wild Duck," was based only on the recently published Gosse translation and not inspired by a performance.[10] In 1893, this series was topped off with a general Ibsen parody, "Pill-Doctor Herdal," based on elements from several of Ibsen's plays, notably *The Master Builder* (translated 1893, first performed 2/20 1893). The resulting collection of five parodies was then published in book form in 1893.[11] The book appears to have been a success, as a second edition appeared on both sides of the Atlantic later that year.[12] In 1895, the collection was reprinted in a "new and enlarged edition," containing the additional piece "Little Möpseman," a parody of *Little Eyolf*.[13]

Guthrie's parodies were clearly intended to be read, not staged, though they would — and do — make charming staged readings. The evidence is threefold: First, they appeared in *Punch*, the foremost literary satirical vehicle of the day. Second, there are no specific references to the acting or staging in the Ibsen productions of the day, such as are found in Barrie's *Ibsen's Ghost*. Third, and above all, their stage directions exhibit what Griffin calls "a certain literary facetiousness" (Barrie, p. 82), which — like Ibsen's famous stage direction "suppressing a barely perceptible smile" — cannot be appreciated except on the written page. This "literary facetiousness" extends to an irreverent treatment of Gosse's translation: Guthrie is making fun of both Ibsen and Gosse.

A study of Guthrie's parodies is highly instructive. By comparing the parodies with Ibsen's plays, we find precisely those aspects of the plays which struck the English educated world in the 1890s as somehow noteworthy: particularly characteristic of the Master, excessive, absurd — or all of these.

The principles Guthrie used for creating parody are — like those of many parodists — *condensation* (achieved by pruning throughout and/or radical excision), *exaggeration* of prominent or characteristic elements (achieved by lengthening, enlargement, or repetition), *extrapolation* (achieved by following to their logical conclusion prem-

ises set up or implied in the model), and *mode-inversion*, i.e., changing the fundamental attitude of the work from elevated to familiar, from serious to frivolous (achieved by all of the above-mentioned principles, often augmented by inventive touches of whimsy or sudden style breaks).

By looking closely at the parody — noting what Guthrie chose to cut, what he chose to exaggerate, what he chose to extrapolate from, and how he went about doing it all — we can gain considerable insight into the collective mind of the Victorian parodist/critic and his readers.[14] A study, then, of, for example, Guthrie's parody "Hedda Gabler" offers an intriguing glimpse of the London world of letters in the 1890s, its value judgments, assumptions, even mores.

But it is my contention that it offers more than that; in fact, that Guthrie's "Hedda Gabler" provides an unorthodox avenue to a fuller understanding of the model, Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*. The parody reveals the parodist's Victorian bias, but it also enlarges on the specifically Ibsenesque characteristics of the original — and shows up any inconsistencies and absurdities inherent in Ibsen's script.

A closer look at how Guthrie's parody relates to Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* shows that the parody is greatly condensed, or only approximately 1/7 of the original in length.[15] Although a great deal of material has been left out, Guthrie manages to negotiate almost all of Ibsen's plot turns — they are just correspondingly tighter. What he does leave out is expository matter, nuanced motivations and subtle reactions, almost all descriptions of scenic elements, and the small, seemingly pointless, details and exchanges which — thanks to Ibsen's mastery — help create an image of reality, empathy with the characters, and the appearance of logic in the plot even when it is quite absurd.

Take, for example, Thea Elvsted's appearance in Act I. In the original, Ibsen allots 166 lines to the section in which Hedda prods Thea to confide in her and ferrets out the details of Lövborg's stay up at the Elvsteds. In Guthrie's parody, this section is condensed into three lines, two of which are Thea's and one Hedda's. All Hedda's prodding and manipulation of Thea is gone, as is Thea's initial reluctance to speak. No allowance is made for transitions by either Thea or Hedda. As a result, Thea comes right to the point, speaks in non-sequiturs, and the transitions happen at break-neck speed:

> Eilert Lövborg, you know, who was our tutor; he's written such a large new book. I inspired him. Oh, I know I don't look like it, but I did — he told me so. And, good gracious, now he's in this dangerous wicked town all alone, and he's a reformed character, and I'm so frightened about him; so, as the wife of a sheriff twenty years older than me, I came up to look after Mr. Lövborg. Do ask him here — then I can meet him. You will? How perfectly lovely of you! My husband's *so* fond of him![16]

The effect of the condensation tends to be amusing. It is distinctly comic when Tesman goes off to change into evening wear and returns in formal dress with gloves — two lines later. The most striking example of condensation is found in Act III: Without losing the gist of the action, Guthrie reduces the entire act to 17 lines.[17] All of Thea's lines in this act are condensed into: "Never! I want to be with you when your book comes out" (p. 107)!

Character delineation through dialogue and action is of course greatly affected by the condensation. The cutting of expository matter — e.g., the information about Hedda's background in Act I and the gradually revealed extent of Tesman's financial indebtedness — as well as the cutting of scenic elements which prompt character revelation — e.g. the suitcase and Thea's flowers in Act I which motivate some expository chat from Tesman and Hedda — reduce the characters to two-dimensional enigmas. Add thereto the exaggeration of some outstanding feature, and the character enters the realm of caricature. This is especially true about Jörgen (George) Tesman. Ibsen's Tesman often says "Eh?" or exclaims "Think of that!" or "Fancy that, Hedda!" In Ibsen's Act I, Tesman has 151 lines and says "Eh?" or "Think of that!" 49 times. The parody seizes on this feature and crams 18 such interjections into Tesman's total of 13 lines in the first act. From being "typically" Tesman once every three lines, Tesman in Guthrie's parody out-Tesmans Tesman: he uses one of these interjections at least once per line.

To further point up Tesman's ridiculousness, Guthrie extrapolates from the slipper incident in Act I and includes the slippers also in Tesman's list of consolations available to him and Hedda now that they cannot count on the income from Tesman's professorship. The slippers underline the "provinciality" which so alienated the London world of letters from Ibsen, who was, as Henry James put it, "too far from the Piccadilly."[18] This provinciality, which is inherent in all the characters in *Hedda Gabler* except Hedda and Judge Brack, might have served to clarify Hedda's sense of entrapment in mediocrity to the London audiences. Apparently only a few saw Hedda's entrap-

ment; to most, she was merely "an unwomanly woman," unwilling to take up her responsibilities as a wife and mother.[19]

Beyond a brief introductory description at a character's first entrance, almost all stage directions that describe or help define a character are simply cut. Gone are, for example, all stage directions linking Hedda with the stove, which make such a powerful subliminal statement in the staging of *Hedda Gabler*. It is clear that Ibsen's gradual evocation of character, so admired by Shaw, struck Guthrie as unnecessary, or, at least, thankless as material for parody. On the other hand, Ibsen's stage direction "suppresses an almost imperceptible smile" is quoted verbatim in the parody (p. 112). This description of Hedda's reaction apparently struck Guthrie as excessive, hence suitable for parody.[20]

One feature which is retained in Guthrie's character descriptions is the physical appearance of Hedda and Thea, particularly their eyes and hair. Guthrie's descriptions come quite close to Ibsen's here, though with a touch of levity. Hedda has "cold open steel-grey eyes" and her hair is "not very thick, but what there is of it is an agreeable medium brown" (p. 83), whereas Thea has "copious wavy white-gold hair and round prominent eyes, and the manner of a frightened rabbit" (p. 86).[21]

A woman's hair colour and texture was — and still is — considered a sign of her character. (Note that Ibsen associates red hair with a lack of respectability: "opera singers" and Mademoiselle Diana have red hair.) Hedda's jealousy of Thea's hair was not a remarkable emotion to the Victorian audience. But Hedda's expression of this jealousy, on the other hand, was remarkable, which is why Guthrie points it up by reversing the line so that Hedda openly speaks the subtext. Instead of professing past friendship with Thea, she says: "Do you remember how I used to pull your hair when we met on the stairs, and say I would scorch it off? Seeing people with copious hair always *does* irritate me" (p. 87).

Ibsen's careful motivations are, by and large, missing. For example, of the many motivations for Hedda's final decisive act, only Brack's blackmail is retained relatively intact. In fact, almost all scenes involving Brack, although condensed, are presented in their entirety, the exception being the sexually coloured banter between Brack and Hedda in Act II.[22] Perhaps Guthrie found Brack both easier to portray and harder to dispense with than the other characters. Brack's contribution to Hedda's sense of entrapment is clear and easily identified. One may also venture a guess that the Hedda-

Brack subplot would seem more familiar to audiences used to the intrigue plays of Merivale, Dumas, and Boucicault.[23]

A less tangible element exerting pressure on Hedda is the hopelessly middle-class life she has married into. It is shown by Ibsen in, among other things, Tesman's manner of speech and dress, his lack of acuity and vision, references to their reduced financial circumstances, Tesman's two maiden aunts, and the maid, Berthe, who is an extension of Tesman's family sphere now grafted onto Hedda's life. For example, the incident with Aunt Juliane's hat and parasol in Act I — when Hedda pretends to believe that the hat belongs to the maid and puts it down mercilessly — makes the social distinction between Hedda and the Tesmans very clear. Later, it prompts Hedda to explain — to Brack, naturally — her reactions to the mawkish mediocrity that is engulfing her. Guthrie keeps in the hat incident, but leaves out Hedda's explanation of why she felt compelled to insult Aunt Juliane. The Tesmans' economic problems are downplayed, hence Tesman's bond of gratitude to his aunts is missing, as is a full understanding of Tesman's desperation upon hearing that he may not get the professorship he has been banking on. The character of Berthe is cut completely. All of these cuts weaken the pressure on Hedda and reduce the motivations for her final action.

Most striking of all cuts affecting our understanding of Hedda is, however, the deletion of any references to Hedda's pregnancy. Gone are the references to the two empty rooms, Hedda's loose-fitting gown in Act I, Brack's allusions to a woman's highest calling in Act II, and Hedda's reluctant confession to Tesman in Act IV. Gone is also Hedda's revulsion. The idea that her despised enemy has invaded even her own body is never introduced.

Whether Guthrie felt the matter of Hedda's pregnancy to be unimportant, unsuitable for parody, or simply indelicate, we do not know. The effect on the parody is to render many of Hedda's actions and reactions unmotivated, even absurd. One might even say that Guthrie produces some laughter unfairly, when he retains a line or action (albeit condensed) but deletes its motivation. Whereas Ibsen has Tesman want to tell Berthe and Aunt Juliane about Hedda's pregnancy, Guthrie has him instead want to tell about the burning of the manuscript. In Act I, Ibsen's Tesman comments on how Hedda has filled out on the trip, which triggers a passionate outburst from Hedda when she is alone a few moments later. Guthrie has Tesman merely comment on how charming Hedda is, and there is no outburst. The condensation of the scene juxtaposes Tesman's observation with a nasty subtextual line by Hedda:

HEDDA. . . . Catch me going out with your aunt! One doesn't do such things!
GEORGE (beaming). Isn't she a charming woman? Such fascinating manners! My goodness, eh? Fancy that! (p. 84)

The deletion of Hedda's unborn child cripples the play in yet another way. There is no parallel symbolism between Hedda's child and Thea's and Lövborg's "child," the manuscript. Thus when Hedda burns the manuscript, she merely "whispers to herself." There is no ritual burning of a child. Nor is there a ritual awakening of that child from the dead in the assembling of Lövborg's notes.

Partly through condensation, enlargement, exaggeration, and repetition, but also through extrapolation *in absurdum*, Guthrie unerringly zeroes in on certain odd occurences and coincidences that enable Ibsen to observe the unities of time and place.

The odd visiting hour of Aunt Juliane, for example, is targeted by Guthrie, as is the subsequent early visiting hour of Mrs. Elvsted — "another early caller!" — and, on the following day, of Judge Brack. So is the fact that Brack dresses in formal clothes early in the afternoon to come over to invite Tesman to a party that evening, and that Thea Elvsted has the fortuitous foresight to bring the notes to Lövborg's manuscript in her skirtpocket, "on the chance of some such emergency" (p. 116). Other oddities pointed up by Guthrie include Lövborg's carrying the entire manuscript of his latest book in his pocket as he goes visiting, the fact that there is no copy of the MS,[24] the notion of reading one's manuscript aloud to another guest at a stag party (LÖVBORG: "I'll read George my manuscript all the evening. I'll do all in my power to make that party go!" [p. 103]), and Thea's dismissing the dying Lövborg from her thoughts in favour of reconstructing the manuscript. The speed with which the reconstruction is taking shape is also satirized by Guthrie: 10 lines after Thea and Tesman have begun their work, Tesman announces that they have "made out the first two [of three] parts already" (p. 119).

Exaggeration and extrapolation are standard ways for the parodist of drawing attention to the elements in the model that he wishes to criticize. Guthrie makes use of both. But Guthrie uses also another method, possibly unique to his Ibsen parodies, which unequivocally "flags" the elements in question. When Guthrie feels Ibsen is particularly peculiar, he explains the peculiarity as a result of ethnicity — it is "Norwegian." Throughout "Hedda Gabler" there are ten such Norwegian "flags." Three of them appear in the opening scene:

AUNT JULIE. . . . Ah, my dear boy, I have called before breakfast to inquire how you and Hedda are after returning late last night from your long honeymoon. Oh, dear me, yes; am I not your old aunt, and are not these attentions usual in Norway?

GEORGE. Good Lord, yes! My six months' honeymoon has been quite a little traveling scholarship, eh? I have been examining archives, think of that! Look here, I'm going to write a book all about the domestic interests of the Cave-dwellers during the Deluge. I'm a clever young Norwegian man of letters, eh?

AUNT JULIE. Fancy you knowing about that, too! Now, dear me, thank Heaven!

GEORGE. Let me, as a dutiful Norwegian nephew, untie that smart, showy hat of yours . . . (pp. 82-83)

Other "Norwegian" elements in the play include Brack's inviting the married Tesman to a bachelor party because he (Brack) is "a gay Norwegian dog" (p. 88). He also tells how he, "like a true Norwegian host," tracked Lövborg home after the party (p. 106). Hedda's and Lövborg's former relationship is described as a "beautiful, fascinating Norwegian intimacy" (p. 101). There are several satirical references to Norwegian literary men, scholars, or men of letters — obviously referring back to Ibsen himself. Brack calls Tesman "an uncommonly clever man of letters — for a Norwegian" (p. 91). The message is clear: Norwegian literary men are peculiar *and* ridiculous.

Ibsen's morbidity was fascinating to the Victorians.[25] In the parody, this theme is naturally introduced by Lövborg, who upon confessing that he has lost his manuscript, concludes: "Even if I found it again, it wouldn't be the same — not to me! I am a Norwegian literary man, and peculiar. So I must make an end of it altogether" (p. 108)!

A variation on the theme of morbidity appears in another, less expected, place, namely the initial set description. What in Ibsen's play is subtly expressed by Hedda's reference to September and her reactions to the faint "death odour" in the house, blossoms into a full-fledged set description which rings all variations on things funereal:

> A sitting-room cheerfully decorated in dark colours. Broad doorway, hung with black crape, in the wall at back, leading to a back drawingroom, in which, above a sofa in black horsehair, hangs a posthumous portrait of the late GENERAL GABLER. On the piano is a handsome pall. Through the glass panes of the back drawing-room window are seen a dead wall and a cemetery. Settees, sofas, chairs, etc., handsomely upholstered in black bombazine, and studded with small round nails. Bouquets of immortelles and dead grasses are lying everywhere about. (p. 81)[26]

Another parodied element is Ibsen's preference for melodramatic climactic moments. In *Hedda Gabler*, the melodramatic edge is undercut by Hedda's suicide taking place off stage and by Judge Brack's comment "Good God, one doesn't do such things," but nevertheless, the suicide is there. Guthrie deflates Ibsen's endings in all of his parodies.[27] In "Hedda Gabler," he sets up a seemingly insignificant convention early in the play: We find out in Act I that General Gabler's pistols never did shoot straight. Thus Hedda's riddling Judge Brack's hat with bullet holes in the parody does not reveal anything about Hedda, it merely demonstrates the nature of the pistols. Logically extrapolating from this given, Brack wears a new hat in Act III. Likewise, Lövborg shoots himself in the gut, although he aims at his chest. (Unlike Ibsen's Lövborg, Guthrie's Lövborg shoots himself intentionally.) The ending of the play is completely changed. Since the pistols cannot shoot straight, the bullet that Hedda intended for herself instead hits Tesman, her second attempt results in the death of Thea, and finally Judge Brack succumbs. When Hedda discovers this threesome dead, she concludes:

> I've been trying in there to shoot myself beautifully — but with General Gabler's pistol — . . . What! the accounts of all those everlasting bores settled? Then my suicide becomes unnecessary. Yes, I feel the courage of life once more! (She goes into the back-room and plays "The Funeral March of a Marionette" as the Curtain falls.) (p. 124)

What is also operating here is of course a shift in general mood. The high seriousness of the original is replaced by a flip or whimsical tone. It results sometimes from the condensation, sometimes from style shifts that instantly puncture the prevailing tone. Tesman tries to warn Hedda not to go play with the pistols and shouts after her: "Dearest Hedda, not those dangerous things, eh? Why, they have never once been known to shoot straight yet! Don't! Have a catapult. For my sake, have a catapult" (p. 94)! Contemporary readers will find Hedda's line (when she realizes that Tesman may not get the professorship) more loaded than Guthrie could ever have dreamt:

> GEORGE. Oh, I say, Hedda, what's to become of our fairyland now, eh? We can't have liveried servant, or give dinner parties, or have a horse for riding. Fancy that!
> HEDDA (slowly, and wearily). No, we shall really have to set up as fairies in reduced circumstances, now. (p. 92)

Adding to the lighthearted tone are certain farcical elements, among them the uncooperative or downright malevolent inanimate

objects, i.e., the pistols that won't shoot straight. At one point, Tesman and Brack suddenly team up and speak to Lövborg in unison: "Awfully nice of you — but there's a little party this evening — so sorry we can't stop! Won't you come too" (p. 99)? Hedda plays "The Bogie Man" and later "Funeral March of a Marionette" on the piano. And when Tesman, Thea, and Brack are shot in the final scene, their bodies twitch in stereotypical vaudevillian death throes.

At times, the whimsy takes the expression of more or less veiled comments that — like some of the Norwegian "flags" — turn back on Ibsen and his realistic dramas. Hedda explains to Brack that she takes pot-shots at casual visitors: "Invariably, when they come by the back garden. It is my unconventional way of intimating that I am at home. One does do these things in realistic dramas, you know" (p. 96). Later, when Hedda is revolted by Brack's news that Lövberg shot himself in the gut, Brack teases her:

> Yes, we're realistic types of human nature, and all that — but a trifle squalid, perhaps. And why did you give Lövborg your pistol, when it was certain to be traced by the police? For a charming cold-blooded woman with a clear head and no scruples, wasn't it just a leetle [sic] foolish? (p. 118)

When Tesman finds out that Hedda has burnt Lövborg's manuscript, he exclaims:

> GEORGE. Well, you *are* fun, Hedda! Look here, I must just run and tell the housemaid that — she will enjoy the joke so, eh?
> HEDDA (coldly, in self-command). It is surely not necessary even for a clever Norwegian man of letters in a realistic social drama, to make quite such a fool of himself as all that. (pp. 113-14)

For "realistic" or "Norwegian," substitute "peculiar" — and you have Guthrie's verdict.

Guthrie was not kind to Ibsen. His parody was less generous than Barrie's, his laughter derisive.[28] With his series of Ibsen parodies he was riding the crest of Ibsen-mania in London, making fun not only of specific elements from specific Ibsen plays, but generally of all the much-maligned Ibsen characteristics: trivial detail, preoccupation with heredity, morbidity, melodramatic plot turns, unglamorous characters, and social problems. Guthrie's aim was to show Ibsen up as dowdy and provincial, illogical, ridiculous — in one word, "Norwegian." Yet, because of their close modelling on the originals, Guthrie's parodies reveal more about Ibsen's dramas than

Barrie's burlesque, which reveals more about Ibsenism in London 1891 than it does about Ibsen.

By bringing out the incongruities, exaggerations, and absurdities of Ibsen's original, Guthrie may have thought that he was putting Ibsen in his place for good by ridicule. Yet the outcome is the opposite: Not only are some of the barbs — perhaps unbeknownst to Guthrie — directed at Gosse's translation of Ibsen, but the parody clarifies the consummate skill with which Ibsen disguises the well-made play plot joints, describes his characters through seemingly trivial detail, and constructs a rich image of real life lived. Guthrie may not have liked Ibsen — and he did not understand either him or his characters — but with his *Pocket-Ibsen* parodies he has left a lasting tribute to Ibsen's role — even if for one season only — as a "barometer of the intellectual weather" in London. As Henry James put it, Ibsen "has sounded in our literary life a singularly interesting hour. . . he himself constitutes an episode, an event, if the sign of such action be to have left appearances other than you found them."[29]

Notes

[1] The two terms "parody" and "burlesque" here reflect 19th century usage: "Parody" is the broader term encompassing both literary and dramatic parody, "burlesque" the more specific term, referring to dramatic parody ridiculing play script and/or production practises. (William Davenport Adams, *A Book of Burlesque* [London: Henry & Co., 1891]) — For a more incisive discussion of modern usage, the reader is referred to John D. Jump, *Burlesque* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1972). Jump distinguishes between five types of burlesque: travesty, hudibrastic, parody, mock-epic, and dramatic burlesque. According to Jump, dramatic burlesque is any parodic treatment of a dramatic work, be it playscript or theatrical performance, and can partake of the characteristics of any of the other four types. Guthrie's parody under discussion in this paper is, according to Jump, not parody at all but travesty or "low burlesque of a particular work" (p. 2).

[2] Beginning in 1890, both William Archer and Edmund Gosse were editing multi-volume sets of Ibsen's dramas, *Ibsen's Prose Dramas* and *The Prose Dramas of Ibsen*, respectively.

[3] *Hedda Gabler* opened on April 20, 1891. After being put on the evening bill, it played through May 30. The Vaudeville Theatre was known as a "cheap" theatre.

[4] This was, indeed, Ibsen's spring. Using *Punch* magazine as a barometer of the Ibsen fever, it is interesting to note that between February 7 and May 30, 1891, it published 2 reviews, 1 satiric poem, and 4 parodies based on Ibsen's dramas. Something about Ibsen appeared in 13 of the spring's weekly issues. For the surrounding years (1890-95) *Punch* has nothing about Ibsen.

[5] The two first ones were written by Mr. J.P. Hurst and Mr. Wilton Jones, according to Adams (*A Book of Burlesque*, p. 173). Clement Scott, in *The Illustrated London News*, June 6, 1891, mentions also a Mr. Alfred Berlyn among the Ibsen parodists to date.

[6] '"The Ghost of Ghosts" from Everyman his Own Ibsen,' *The Scots Observer*, October 18, 1890. See Barrie, *Ibsen's Ghost*, ed. Penelope Griffin (London: Cecil Woolf, 1975), p. 102.

[7] Further proof that the play was not intended to be printed: Barrie believed the promptscript lost until a copy was located in the Lord Chamberlain's office in 1930, at which time the burlesque was revived for one performance. It was eventually published in a scholarly edition by Penelope Griffin (London: Cecil Woolf, 1975).

[8] Barrie, p. 63.

[9] *A Doll's House* had played on H 1/27, *Rosmersholm* in February, and *Hedda Gabler* had opened on 4/20.

[10] Ibsen's *Wild Duck* appeared in translation in 1890-91 together with the above mentioned plays, but was not seen on stage until 5/4 1894.

[11] *Mr. Punch's Pocket Ibsen* (London: Heinemann, 1893). "Pill-Doctor Herdal" was probably written expressly for the book, as it did not appear serialized in the pages of *Punch*.

[12] An amusing footnote: In 1893, the collection appeared also in translation — in Norway, under the title *Punch's Lomme-Ibsen* (Kristiania: O. Norli, 1893). The collection included "Pill-Doctor Herdal" but not "Rosmershölm."

[13] *Little Eyolf* was first performed in London on 12/7, 1894, and printed shortly thereafter in 1895.

[14] We can safely assume that Guthrie's views reflected those of his readers, as he wrote the parody expressly for *Punch*, the most prestigious satiric magazine in England.

[15] It is difficult to get an exact figure for comparison: the ratio given here is based on number of pages and approximate word count/page if filled with text. A reading of the parody runs, based on a staged reading in which the author took part, appx. 25 mins.

[16] "Hedda Gabler," *Punch's Pocket Ibsen* (London: William Heinemann, 1895), p. 86. Subsequent references to "Hedda Gabler" will be to this edition and given in the text.

[17] Guthrie makes Act III into a final scene in Act II. Ibsen's Act IV becomes Act III in Guthrie's parody.

[18] *The Scenic Art* (New York: Hill and Wang, Inc., 1957), p. 255.

[19] Clement Scott, *The Illustrated London News*, as quoted in McFarlane, *The Oxford Ibsen*, Vol. VII, p. 515.

[20] Shaw admired this technique and used it himself. He describes Mendoza's followers in *Man and Superman*: " . . . the ungloved ones keep their hands in their pockets because it is their national belief that it must be dangerously cold in the open air with the night coming on. (It is as warm an evening as any reasonable man could desire.)" (*Masters of Modern Drama*, eds. Haskell Block and Robert Shedd [New York: Random House, 1962], p. 326.) How can the audience see that the hands are ungloved, if they are kept in the pockets? How can the audience know that the men keep their hands in their pockets because they *believe* it to be cold, not because it *is* cold? This kind of stage direction is directed to the actor or reader, not to the theatregoer.

[21] Interestingly enough, Clement Scott writes of the performance of Barrie's *Ibsen's Ghost* that Irene Vanbrugh playing Thea "has hit off to a nicety the frightened white rabbit manner of Miss Marion Lea" (Barrie, p. 4).

[22] Where Brack and Hedda are talking about 'the third party entering the train compartment,' Guthrie retains the word "compartment," but cuts all discussion of train travel leading up to the concluding agreement: "Let me be the third person in the compartment — (confidentially) — the tried friend, and, generally speaking, cock of the walk" (p. 97)!

[23] The fare at the major London theatres for the spring of 1891 included *The Bells*, *The Corsican Brothers*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Ravenswood*, *Charles I*, and *The Dancing Girl* . . . (*Playbills and Programmes from London Theatres, 1801-1900*, microfiche series [Cambridge: Chadwyck & Healey, 1983-]).

[24] Charles Marowitz makes much of this circumstance in the introduction to his illuminating adaptation of Hedda Gabler: "The debt we owe to the Rank Xerox Corporation we will never be able to pay." (*Sex Wars* [Boston and London: Marion Boyars, 1982], p. 19).

[25] The characters in Barrie's *Ibsen's Ghost* end the play by all committing suicide with pop-guns; all, except Tesman, who is shot by his secretary. If one counts the number of suicides and deaths in Ibsen's dramas from his mature years, one finds, with the Victorians, that there are more than a few. In fact, suicide seems to be a favourite "way out" for Ibsen's characters.

[26] The set description for Act II refers to "the cheerful dark drawing-room" (p. 95), and in Act III we see "the same room, but — it being evening — darker than ever" (p. 111).

[27] In "Nora," Nora returns because she doesn't have enough money and realizes that the Norwegian theatres are all closed at night, so she won't leave until the next morning, after breakfast. In the meantime she begins her education by reading a dictionary.

[28] Reviewers commented on the spirit of good-natured fun and free-wheeling imagination that permeated Barrie's *Ibsen's Ghost*.

[29] *The Scenic Art*, p. 244.

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Current Treatment of Shakespeare's Tragedies in Finland

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The professional Finnish theatre, today much criticised for being over-institutionalised, only really emerged during the last century, but there are now more than 40 regular theatre companies, four of which give performances only in Swedish: this in a country three times as large as Scotland and with a smaller population.

It is difficult to speak of a tradition of Shakespearian performance in Finland — both Molière and Chekhov seem to fare better in this respect — and when there is no tradition, there is no stabilising vision from which a given production may depart. I think it is also possible to say that directors and actors are still somewhat uneasy when faced by the unique compound of realism and artifice which we find in Shakespeare's dramaturgy; there is indeed a conflict between the indigenous tradition of realistic acting and Shakespeare's art. Other factors which must be borne in mind are the dual cultural inheritance — Finland has two national languages, Finnish and Swedish — and the instability of Shakespeare's text. The great pioneer in Shakespeare translation was Paavo Cajander (1846-1913), who had translated all the plays into Finnish by 1912. Nowadays his translations are hardly used for performance, however, and in the last twenty years or so, new translations of at least the following plays have been commissioned for particular productions: *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*. Of the plays I discuss, only the *Othello* was a re-working of Cajander's translation.

My subject is the current treatment of Shakespeare's tragedies, and I begin with some remarks about Benno Besson's production of *Hamlet*, presented in Swedish at the Little Theatre, Helsinki in 1979. The production is the odd man out among the four I discuss: it is the only one that was in Swedish, the only one produced with extremely modest resources, the only one that escaped from the dominant realistic tradition. It was presented in masks, on a padded stage, in a black and white permanent setting suggesting a prison or a web. The costumes, masks and décor were all the work of Ezio

Toffolutti. The costumes in particular were fascinating: not so much time-less as time-encompassing — a kind of kaleidoscopic selection of implied styles, unfinished, in muted, even dull colours, ranging across the centuries. All the characters in the play proper wore individualised stocking masks, often all of a piece with a non-realistic wig, only the eyes and the lips of the actors being visible; the silent footfalls on the small padded stage added powerfully to this non-realistic, or perhaps better, anti-realistic design. Unity and simplicity were the key-notes, and the paradox of this *Hamlet* was the intense conviction it carried: when nothing strives for realism or verisimilitude everything contributes to the illusion. Colours were used sparingly, but there was an effective moment when Hamlet suddenly appeared in an enormous rainbow-coloured silk scarf for "Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue." The most immediately striking effect, however, was in the play scene itself, where an uncanny double distancing was achieved: only the dumb show was performed, but the unexpected intrusion of dwarf figures *in full masks* into an already half-masked human world was quite simply chilling, and the effect was heightened by the introduction of an additional figure in a death mask who carried off the body of the poisoned player king. As a Shakespearian producer, Besson has many virtues: he seeks for a consistent style and integrates everything with extreme simplicity into a work conceived as a whole. Thus the sparsely used colours and sound effects were never extraneous. Above all, he really believes in the expressive power of the human body *and persuades his actors to believe in it*. He was here exceptionally fortunate in his Hamlet, Asko Sarkola, an outstandingly graceful actor who has extraordinary mimetic powers. Unlike many Finnish actors, Sarkola is not afraid of direct address to the audience, and the soliloquies, which largely retained the structure, shape and rhythms of the English were admirably conceived and spoken. Perhaps at times this masked Hamlet reminded one of the circus clown — and in the graveyard scene this meant a trio, or quartet of fools, if we include Yorick. More important, though, was the stress on the fool-king: after the play scene Hamlet seized a crown dropped by one of the players and placed it on his own head. The clown-king, in his rainbow 'stole' was then picked out by a spot, in one of the very few lighting changes, for an intensely macabre delivery of "Tis now the very witching time of night." Now in three of the four productions I refer to, the Fool was given great emphasis. This Hamlet, for instance, gave us in full

measure, and most movingly, the fool at the heart of the tragic hero: wistful, beautiful, heart-rendingly funny. It was refreshing to hear the intimate auditorium resound with unselfconscious laughter: and most of the laughter, I felt, was in the right places. Nevertheless, the comedy was allowed to run away with the play and the tragic curve was betrayed. This was, notwithstanding, one of the most interesting *Hamlets* I have ever seen and the production as a whole entirely justified Besson's belief that when you mask him the actor's physical means are enhanced, not constrained.

In this Swedish-language *Hamlet* I noticed that many of Shakespeare's puns had been preserved word for word. In Finnish, however, which is not an Indo-European language, fidelity of that kind becomes impossible. The cultural gap is greater in every way, so great indeed that when struggling to translate *The Tempest* I seriously considered re-thinking the whole play in terms of Finnish mythology. We thus enter the world of adaptation and I think it needs to be stressed that very often it is the 'faithful' translation that is the bad translation. If Shakespeare's essential Englishness must be lost, then it can only be replaced by his essential Finnishness. There is gain as well as loss in the process of re-creation. In this context it is worth noting Muriel Bradbrook's judgement that the greatest modern version of *King Lear* is the Russian film of Grigori Kosintzev, which is nothing if not Russian.

In 1972, the young Finnish director Kalle Holmberg produced *King Lear* at the Turku Municipal Theatre, acknowledging a debt to Kosintzev, Jan Kott and Edward Bond among others. Unlike Peter Brook, another important influence on this production, Holmberg openly called his play an adaptation of Shakespeare. In truth of course there is more adaptation of Shakespeare whenever and wherever he is produced than is commonly admitted. And as far as *King Lear* is concerned, the question of what Shakespeare wrote has been brought to a new point of crisis by recent scholarship. It could even be argued that if it is true that editors have been busily concocting a meaningless amalgam — or at least a misleading amalgam — by collating the Quarto and Folio texts, then Nahum Tate himself may have done better! At least he knew what he was doing and his neoclassic version was undoubtedly a successful stage play. Like the productions I now go on to discuss his play made no solemn claim to approximate either to 'Shakespeare's intentions' or to his text. In the dedication, incidentally, Tate agrees with his friend Thomas Boteler that what he found in Shakespeare's (?) *King Lear* was "a

Heap of Jewels, unstrung and unpolisht" — a phrase which describes perfectly the way Finnish theatre practitioners tend to regard the works: unstrung and unpolished jewels awaiting the attention of the translator, the dramaturge and the director.

Tate removed the Fool altogether. Kalle Holmberg began with the Fool. When the lights dimmed on the first night, a spot picked out the frail figure of the Fool, peeping through the curtains. He tiptoed forward to speak the Merlin prophecy, in a new translation by Matti Rossi which made it much more overtly political than it is in the Folio. The Fool's mock prophecy is one of the many things in the *King Lear* texts to embarrass an editor of the conflating variety: it has been dismissed as spurious, possibly an interpolation by the actor playing the Fool, and is frequently omitted in performance. Would it, however, be at odds with the realities of the living theatre if we imagined Shakespeare himself saying "Let's try it at the beginning to-night!?" Even if it *was* Robert Armin's interpolation? The demands of the film are different, but Holmberg's beginning was certainly no more radical than Kosintzev's film, which opens with a close-up of tramping feet.

In the Finnish theatre as a whole there seems to be a current distaste for beauty and the sublime. There is a deep preoccupation with contemporary politics, particularly the politics of violence, and many of the productions express a profoundly pessimistic world view, coupled with a suspicion of poetry. This *King Lear* was no exception. It was immensely powerful but it portrayed the whole of life as a never-ending power struggle, in which everyone is corrupt. It certainly owed much to Jan Kott, and the latter's famous dictum that "The grotesque is more cruel than tragedy" was quoted again and again in the reviews and also in connection with the *Othello* and *Hamlet* which I am going to look at in a moment. The Fool then, and he was a very good Fool indeed, drew laughter from the audience even before the curtain was raised on the first scene. This was clearly the director's design and it paid a handsome dividend in the audience's response to what followed. I have never seen a more theatrically effective rendering of the first scene. Here, for once, was a Lear who had the necessary physical presence, like the incarnation of some great force of nature. Intensely Finnish, it was a superb display of that primitive strength for which Finnish actors are renowned, and which is perhaps unique in European theatre. The king came crashing on like some fairy-tale monster, in his cups, cackling, leering, dangerous, yet possessed of a sardonic humour: a tramp

rather than a king. There was something of Bluebeard, even something of Caliban, about this Lear as he swayed and staggered about, wielding a huge stick, and unrolling a vast map of Britain over the immense raked stage. More immediately he reminded me of some weatherbeaten farmer from the forest hinterlands. But there was no doubting his authority, and although it may not have been the right kind of authority, that is already a great deal. The only concession of conventional ideas of royalty and kingship was his austere, muted crown — a simple, castellated headband of dull metal. However, if there is one great central contrast in *King Lear* it is surely that between 'robes and furred gowns' and 'unaccommodated man' — a structural contrast preserved even by Nahum Tate. As Kenneth Tynan once put it: "To feel the cold of the heath, we must first feel the warmth of the hearth." In the very gloomy opening of the Kosintzev film there was a fire burning somewhere, though it did not give out much heat. Holmberg's Lear entirely missed this contrast because the costumes were uniformly coarse and drab throughout. If only they had stripped this Lear naked for the mad scene, instead of keeping him in the same rough garment and heavy boots all through the play, the effect would have been very different. Since the beginning was so powerful, it was all the more disappointing to find that as the play proceeded its shape collapsed and the characters became twisted out of recognition. This Lear really bestrid the play like a colossus in the first scene, but because the director insisted on seeing the developing power struggle as primary, he virtually became a background figure towards the end. I think it was Coleridge who said of Kent that he was the nearest thing in Shakespeare to perfect goodness. Because genuine human goodness could not be accepted (we shall see the same thing later with Horatio) the Kent in this version had become a swashbuckling military adventurer, in league with Edgar and Albany. Cordelia became a third wicked daughter, thus destroying the underlying fairy-tale structure. Everyone was treacherous and there was no loyalty anywhere. But if you blacken Kent, Oswald does not seem so bad after all: and if you blacken Cordelia, what becomes of the evil in Regan and Goneril? At the end of this *King Lear*, the emerging triumvirate in the continuing struggle for power so dominated the stage that when Lear finally appeared with Cordelia in his arms one fully expected Albany to cry out prematurely "That's but a trifle here." The Lear was hardly helped at this moment by the translation. The terrible thrice-repeated *Howl*, which should surely be more like an effect

in music, was clumsily rendered by three different verbs in the Finnish imperative plural: *Itkekää, huutakaa, ulvokaa*! (How different here was the Kosintzev Lear: his shattering cry was not a cry in the Russian language, it was a cry in any language. At such moments Shakespeare's poetry goes beyond articulated words.)

The play ended, as it had begun, with laughter. The last, radically re-written lines, were given to Albany who spoke them cynically as the new holders of uneasy power saw themselves threatened by a huge crowd of peasants (the unemployed, according to the programme note) who swarmed onto the stage from behind. Among the many fine things in this production, I remember especially the moment of haunting beauty when Lear appeared over the horizon with a nimbus of golden straw, a scene of radiant, other-worldly poetry. The interplay between the Fool and Lear was as well played as I have ever seen it and naturally the grotesque comedy was given great prominence. But this Lear never became the "natural fool of fortune" *after* the formal fool had gone. Opinions will no doubt continue to differ about when and where *King Lear* should be set: this one took place in a kind of Beckettian no-man's-land, on a bare stage with two huge platforms at the sides. Although I incline to doubt whether Robert Speaight was right to insist that the play must begin in the "panelled luxury of a Jacobean mansion," surely there must be gorgeous clothes? The refusal to express the contrast between worldly pomp and human nakedness seems to have been a feature of many recent *Lears*. On the evidence of contemporary illustrations I fancy that this aspect of the play may have been better served even in 18th century productions of the Tate version.

I turn now to *Othello*, for which we also have grave textual problems even before translation. This was a production at the Helsinki Municipal Theatre in 1978 by Arto af Hällström, the text being an adaptation of the classic version by Cajander. Here again, Shakespeare's jewels had been restrung. The play began with a kind of tableau, on the lowest of three levels, with Othello kneeling and clutching to his bosom the limp body of Desdemona. Very quietly, and almost for the first and last time with some sense of poetry, he then spoke a paraphrase of the speech before the Senate which begins "Her Father loved me . . .;" it will be remembered that in both the Quarto and Folio texts, Othello says he told the story of his life, not to Desdemona, but to her Father, Desdemona only hearing snatches of it when she could get away from the "house affairs." Apart from the radical structural change, a double violence was thus

done to the speech as we have it: there was a change in the person to whom the story was addressed (in Finnish the speech began: "I told *her* all . . .") and a public defence of his behaviour towards the living Desdemona became a private lament in the presence of her corpse.

It seems possible that the words spoken by Othello in the last scene, when Cassio finally reveals the truth about the handkerchief — "O fool, fool, fool!" — had somehow been seen by the director as a key to the whole. It was certainly fascinating to hear Othello's words from Act V, "It is the very error of the moon/ She comes more near the earth than she is wont/ And makes men mad" being spoken by the Clown in his dialogue with Desdemona. Indeed it was a rare experience to see the Clown at all, and in this performance he was given great prominence. He had become a kind of permanent hanger-on to the group of musicians with whom he is associated in the Folio stage direction in Act Three, Scene One. Whenever the musicians appeared (which was often) the Clown was with them, and this time he ended the play. The consummation of the tragedy took place on the lowest level and then, after Lodovico's final couplet, the Clown and the musicians re-appeared on the platform above. The Clown, a dark, swarthy gypsy in appearance, lingered, to speak with emphasis Gloucester's words from *King Lear* about "These late eclipses." The Clown's part having been much extended, the actor had succeeded in building up a kind of counterpoint character to Othello himself. I do not think it was entirely successful, partly because the Othello was very weak, but it was a privilege to see the Clown for once being taken seriously as Shakespeare's creation. It looks as though it was af Hällström's intention to begin and end the play with the Fool.

Certainly there is evidence in these productions of a wish to impose or draw to the surface a structural symmetry which may well be latent at another level of Shakespeare's art. In fact there was no need for such drastic re-writing and re-arranging: I have long been convinced that precisely this counterpoint between the Clown and the titanic fool within Othello is part of Shakespeare's design in the play as we have it. There is naturally all the difference in the world between a clown on the page and a clown on the stage, and the part may well have been longer than is suggested by the texts we have. In any case, since commentators generally ignore him and directors usually cut him, I felt deep gratitude to af Hällström for showing us something important and neglected about the play.

The production as a whole seemed to me to be regrettably muddled. This was largely because of the functional three-level set which gave the impression of having been designed for some completely different play. Naturally, once saddled with it they felt bound to use it to the full: this meant a great deal of rushing and scrambling about over great distances and the endless sliding of doors and curtains. An essentially statuesque play thus became noisy and restless. The Othello had enormous physical energy, but his passion was all torrent, tempest and whirlwind, with no temperance to give it smoothness. He was hardly helped by his costume — a loose open-necked pink shirt, breeches and ankle-length boots. Unaccountably, he also wore heavy black gauntlets all the time, which ruled out any possibility of subtle gesture and made him look like a boxer. This unfortunate Othello was also for some reason denied his trumpet on arrival in Cyprus. There was absolutely no suggestion of military grandeur and this Othello never looked like a Moor or a Negro. If anything, the gloomy Iago was more noble in appearance, despite his black leather jacket and black breeches. *Othello* seems to me to be the most sheerly beautiful and nobly pitiful of all the tragedies, and Othello's fall is as terrible as his poetic rise is sublime. You cannot make him fall if he looks life an engine-driver at the beginning! But now the miracle: in the company of this coarse Othello, a more than usually embittered Iago and a dangerously caricatured Cassio, the heroine shone like a jewel. The general corruption had not touched this shy, petite and charmingly costumed girl. A small, lost, but stubborn child, she moved with a beguiling grace and spoke like an angel. Here, Shakespeare's poetry was felt as poetry. From the whole, a pattern again emerges: there is deep interest in the Fool — this time echoing the fool at the heart of the hero — but at the expense of the tragic curve, at the expense of the poetry. The Finnish translator of Shakespeare does indeed face great difficulties: sometimes the rhythms of Finnish, in which suffixation is the primary means of intensifying, seem almost to be at war with the rhythms of Shakespeare's blank verse: and it is not always easy to preserve the rhymes where they are needed. But the recent translation of *Romeo and Juliet* by Lauri Sipari shows that the thing can be done: indeed it seems likely that we are on the brink of exciting developments, if only the actors can find a style to deal with poetic drama. If only, in other words, they can learn that they must always be above and never subdued by their passion.

As I have suggested, it is often true that to be excitingly wrong can reveal more of the sense of Shakespeare than to be tamely and slavishly faithful to a supposed absolute original. Many of the innovations in the productions I have so far discussed, which would have been pounced on by any English critic, appear to have gone unnoticed. *Hamlet*, to which I now return briefly by way of conclusion, is a special case. In Finland, it is still the Shakespeare play which is best known — or at least thought to be best known — and it was partly the problem of over-familiarity that led Besson to play it in masks. Ossi Räikkä, who directed *Hamlet* in 1981 at the Tampere Municipal Theatre in a new translation by the Finnish poetess Eeva-Liisa Manner, stirred even the Finnish critics to wrath for his capricious re-handling of the play. Both Räikkä and his translator clearly belong to the school than cannot believe in human goodness. "I have always doubted the chivalrous Horatio's persona," writes Manner in her programme note, "He is too good to be a credible human being . . . ." Like Kent in *King Lear* and Cassio in *Othello*, Horatio therefore had to be blackened. The ethics of fairyland, the power of loyalty, courage and humility, had to be rejected in the name of psychological and political realism.

The entire production was planned around the graveyard, which is only a focus in Shakespeare's play. The permanent set, which reminded one critic of an aquarium in which all the characters were predatory fish (the monsters of the deep from *King Lear*?), was not without poetry. It consisted of a kind of green seaweedy mound, with two cavernous graves, from which huge long-handled shovels were every now and again thrust up with a clank. The rhythmic intrusion of these spades from the deep was a deliberately planned visual and auditory motif. Inevitably, the setting spilled over into the castle and the life of the court, indeed swamped them, for although semi-realistic items of furniture rose from the greensward from time to time — a chair here, a bed there — the main action of the play was felt to take place within this universal symbolic cemetery, on the brink of the open graves. It was dwarfed accordingly. The overall vision behind this production had much in common with that of the *Lear*, and again it was the name of Jan Kott that dominated the reviews. Most of the critics agreed that it would be hard to imagine a more gloomy *Hamlet* than this.

The play began in semi-darkness, the whole stage filling with smoke. Two or three shadowy figures appeared and were joined by the gravediggers, who climbed out of the graves on ladders. There

were confused shouts, a gun-shot in the foggy gloom: one figure fell dead and his body was dumped in the downstage grave. As the smoke cleared we saw Horatio, standing, feet apart, with a submachine gun. The physical shape of the production was established. Thereafter the bodies of all the dead, and at one point a wheelbarrow-load of a hundred skulls, were tipped or kicked into the ever-yawning pits: Gertrude, Claudius, Laertes — and finally Hamlet himself, who was turfed unceremoniously into the grave by his treacherous 'friend' Horatio, the arch-executioner. Only Polonius escaped, but that was clearly because they did not want to lose the comic exchange about nosing him "as you go up the stairs into the lobby." At the end, the stage again filled with smoke and Horatio was once more seen with his machine gun. The solemn salute commanded by Fortinbras in the last line of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* became in Horatio's mouth a final order to the firing squad and the play ended as it began with a burst of gunfire. The loss of dramatic poetry was noticed, but not deplored by all the critics. This was a grotesque *Hamlet* and I wondered whether the interpretation might not owe something to the scene in Jarry's *Ubu Roi* where Pere Ubu consigns the nobles to 'la trappe.'

The humour in the graveyard scene proper was much coarsened and protracted, but otherwise this was an exceptionally unfunny *Hamlet*. In the prince himself there was nothing of the fey clown portrayed by Sarkola. Ophelia's speech about Hamlet's visit to her closet was cut, and the antic disposition was never suggested. This was a ruthlessly practical Dane. In the play scene the players entered from the graves and even the vestigial scene at the place of Fortinbras's entry with his army took the form of a dialogue between two gravediggers, whose heads only, illuminated in the surrounding darkness, protruded from separate graves. Hamlet did not appear, and the passing army was suggested by a thunderous sound effect. It was like something out of Beckett's *Endgame*, but it also occurred to me that the gravediggers in this production bore the same kind of relationship to the whole play as the witches do to *Macbeth*. Even before the play began, there had been a wheelbarrow on one side of the stage and a golden skull on the other. But the wheelbarrows multiplied, and as I have said, a huge load of skulls was emptied into one of the graves. The gravediggers seemed to have a never-ending supply of skulls which they tossed gleefully into a bottomless pit. All this, like the throwing of Hamlet's body into the grave instead of taking it to the platform, reversed what is usually an up-

ward movement. This time Yorick's skull was about to join the rest, but the gravedigger was restrained just in time.

Strangely, considering the overall design, the Ophelia, like the Desdemona in *Othello*, shone like the sun. She uncannily resembled her effeminate Hamlet, and especially in the mad scene, where she was apparelled in white and brilliantly lit, she had commanding presence. Gertrude was already drinking badly and as Ophelia placed one of her very beautiful flowers in her goblet, she said "He is dead and gone, lady" with a warm, serene smile. Sunny in her madness, and pregnant, she movingly pointed the line "Lord we know what we are, but know not what we may be" by smoothing her hand over her stomach.

Essentially then, this was a play about political killing. Hamlet's personal dilemma did not interest us too much, and, as in the *Lear*, the unending power struggle of a totally corrupt and unredeemed humanity seemed to be the leading idea. Space forbids me to discuss the numerous other instances of cutting, transposing and re-writing. It was by no means untheatrical, but it could hardly be called Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: this time, indeed, they had gone so far that I half expected Shakespeare himself to rise accusingly from one of the graves in the person of the endearing Mr. Puff: "The pruning knife — zounds the axe! Why, here has been such lopping and topping, I shan't have the bare trunk of my play left presently."

However, I refuse to complain. It is the nature of living theatre that it is an act of urgency, an act of compromise, in which unpredictable contingencies converge on the relentless imperative of this performance, this theatre, these resources, this audience.

I have tried to give you an idea of the vigour and originality of four recent productions of Shakespeare's tragedies in Finland. As I said at the beginning, the lack of a continuous tradition means that there is no stabilising theatrical vision of a particular play. This of course cuts both ways: it gives directors the kind of freedom that only the boldest will display in England, but equally it easily deprives them of a necessary historical dimension or perspective: and I think theatre practitioners in Finland would be the first to admit that they are still searching for an appropriate style for Shakespeare's poetic drama.

Probably the refusal of the tragic form I have noted has something to do with a more general modern malaise. It is only that in Finland they appear to have adopted Jan Kott as their only prophet. The interest in the Fool in the tragedies is exciting and obviously has

great potential. What is strange, however, is the excessive gloom of the world view conveyed by these performances, best summed up perhaps by the treatment meted out to characters like Kent, Cassio, Horatio and Cordelia. This seems to me to be wilful, and tantamount to asserting that Shakespeare didn't know his job. Eeva-Liisa Manner, in her note on Horatio, says as much.

The recent performance of *Romeo and Juliet* at the Turku Municipal theatre was enormously encouraging — especially the translation and the charming Juliet. Moreover, the fact that in the productions I have discussed both the Ophelia and the Desdemona stood clear of the unhappy tendency to blacken all humanity, surely heralds a turn of the tide.

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Adam Oehlenschläger's Romanticism:

Not a German Hybrid, but a Danish Original

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In Denmark, literary romanticism reached its greatest heights in the poetry and dramatic works of Adam Oehlenschläger. For some two decades after the appearance in 1803 of his *Digte*, which is generally regarded to be the first volume of romantic poetry published in Scandinavia, Oehlenschläger dominated the literary scene in Copenhagen and exercised considerable influence throughout the North. Even after his reputation was on the wane in Denmark, his work continued to enjoy a favourable reception in Sweden, and in 1829 he was ceremonially crowned "Digterkonge" of Scandinavia by Bishop Tegnér in Lund Cathedral.

Unfortunately, an appreciation of Oehlenschläger's poetic genius and of the distinctive elements of his romanticism has been slow in forthcoming, chiefly because of the widely held belief that Danish romanticism was the direct product of German influence. The so-called "gennembrud"-theory even pinpoints the birth of Danish romanticism to a night in 1802 when Oehlenschläger was converted to the poetics and philosophy of the German "nyere Skole"[1] (as the Jena Romantics were then known in Denmark) by Henrich Steffens, a Danish geologist and disciple of Friedrich Schelling. Following a marathon 16-hour conversation with Steffens, Oehlenschläger immediately went home and composed "Guldhornene," his famous ballad about the discovery, theft, and irrevocable loss to mankind of the golden horns of Gallehus. Legend calls this ballad the first romantic poem in Scandinavia. He then precipitously withdrew his first novel, *Erik og Roller*, from publication and set to work instead on the lyric play, *Sanct Hansaften-Spil*, plus a collection of new poems and ballads which would appear together later that year in his *Digte*, the volume which allegedly marked the advent of romantic poetry in Scandinavia.

As a result of these events, the vast majority of research on Oehlenschläger's relation to German romanticism has tended either to focus on biographical details of the young poet's relationship with Steffens or to catalogue the most obvious examples of German ro-

mantic influence apparent in his works, from the *Digte* through the *Poetiske Skrifter* of 1805. Among scholars of European literature, Danish romanticism has come to be viewed as merely a hybrid of the German.[2]

While conceding that Oehlenschläger's poetry is indeed replete with elements borrowed from German romanticism, the exercise of comparing the outstanding features of Oehlenschläger's poetic production between 1800 and 1805 with the poetry of his German counterpart, Ludwig Tieck, sheds a very different light on the relationship between Danish and German romanticism. The key here lies in resisting the temptation to index the various common elements of their poetry and in concentrating, first, on identifying the predominant characteristics of their work and, thereafter, on examining the function and relative importance each man attached to those elements held in common.

What one discovers from such a study is that well over a year before Steffens introduced him to the writings of the Jena Romantics, Oehlenschläger had already begun to strike out on a separate path from his Enlightenment-oriented Danish contemporaries. In his entry in the "Universitets Prisopgave" of 1801,[3] he articulated a conception of poetry which called for the harmonious marriage of fantasy and reason, and, as an example of such poetry, pointed to the wealth of ideas, images, and themes contained in Old Norse mythology. At the same time, he stressed the intrinsic value of poetic material taken from the national past. Then, during Denmark's heroic military defense of April 1801, Oehlenschläger's cyclical view of history began to take shape. He embarked next on a more thorough study of the Norse myths and legends, and discovered a correlation between the gods, nature, and man which at once appealed to his sense of harmony and carried him beyond the simpler conception of "belle nature."[4]

His first effort to portray this correlation poetically was in the novel *Erik og Roller*, that is, the work he withdrew from publication. This novel, which remained unpublished until 1897,[5] marked a crucial stage in Oehlenschläger's poetic development, for the material itself forced him to consider two central dilemmas which would occupy his poetry for years to come, namely, the nature of good and evil in a universally harmonious system, and the relationship between the heroic warriors of the Old Norse era and modern sentimental (Christian) man. Although Oehlenschläger's work at this stage was still unpolished and burdened with immature sentimental-

ity, his poetry nevertheless demonstrated a pronounced objectivity in its viewpoint and plasticity in its images. The fundamental contours around which he would build a lifetime of poetry were already established.

Steffens, and with him the Jena Romantics, entered Oehlenschläger's life before he had yet succeeded in merging these basic ideas, themes, and elements of style in one sustained, coherent, and polished work. In addition, the principles and interests which he had developed and which separated him from the mainstream of his Danish contemporaries, corresponded in a number of ways to the direction taken by the new German poets. So, quite naturally, he became intrigued with motifs, forms, and poetic devices they employed.

Just how impressed Oehlenschläger was by this new body of poetry seems evident from the abundance of obvious borrowings contained in *Sanct Hansaften-Spil*: the theme of love as knowledge of a universal binding force; the motifs of "Længsel" and "Anelser"; the excursion into an irrational fantasy realm and the satirical sequences unmistakably modeled on Tieck's "Märchenkomödien"; the incorporation of a multitude of verse forms into a work which already blends lyric, epic, and dramatic aspects to the point where no traditional generic description quite fits.

All of this was new to Oehlenschläger and without precedence in Danish literature. But it is crucial to note that these borrowed elements do not support the same poetic viewpoint and hence do not perform the same function in Oehlenschläger's work that they do in his models; they either assume a modified role in the new context or stand out as oddly inconsistent with the whole. For instance, the satirical sequences reflect vividly on contemporary society and literature, but fail to engage in the self-parody essential to German Romantic Irony; the realm of irrational fantasy is so strongly delimitated and its symbolic meaning so clear, that the possibility of disorientation or lingering self-reflection, such as Tieck cultivates, is completely undermined; the German romantic interconnection between love, "Sehnsucht," and "Ahnung" presented at the outset of the piece seems glaringly inconsistent with the concluding fulfillment of love through an overt act of free will.

In contrast to the collage arrangement of borrowed elements present in *Sanct Hansaften-Spil*, the works of the *Poetiske Skrifter* demonstrate a conscious reshaping of German-inspired themes, images, and forms to fit the contours of Oehlenschläger's own poetic inter-

ests and style. If this process contributed to a richer texturing of ideas and forms than previously evident in Oehlenschläger's poetry, it also underscores how fundamentally different from the Jena Romantics his conception of poetry and perceptions of life actually were. For Oehlenschläger, life meant the interaction of the self with objective reality in the here and now, and life constituted the focal concern of all poetry. And though he sought to lend meaning and continuity to life through his belief in an eternal binding force between man and nature, and though, like Tieck, he viewed poetry as a means of cultivating an awareness of that force, he firmly resisted the German "Weg nach innen," which entailed the transcendance or internalization of objective nature.

Of Oehlenschläger's poetic works, none offers a fuller exposition of his relationship to the major precepts of the "nyere Skole" than his *Aladdin*. Because it was inspired by and modeled on Tieck's romantic tour de force, *Kaiser Octavianus*, a brief comparison of these two works will serve to illustrate the claims made above regarding the distinction between Danish and German romanticism.

When Tieck began work on *Kaiser Octavianus* in 1801, he did so with the express intention of creating the romantic work par excellence. A product of his close contact and interaction with the literary theorists, poets, and philosophers of the Jena Circle, among whom the binding and motivating force was to define and realize "das Wesen des Romantischen," *Octavianus* was designed to present all of Tieck's ideas about romantic poetry and, as such, to embrace the widest possible scope in terms of content and form. Because of this intention and because, in attempting to fulfill it, he brought into play virtually every philosophic and aesthetic concept of prominence among his Jena colleagues, his *Octavianus* constitutes a veritable encyclopedia of early German romantic thought and poetics.[6]

Aladdin eller den forunderlige Lampe was Oehlenschläger's last major undertaking prior to a four-year journey through Germany, France, and Italy, and it was also the last of his works to be directly influenced by the Jena Romantics. So, like *Octavianus*, *Aladdin* represents the culminating effort of a distinct period in its author's life, by virtue not only of its position in Oehlenschläger's complete works, but also of the scope of its idea-content and the diversity of forms utilized in articulating those ideas. *Aladdin* is the first major consolidation of all the philosophic and poetic concepts which had appeared piecemeal in his previous works and, as such, reflects the extent to which he managed to assimilate borrowed elements. It also

suggests the effect of that assimilation process on his poetic development.

Because both *Octavianus* and *Aladdin* were written as experiments in dramatic form and are saturated with lyric and epic elements, and because this experimentation in form represents an important aspect of romantic poetics, the first major point of comparison to capture our attention is the relationship between subject matter and form in these two works. Thereafter, as time allows, we shall examine how each poet incorporates various themes and images with respect to the underlying thought-complexes.

Tieck based his drama on the medieval *Volksbuch* of the same name, and except for the addition of a few characters (Hornvilla, Roxane, Lealia), he followed the original story-line fairly closely. Upon reading the *Volksbuch*, it is easy to understand why Tieck felt it provided the ideal material for his purposes, for it contains everything from "unerhörte Begebenheiten" and an exotic Turkish princess, to a prince raised in common surroundings, and a religious war.[7] Although the epic tale of Octavianus and his young son, Florens, who rises to prominence and discovers his true identity while defending Paris from invasion by the Turks, hardly presents what could be termed a tightly knit plot, it does contain dramatic potential and could easily have been molded to fit the criteria of a traditional drama. But no traditional form could ever have accommodated Tieck's wider intentions, the real subject of the drama.[8]

The decision to write *Kaiser Octavianus* as a drama and, hence, to dramatize not only the material of the *Volksbuch*, but also so abstract an idea as "die romantische Poesie" necessarily presupposed a new conception of the drama, a drama which would be confined neither to the traditional standards of time and space nor to a single causal chain of events. Instead, it would be a drama of contrasts, that infused the immediate experience of the theater with the objectivity of epic elements and the subjectivity of the lyric. Newly captivated by the Spanish verse forms of Calderon, including the romance verse with its alluring assonance, Tieck incorporated these forms directly into the dialogue and contrasted them with the more traditional blank verse as well as with old German folk verses, in order to accent such subjective feelings and abstract moods as "Sehnsucht, Ahnung und Erinnerung."[9] As a result, the objective plane or dialogue of *Octavianus* is constantly invaded if not totally displaced by a subjective one.

Tieck's reason for desiring this effect becomes clear when we view the structure of the drama as a whole: The work begins with a lengthy allegorical prologue, "Der Aufzug der Romanze," which at once ridicules eighteenth century rationalist audiences, describes the source and substance of romantic poetry, clarifies the role and responsibility of the poet, and most importantly, introduces a series of symbols and *leitmotifs* which are subsequently carried through the entire drama. Set in the forest of the imagination, the elements of the allegory prefigure elements in the subsequent dramatization of the *Volksbuch*. As the story of Octavianus and Florens unfolds, we are faced then with two plot levels, one objective (the succession of events from the *Volksbuch*), and one subjective (the symbolic development of a philosophical and poetic theory). Because these plots overlap exactly, the characters play dual roles: their role as folk-characters, wherein their individual fates are predetermined by the events of the *Volksbuch*, and their role as allegorical characters or didactic symbols in the development of a theory. The resulting struggle between objectivity and subjectivity, between realism and idealism, becomes a sustained conflict throughout the play and indeed virtually replaces the traditional dramatic conflict derived from situation or character. Being neither a drama of event nor of character, *Octavianus* is best described as a drama of symbols.

Tieck's *Octavianus* first reached Oehlenschläger's hands in the fall of 1804 and what impressed him most about the drama was the figure of Florens.[10] His first poetic response to the work was a short and incredibly trite romance entitled "Uffe hin Spage,"[11] which did little more than portray a good-natured, innocent, idle youth, whose inner strengths and talents rose to the surface when the time and situation were right. But if Uffe suffers from shallowness, it is only because Oehlenschläger followed his model too well, for even Florens, when plucked from the context of *Octavianus*, does not run much deeper than this. Whether Oehlenschläger sensed the need for greater character development and a better accounting of how a figure like Florens or Uffe came to possess hidden talents in the first place, and of how these talents should best be developed and put to use, and whether he missed these things in Tieck's drama, is hard to tell. His critical evaluation of *Octavianus* is nowhere documented. What we do know is that he became fixated with the idea of showing "wie eine kräftige und begabte Natur durch die Macht des Genies auch das äussere Glück fesseln kann,"[12] and this led him to the idea of rewriting the tale of *Aladdin* from the *Thousand and One Nights*, a tale he had known since his childhood.

Like the *Octavianus-Volksbuch*, the *Arabian Nights* tale also contains a wealth of material: a poor tailor's son, an evil magician, an exotic and beautiful princess, the supernatural world of the magic lamp, genies, etc. Like Tieck, Oehlenschläger also followed the original tale quite faithfully and, interestingly enough, the changes he did make have much in common with Tieck's alterations to the *Octavianus* material. For instance, both expand the popular element, and Tieck's characters of Clemens, Susanna, and the townspeople have their counterparts in Oehlenschläger's treatment of Mustapha, Morgiane, and the various merchants. Both add satiric-comic figures like Hornvilla and Sindbad, Pasquin and the Court Fool. Oehlenschläger also provides Aladdin with a mysterious heritage, which is not derived specifically from *Octavianus*, but from other Tieck works like *Sternbald* and *Genoveva*. Just as Tieck personifies ideas or qualities in his prologue, Oehlenschläger adds a prologue and epilogue recited by Sanguinitas and Phantasie, and also includes Skiønhed and Stærke as characters in the bathhouse scene. The motif of the lily and the rose as representing different qualities of love is also used extensively in *Aladdin*.

For all these parallels, however, the subject of Oehlenschläger's drama is not the abstract realm of romantic poetry, but "Livets Stræben," and hence the form in which he incorporates these common elements and the roles he assigns them within the work differ accordingly. Undoubtedly, the broader conception of dramatic possibility which Oehlenschläger applies to this fantasy play owes a great deal to Tieck's example: in scope and sheer length, *Aladdin* clearly transcends traditional bounds and, like *Octavianus*, it plays havoc with the unities of time and space. But in that Oehlenschläger's primary concern is with the development of the individual, the direction in which he expands the drama is toward the epic, not the lyric; and, in that events and deeds play a crucial role in that development, the underlying dramatic structure remains strongly objective.

As a result of Oehlenschläger's considerably different focus and intent, such elements as character and plot become more clearly defined. Whereas Tieck burdens his folk characters with a dual allegorical role, so that every move taken and every word uttered is decked with abstract meaning, Oehlenschläger's characters take on a life of their own; and though he attaches definite qualities to each, he develops them through gesture, dramatically, rather than simply alluding to them through symbols. Where Tieck relegates most ac-

tions and confrontations to the sidelines and advances the plot through brief narrative passages, Oehlenschläger brings confrontation to center stage and allows the plot to advance before our eyes. The main tension arises from the plot itself, from the motives and actions of a clearly defined protagonist and antagonist.

Although Oehlenschläger incorporates several Italian and Spanish verse forms into the work, he does so sparingly, avoids assonance, and uses them only as accents in momentous scenes, like the prophecy from the old tome. By the same token, he confines purely lyric moments to distinct interludes, such as Aladdin's lullabye at Morgiane's grave. Never does he integrate them directly into the dialogue or in any other way allow them to invade the objective plane of the drama, for he is avoiding precisely the effect Tieck intended to cultivate.[13] This is not to suggest, however, that Oehlenschläger composed the dialogue in prose, for one of the distinctive features of *Aladdin* compared to his two directly preceding dramatic efforts, the "Singspiele" *Freias Alter* and *Sovedrikken* (1803), is the displacement of prose by predominantly iambic verse. In fact, in view of the almost operatic texturing of lyric and epic elements within a dramatic framework, *Aladdin* relates to the Singspiele with their prose recitatives, like an advance from operetta to grand opera.

Although *Aladdin* is every bit as much a play of fantasy as *Octavianus*, and though Oehlenschläger remolds the tale in the image of his conception of man's role in nature and does so through the use of a wide array of symbols and images, the work is not a drama of symbols or an allegory; it is fundamentally an "Entwicklungsdrama."

The network of ideas around which Oehlenschläger remolded the *Aladdin* material and the images and symbols he called into play to support his views reflect the same preoccupation with poetic and metaphysical concerns apparent in *Octavianus*: What is the true relationship between man and nature? What role does the individual or, specifically, the "Genie" play in this system? What are his chief characteristics and responsibilities? What is the nature and function of poetry? However, the answers embedded in each work are strikingly different.

For all the superficial parallels between Oehlenschläger's and Tieck's Genie-characters, the paths they follow to self-fulfillment diverge very quickly, never to meet again. Florens' latent qualities, which he possesses as a matter of fate, come to the fore and enjoy fulfillment only when he finds his counterpart in nature, Marcebille,

who symbolizes physical love (and is in turn symbolized by the rose). Like two poles within the same self, Florens and Marcebille also symbolize the spiritual and material sides of nature. What draws them together, much like a magnetic field of force, is love, which for Tieck constitutes the key to self-knowledge and, as such, represents the all-important first step in an inward process of self-reflection. The obstacles — or tyrants — which Florens must overcome before he can become united with Marcebille are symbols of one-sidedness: Golimbra, the giant, whose inflated ego has been realized physically in his stature and who wreaks havoc on the natural world by causing storms and earthquakes; and the sultan, who worships an idol of himself. The goal of self-realization which Florens attains by conquering these tyrants and wedding Marcebille is a symbolic unification of the self and nature. The place where this occurs is in the moonlit forest of the imagination, which in turn symbolizes poetry, which is the material expression of the endless process of self-reflection.

Aladdin, on the other hand, becomes Fortune's child, because first and foremost he possesses a childlike naiveté and pureness of heart. Once she endows him with her gifts (the ring, which symbolizes poetry, and the lamp, which symbolizes eternal nature), it is his sacred responsibility to make sure they are used to the proper end. Self-realization for Aladdin means fully comprehending the intrinsic value of these gifts and using them to good end, i.e., to the benefit of all. Love also plays a crucial role in Oehlenschläger's scheme of things, but here it does not lead inward, rather it is the central experience in a learning process which leads outward, toward an awareness of oneself within the world and within the overall design of eternal nature. The tyrants Aladdin must conquer in order to rescue the lamp and fulfill his responsibility as Fortune's child (not to possess Gulnare) both represent threats to mankind and nature: the abusive use of knowledge posed by the frighteningly rational Noureddin, and false prophets and the absence of values portrayed by the depraved Sindbad.

For Oehlenschläger, poetic insight, though a gift of fortune, requires cultivation. It is something which grows the more one moves beyond the confines of the self and the more one seeks, in finite nature, evidence of the all-embracing cycle of eternal nature. Since this insight is not self-oriented, nor for that matter exclusive, the responsibility it carries with it and the goal of poetic self-realization is that of cultivating and maintaining an atmosphere in which an under-

standing of the inner workings of nature might thrive. Poetry, then, is essentially an heuristic tool, which at once engenders an awareness of and symbolically represents eternal nature.

Without a doubt, the unprecedented breadth and richness of form evident in *Aladdin* owe much to the models of Tieck and his colleagues. But Oehlenschläger's assimilation of German romanticism, which reaches its grandest fruition here, is fundamentally an assimilation of the spirit of experimentation: experimentation in poetic form and experimentation in the use of symbol and myth to support a view of the relationship between man and nature. The resulting poetic form of Oehlenschläger's work, however, as well as the expressed relationship between man and nature are nevertheless so different as to call into question whether Oehlenschläger actually qualifies as a "romantic." In any event, the results of this study strongly suggest that the position of Danish romanticism within the European romantic movement warrants review. And certainly, if nothing else, the "gennembrud"-theory should once and for all be placed on the shelf and quietly forgotten.

Notes

[1] The Jena Romantics included Friedrich and A.W. Schlegel, Novalis, Ludwig Tieck, and Friedrich Schelling. A loosely knit group of poets, philosophers, and aestheticians, who shared the same world view and theoretical base for their poetic production, they were identifiable as a circle from about 1797 to 1802. Steffens studied with Schelling and A.G. Werner, a geologist, between 1796 and 1802 and, during that time, wrote his own contribution to the German romantic movement, *Beyträge zur inneren Naturgeschichte der Erde* (1801), which was well regarded by and made him a welcome houseguest among members of the Jena Circle.

[2] All the standard histories of Danish literature take the "Gennembrud"-theory as an undisputed point of departure when discussing the romantic era. Cf. Vilhelm Andersen, *Det nittende Aarhundredes første Halvdel*, Vol. III of *Illustreret dansk Litteraturhistorie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1924), pp. 20-99; F.J. Billeskov Jansen, *Romantik og Romantisme*, Vol. III of *Danmarks Digtekunst*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964), pp. 15-40; Gustav Albeck, Oluf Friis, and Peter P. Rohde, *Fra Oehlenschläger til Kierkegaard*, Vol. II of *Dansk Litteratur Historie* (Copenhagen: Politikens Forlag, 1967), pp. 5-20; Hanne Marie Svendsen and Werner Svendsen, *Geschichte der dänischen Literatur* (Neumünster: K. Wachholtz, 1964), pp. 184-91; P.M. Mitchell, *A History of Danish Literature*, 2nd ed. (New York: Kraus-Thomson Org., 1971), pp. 105-126.

Add to these a myriad of books and articles by German scholars, all intent on demonstrating Oehlenschläger's dependence on German literature. The few articles which attempt to position Scandinavian romanticism within the European romantic movement also speak of Danish romanticism as a hybrid of the German: F.J. Billeskov Jansen, "Romantisme européen et romantisme scandinave," in his *L'Âge d'Or. Deux conférences faites à la Sorbonne sur la littérature classique du Danemark* (Copenhagen, 1953) and "Nordische Vergangenheit und europäische Strömungen in der skandinavischen Hochromantik," in *Tradition und Ursprünglichkeit*, Akten des III. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses 1965 in Amsterdam, ed. Werner Kohlschmidt and Hermann Meyer (Bern: Francke, 1966), pp. 39-52; also the chapter on Scandinavian romanticism in *'Romantic' and its Cognates; the European History of a Word*, ed. H. Eichner (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1972).

Two notable exceptions, which argue against the "gennembrud"-theory are: Kr. Langdal Møller, "Var Oehlenschlägers romantiske Gennembrud forberedt før Mødet med Steffens?" *Danske Studier* (1921); and Ejnar Thomsen, *Omkring Oehlenschlägers tyske quijotiade* in *Festskrift udgivet af København Universitet i anledning af Universitetets aarsfest November 1950* (Copenhagen: B. Luno, 1950).

[3] The University Prize Essay for 1801 was: "Var det gavnligt for Nordens skiønne Literatur, om den gamle nordiske Mythologie blev indført og almindelig antaget i Stedet for den græske?"

[4] Otto Springer, in particular, found Oehlenschläger's pre-Steffens work to be characteristic of the 18th century pre-romantic stream, which simply sang the praises of "belle nature." Cf. *Die nordische Renaissance in Skandinavien*, Tübinger Germanistische Arbeiten 22 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936), p. 49.

[5] In his introduction and notes to the first and only edition of *Erik og Roller* (Kiøbenhavn: Det Nordiske Forlag, 1897), Viggo Bierring points out all the similarities with *Werther* and Ossian, and since then literary historians have tended not to pay attention to much else about the work.

[6] Friedrich Gundolf describes *Octavianus* as "die breiteste Spiegelung des gesamten Bildungsgehaltes, den die Romantik im Gegensatz zu Klassizismus und Rationalismus empfängt, und . . . ein Sammelbecken der romantischen Dichtformen" (*Romantiker*, neue Folge (Berlin-Wilmersdorf: H. Keller, 1931), p. 102).

[7] Tieck discovered the *Kaiser Octavianus-Volksbuch* in a Hamburg bookstore in the summer of 1800. The tale may be found in *Die deutschen Volksbücher, gesammelt und in ihrer ursprünglichen Echtheit wiederhergestellt v. Karl Simrock* (Frankfurt/M.: Brönner Verlag, 1845), Vol. II.

[8] Ludwig Tieck, *Schriften*, I, XXXIX-XL (rpt. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966).

[9] Cf. Ernst Halter, *Kaiser Octavianus. Eine Studie über Tiecks Subjectivität* (Zürich: Juris, 1967), p. 152ff; in particular, it is the assonance that has this effect. Cf. also Fritz Strich, *Deutsche Klassik und Romantik oder Vollendung und Unendlichkeit*, 3rd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1928), pp. 246-247.

[10] Vilhelm Andersen, *Adam Oehlenschläger. Et Livs Poesie*, Vol. I, p. 143. Cf. also Oehlenschläger's comments about Aladdin in his *Erindringer*, I, pp. 220-221. The fact that he openly identified with Aladdin had the unfortunate consequence that the greater part of the literature written about *Aladdin*, particularly in the 19th century, sought to analyse Oehlenschläger on the basis of his fictional character and also to identify the other characters in the drama with his friends and relatives.

[11] This according to V. Andersen; I have not been able to document this further.

[12] Oehlenschläger to Carsten Hauch, related in C. Hauch, *Minder fra min Barndom og min Ungdom*. The quote here is taken from an excerpt translated by Hanns Maria and

published under the title "Erinnerungen an Oehlenschläger und seinen Kreis" in *Nordische Rundschau* (1885), IV 3.4, 255.

The full context of the quote is a conversation between Tieck and Oehlenschläger, which Oehlenschläger subsequently related to Hauch: "'In Deinem Kaiser Octavian,' sagte [Oehlenschläger], 'hast Du zu zeigen gesucht, wie eine kräftige und begabte Natur durch die Macht des Genies auch das äussere Glück fesseln kann. Dies hast Du in langen Strecken Deines Gedichtes herrlich durchgeführt, doch finden sich Stellen darin, wo Du diesen Deinen Hauptgedanken vergessen zu haben scheinst; mit grösserer Consequenz glaube ich denselben Gedanken in meinem Aladdin durchgeführt zu haben.' — 'Hattest Du denn nicht den Octavian gelesen, als Du Deinen Aladdin schriebst?' fragte Tieck. — 'Gelesen hatte ich ihn,' antwortete Oehlenschläger, 'und zwar mit grossem Vergnügen, dass leugne ich nicht.'"

[13] In the preface to his German *Aladdin*, Oehlenschläger writes: "Indem ein Dichter zu viel in das Singende verfällt, opfert er die Masse für die Lyra, das Objektive für das Subjektive, das Gestalt verliert sich in Allgemeinheit, die naive Poesie in eitles Reflektiren über sich selbst."

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Hamsun — *Victoria* — Victoria

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At the University of Wisconsin there is what I believe to be the largest collection, anywhere, of Hamsun letters in copy, in all some 3,000 items. As a biographical footnote, I would like to relate a dozen of the letters — they are to Hamsun's daughter Victoria — to one central theme in Hamsun's work, that of pride and humility, particularly as it appears in the novel *Victoria*.

In *The Women at the Pump*, Hamsun's novel about a eunuch whose wife keeps getting children, the main character, Oliver, is described as "artfulness from beginning to end. But not a bad piece of artistry."[1] Knowing Hamsun's critical attitude to art, it might seem reasonable to think he is saying that the artist resembles the eunuch in living vicariously, with no authentic relationship to reality. Unlike Ibsen, who always claimed his art was the result of something he had lived through, Hamsun has been accused of artfully re-creating realities he himself had not known. Thus the Danish writer Martin Andersen Nexø felt that the hunger described so vividly in Hamsun's first novel was not genuine hunger, but a product of the artist's imagination. With the help of letters we can prove that Nexø was wrong. From America Hamsun wrote to his friend Erik Frydenlund in 1886: "I led a terrible life in Norway in the end . . . It was so bad, Erik (and don't mention this to anybody) that I had to sleep in the city prison as a homeless. I spent several nights up in Møller Street in a deserted tinsmith's shop. And do you think I had something to eat every day? Oh no, far from it."[2] Four years later these details formed part of the novel *Hunger*. The novel *Mysterier* from 1892 is similarly autobiographical. Not only is the setting Lillesand, where Hamsun stayed during the summer of 1890, but Grøgaard and Stenersen are Lillesand names, and we know that the mysterious Kamma was a person Hamsun met under circumstances similar to those in the novel. Furthermore Nagel's provocative opinions can be found in Hamsun's own journalism from the early nineties, and Nagel's Lapp origin may be a humorous reference to Hamsun's North Norwegian background.[3]

In the novel *Pan* from 1894, the setting is the North Norway of Hamsun's childhood, but the main character is a lieutenant from

Kristiania, and this distancing from Hamsun's personal situation has created problems. What are we to make of the fact that lieutenant Glahn, an elegant man of good family and educational background, does not know how to behave *comme il faut* in the company of certain young ladies from Nordland? Could it be that Hamsun, a farmer's son with nothing more than a grade school education, endows his lieutenant with his own social inferiority problems? In his next novel, *Victoria*, the main character Johannes is more realistically a miller's son and a writer, but he is moving in aristocratic circles of a kind that are hardly representative of the democratic Norway of the late 19th century. Hamsun had to hear from one of his reviewers that he clearly did not know the ways of Norwegian aristocracy[4] and, strangely, he took this criticism much to heart. At this time Hamsun sent Georg Brandes a couple of letters full of bitter despair, enclosing the critical review of *Victoria*, and admitting that, yes, he lacked completely the culture and education common among wealthy families. "Lack of culture means having parents who did not make their son a student or doctor of something or other, lack of culture means being forced to leave for America, to physical work on the prairie, and afterwards being unable to acquire educated people's opinions of what is great, despite honest and eager efforts."[5]

Why, then, did Hamsun want his protagonists to move in these aristocratic circles? The answer is, I think, that as a writer in the Dostoevsky tradition, Hamsun found pride and humility to be particularly inspiring personality features, and because pride is often the privilege of the upper classes, we find him sending his heroes into these higher spheres, whether it be at the palace of Queen Tamara in medieval Georgia or the Segelfoss estate of Lieutenant Holmsen. Victoria, in the novel by that name, lives at a place referred to as "the Castle," even though at the time there were no residential castles in Norway beyond the Royal Palace. Hamsun is either forcing the historical situation or else replacing realism with the world of the folktale, where ordinary farmers become kings and their homesteads royal palaces. It is indicated that Victoria's family would never dream of marrying their daughter off to Johannes, the son of a miller, though we are later told, more realistically, that the reason was not so much class as money: Victoria's father is in need of a rich son-in-law to save him from bankruptcy and therefore forces his daughter to become Otto's fiancée. Victoria, however, has always loved only Johannes, though pride and loyalty to her father prevent her from telling Johannes, which results in endless complications —

love, hate, arrogance, and despair — as in most of Hamsun's earlier writings. Only after she has lost her fiancé in an accident and contracted tuberculosis, from which she will soon die, does Victoria confess her true feelings in the moving letter to Johannes which ends the novel.

Some readers have felt that this high melodrama, played out against an overly romantic backdrop, shows either a decline in Hamsun's power of imagination or else a concession to the popular *fin de siècle* taste of the late 1890's. Also, since the style is that of tale and allegory rather than realism, one may wonder whether the emotions displayed are formulaic empty gestures instead of something lived through. I feel that, in *Victoria*, the subtle psychology Hamsun called for in his 1890 article, "From the Unconscious Life of the Mind," has indeed given way to a lighter and more sentimental kind of literature, what Hamsun himself called "just a little poetry."[6] On the other hand, I believe that the excessive sense of pride and humility that fills the pages of *Victoria*, as well as other novels by Hamsun, is indeed the author's own. Some support for this belief could be found in Marie Hamsun's biographies of her husband, but I shall add to that material one example taken from some recently discovered Hamsun letters, now in the possession of Hamsun's grandson, D.K.T. Charlesson, of Chapet, France.

In the same year that he wrote *Victoria*, Knut Hamsun married a divorced woman, Bergljot Goepfert, with whom four years later he had a daughter, Victoria. It had been the hope of both parents that Victoria would help patch up their unhappy marriage. Hamsun, at home, was a tyrant and pedant who could not tolerate his wife's slovenliness and lack of thrift. On the other hand, he was himself not only generous to a fault, but a free spender, losing once a whole fortune in a gambling casino at Ostende, which did not help either his finances or his relationship to Bergljot, since she had to bail him out.[7] In 1906 the couple was divorced, and Victoria spent vacations with her father at various places in Norway, where he happened to be working. Three years after his divorce Hamsun married Marie Andersen, with whom he had four children, and he now saw less of Victoria than before. In 1916 he wrote to his former wife, recommending that she and Victoria spend time in France and learn the language, not out of snobbery, he claimed, but because it might prove useful.[8] Ten years later we hear in more detail what he had had in mind — he wanted to introduce his daughter to circles of power and influence over in America. To Victoria he wrote: "You

should have been able to travel, far away, moving in cosmopolitan circles — I have long arms and I know people on four continents."[9]

Instead Victoria married a very ordinary Englishman, one Mr. Charlesson, living at Honfleur, what Hamsun called "a dirty little hole in France." The young man tried to write his future father-in-law, but Hamsun returned his letters unread. Victoria also came to see him, but he refused to talk to her and in a letter told her not to visit him at Nørholm, "your mother and I were divorced, that marriage was dissolved," he wrote, and continued, "I hope you understand that on my farm and in my family, which is not yours, it is not possible for you to stay."[10]

The final break with Victoria, however, was brought about by another matter. After the mid-twenties, when he had won the Nobel Prize and was gradually approaching his 70th birthday, Knut Hamsun began thinking of making a financial settlement for Victoria. He offered her the quite substantial sum of 50,000 Norwegian crowns, but Victoria, presumably on the advice of Norwegian friends and lawyers, refused to accept any settlement cutting her off from Hamsun's valuable author's rights and royalties. She wrote: "I am glad to hear you don't attach too much importance to the matter, so that I don't need to fear my decision might not find your approval."[11] Actually, the refusal upset her suspicious father, who felt she trusted her advisers more than she did him. However, when things became difficult for Victoria in 1931, she needed the money and asked to receive the sum originally offered her. Hamsun, though he had recently undergone a dangerous operation, answered her in a long and devastating letter, with the following conclusion: "Oh, no, Victoria, I have no 50,000 for you anymore. You wanted to be treated according to the law, and that's what is now going to happen."[12] Victoria tried to explain: "The reason that I regretted my first decision was that, as I got a better perspective and calmed down a little, I realised what an economic and moral support these 50,000 would be, and I then asked you to be so kind as to let me have one more chance. I did not ask it as if it had been the most natural thing in the world, as you claim; no, Dad, I begged you . . ."[13] Victoria, through her lawyer's intervention, received 35,000 crowns, plus some smaller sums for furniture, etc., in all some 40,000 crowns. During the following ten years there seems to have been no contact between the two. Hamsun's lawyer, Sigrid Stray, to whom these letters were once made available, feels that Hamsun treated his daughter fairly.[14] I doubt it would *now* seem so to an ob-

jective outsider, and, as we shall see, it didn't seem so even to Hamsun.

In 1934 Bergljot Hamsun died and Victoria wrote to tell her father, who answered, "she was so kindly and good, never did anything unjust, often took the blame for things that were not her fault. I weep when I think of her, I bless her for having been innocent of heart."[15] The letter led to renewed contact between father and child, and Hamsun may have realised that Victoria was in many ways her mother's daughter. Furthermore, these were trying years for Knut Hamsun. He had long been ostracized by Norwegian intellectuals for his pro-German sympathies, and in his arrogance apparently did not care, but after the German occupation of Norway he found himself totally alienated among his countrymen, which saddened him, though he still believed stubbornly in German victory. After the German defeat and Hamsun's own internment at Landvik Old Age Home, the tone in his letters to Victoria is softer still, as it must have been 40 years earlier, when she was a child: "Oh, God, I haven't written to you in years, and yet you write me and don't complain about your old Dad! You are remarkably clever and courageous . . . I have learned in my old age how God arranges all things the way it's best for us. It was high time I learned this lesson."[16] And finally, as he is working on his last book *On Overgrown Paths* and thinks he may be able to make some money this way, he writes, "You shall have exactly the same as my other children. I want to thank you, dearest Victoria, for never telling me that the others have gotten more than you, you haven't mentioned one word about it, not one syllable — God bless you for that! And my dear, kind Victoria, if I could only give you some special joy, for having waited so patiently. Greetings to your husband and the boys."[17] Hamsun finally saw that Victoria had indeed received less than his other children and kept his promise of setting it right. He altered his will, and though his other children later tried to cancel the alterations, the courts, after Hamsun's death, supported Victoria. He also kept up his correspondence with her till after his 90th birthday. His last letter is dated October 31, 1949 and ends with the line: "Don't worry about me, I am doing fine. My dear Victoria, farewell."[18]

The Hamsun/Victoria correspondence makes an interesting and moving story, reminding readers of other literary father/daughter relationships, some of them summed up in King Lear's statement to Cordelia: "Pray you now, forget and forgive. I am old and foolish." This foolishness, in Shakespeare's sense of madness, is what Profes-

sor Langfeldt tried to pin down after he had been asked by the Norwegian Attorney General to examine the mental capacity of the aging Knut Hamsun, the political traitor. Langfeldt said: "I take it for granted that in the course of your life you have analyzed yourself thoroughly. As far as I can see, you have always been aggressive . . . Another impression is that you are very sensitive — vulnerable. Is that correct? And which other qualities do you possess? Are you suspicious? Egoistical or generous? Jealous? Do you possess any characteristic sense of righteousness? Logician? Emotional or cold nature?"[19] Hamsun answered:

> I have analysed myself in one way, in that in my books I have created several hundred different characters. Each of them is developed out of myself, with faults or perfections as is the case with fictitious characters. The so-called naturalistic period in literature wrote of people with principal qualities. It had no use for a finely integrated psychology, the people possessed a particular disposition that determined their actions. Dostoyevsky and many others taught us all something about man. I believe that right from the beginning of my production there is no person with any such straightforward principal quality. They are all without so-called character, they are all split and complex, not good, not bad, but both, subtly differentiated in their natures, changing in their actions. And thus no doubt I am myself. It is altogether possible that I am aggressive, that perhaps I have something of all the qualities which you, Sir, suggest — sensitive, suspicious, egoistical, generous, jealous, overrighteous, logical, emotional and cold — all these qualities are human. But I do not think that in myself I see the predominance of any one of them. To that which constitutes me also belongs the genius which has enabled me to write my books. But I cannot analyse it. Brandes called it divine madness.[20]

Hamsun is right in saying all these qualities are human — it is what makes his writings moving. But in certain of his literary characters they are also present to an extraordinary degree, which is what makes them interesting to the reader. Furthermore, to the literary biographer, the author himself is often as extraordinary as his characters, and this is the case with Knut Hamsun, as it is with August Strindberg.

At this point it is appropriate to ask, "what does the Hamsun/Victoria correspondence have to do with the novel *Victoria*, written 20 years earlier?" Many students of Hamsun will have been struck by the way in which scenes from his books seem to come back in Hamsun's real life years later, which is not prophecy, but the natural recurrence of basic action patterns that belong in Hamsun's personality — the *Hunger* hero's extreme pride and alienation, for example, recur as Hamsun's own pride and alienation in the post-war years. On the basis of this type of recurrence, Leo Lowenthal, in 1937, ana-

lyzed certain patterns in Hamsun's writing and pointed out his fascist ways of thinking, and even though Hamsun's fascism was evident to biographers long before 1937, Professor Lowenthal was proud of what he called an example of sociological prediction.[21] In this little paper I have proceeded the other way. On the basis of factual evidence from Hamsun's life I have tried to prove that in the sweet novel *Victoria*, the pride and humiliation theme, rather than being the imitation of contemporary melodrama, is Hamsun's own situation. I find it likely that in working out this old love theme from his rarely read novel *Bjørger*, Hamsun had in mind J.P. Jacobsen's short story *Fru Fønss*, with its final heart-rending letter. I also think those are right who claim Hamsun was interested in having another voice, and indeed a woman's voice, share in the narration of the story. However, as Hamsun told Professor Langfeldt, all his characters are taken from within himself. Victoria's letter, therefore, is Hamsun's own voice, asking forgiveness and explaining his seemingly irrational arrogance. The Hamsun/Victoria correspondence, then, helps us see how Hamsun, whom Johan Borgen called the greatest *artist* in Norwegian literature — meaning fantast, inventor, magician — ultimately depended on real reality.

Notes

[1] "Kunst altsammen. Men intet dårlig kunstverk." *Konerne ved vandposten, Samlede verker* 8 (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1956), p. 275.

[2] "Jeg levede et elendigt Liv i Norge tilslut . . . Det gik saavidt, Erik (ial Stilhed!) at jeg sov paa Raadstuen som Husvild. Jeg laa i flere Nætter oppe i Møllergaden i et forladt Blikkenslagerværksted. Og tror Du at jeg spiste hver evige eneste Dag? Aa nei! Jagu' slap Du for det!" *Edda*, 1959, p. 232.

[3] *Scandinavian Studies*, 36 (1965), 48-58.

[4] Nils Vogt in *Morgenbladet*, 18 Nov., 1898.

[5] "Mangel paa Kultur er at have havt Forældre, som ikke har gjort en til Student eller til Doctor i et eller andet, Mangel paa Kultur er at drives over til Amerika, til kropsligt Arbejde paa Prærien, og saa siden at være ude af Stand til at tilegne sig de fleste dannede Menneskers Mening om alt det anerkendte Store, trods det ærligste og ivrigste Arbejde paa at overtale sig selv dertil." Tore Namsun ed., *Knut Hamsun som han var* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1956), pp. 106-7.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[7] Tore Hamsun, *Knut Hamsun* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1959), p. 165.

[8] Letter to Bergljot Hamsun, dated 19 June, 1916. D.K.T. Charlesson Collection.

[9] ". . . du skulde faat komme ut, komme vidt utover, til store Forhold, jeg har lange Armer og kjender Folk i fire Verdensdeler." Letter to Victoria Charlesson, dated 7 Sept., 1930. D.K.T. Charlesson Collection.

[10] ". . . din Mor og jeg er skilt, *den* Familjen er opløst . . . Her paa min Gaard og i min Familje som ikke er din forstaar du vel at det ikke gaar an at være for dig." *Ibid.*

[11] "Jeg er saa glad over at du ikke lægger nogen særlig vægt paa ordningen fra din side, saa behøver jeg ikke være redd for at min beslutning kanske kunde være dig imot." Sigrid Stray, *Min klient Knut Hamsun* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1979), pp. 63-64.

[12] "Aanei, Victoria, jeg har ikke 50 tusen kroner liggende til deg mere. Du vilde ha efter loven, du skal faa efter loven." *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[13] "At jeg angret efterpaa kom, som jeg allerede har forklart dig, av at jeg først da jeg fikk det hele paa avstand og kom litt til ro, fik øinene op for hvilken økonomisk og moralsk støtte disse 50 000 kr. ville vært for mig, og saa bad jeg dig være saa snild at la mig faa chansen en gang til. Jeg bad ikke om det som den naturligste ting i verden, som du siger, nei jeg tigget Dig om det Papa . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62, p. 87.

[15] "Hun var saa snil og hjertelig god, gjorde aldrig nogen Uret, tok paa sig mere Skyld end hun hadde, jeg graater ved Mindet om hende . . . og velsigner hende for hendes Hjertes Uskyld." Letter dated 23 June, 1943. D.K.T. Charlesson Collection.

[16] "Aa, Gud, jeg som ikke har skrevet til dig paa Aar og Dag, og allikevel skriver du til mig og klager ikke paa din gamle Papa! Det er merkelig hvor flink og tapper du er, Victoria . . . jeg har lært i min Alderdom at den gode Gud steller det paa det bedste for os. Det var nu heller ikke fortidlig at jeg lærte det nu." Letters dated 7 June and 6 August, 1946. D.K.T. Charlesson Collection.

[17] ". . . i mit Testamente skal du ha *likt* med mine andre Børn . . . Jeg vil takke dig, kjære Victoria, fordi du aldrig har latt mig høre at de andre har faat mere end du, du har ikke nævnt et Ord, ikke en Stavelse. Gud velsigne dig for det!. . . Og dig, min kjære snilde Victoria, kunde jeg unde en særlig Glæde, fordi du har / vært / saa taalmodig til at vente . . . Hils din Mand og Gutterne . . ." Letter dated Grimstad 10 July, 1947. D.K.T. Charlesson Collection.

[18] "Bry dig ikke om mig, jeg har det godt. Min kjære Victoria, lev vel!" Sigrid Stray, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[19] Tore Hamsun, *Knut Hamsun* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1959), p. 281.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

[21] See his *Literature and the Image of Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), pp. 190-220.

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Rönnog Seaberg's *Utrest*: An Apologia

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Utrest (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1978) is the eighth book published by the Swedish emigrant writer Rönnog Seaberg, and it amounts to a kind of apologia, a summing up of her expatriation, for by way of representing other emigrants as well as herself, she explains why as a young woman she left Sweden in the mid-fifties.[1] The title means something like "Outward Bound," but Seaberg's own English title for the book is "Emigrant," and she gives a special meaning to leaving borders behind: "No, I don't believe in borders between countries, and in my life I've tried to specialize in living as if borders didn't exist, between races, classes, sexes, religions, and professions."[2]

Utrest is subtitled "a prose-triptych in words" ("en prosa-triptyk i ord"), which is somewhat redundant, as we expect prose to be in words, but the words "in words" do serve to emphasize the boundary or border crossed between word and picture, picture and word.[3] Nowadays a triptych is usually thought of as a three-part or -panel picture or carving, the centre panel being twice the width of the side panels, which can therefore be folded over it. Triptychs are often altar-pieces and may depict the legends of saints.[4] Seaberg's book is divided into three sections or panels: "The Four Stages of Life" ("De fyra åldrarna"), "Women Emigrants" ("Utvandrerskorna"), and "Manhattan's Lower East Side" [in English]. The first section is about half the length of the second one, and the third is about as long as the first two together. Thus the second section or central panel is not the longest, but it remains central figuratively as well as spatially, for it explains why Rönnog Seaberg left Sweden and why other women were emigrants, too. With sex goddesses Greta Garbo or Ann Margret perhaps as their Saint Ursula, they were "the modern eleven hundred virgins" who crossed the borders and passionately ventured all in foreign lands.[5]

Each section or panel of the triptych is given a musical marking — another border crossed. "The Four Stages of Life" panel is

marked *andante moderato*, suggesting going or walking, of course, but not fast — reflectively. The "Women Emigrants" panel is marked *allegro*: lively; and the third panel, "Manhattan's Lower East Side," is *allegro furioso*: lively with a sometimes destructive energy. The concentration on the Lower East Side in the second half of the book and the intensity of the life depicted there make that section seem shorter than it is. Something like the traditional proportion of the triptych altar-piece is thus maintained.

Utrest is largely composed of a series of sympathetic identifications or *representations* in two senses of the word. Seaberg often speaks *of* — that is, depicts in words — people she has known; they comprise groups, and she — sometimes quite explicitly — speaks *for* them. Thus she *represents* them in two ways. Sten Kindlundh in *Skånska Dagbladet* (29 Sept. 1978) raised some quibbling questions as to the real existence of some groups Seaberg represents, but he rightly pointed to such representations as characteristic of her work, at least in this book. She obviously needs to see herself as representative. But then what writer does not hope to speak *for* as well as *to* her readers? It is the explicitness of the group identifications and representations here that one cannot help but notice and want to understand.

A theme of the first two sections is loneliness and alienation. An emigrant in a strange land naturally thinks of home, as Rönnog Seaberg does in the first section, but, as we learn in the second section, at home Seaberg felt suppressed as a child and unwanted as a young woman. In short, that is why she left. And she imagines she left with eleven hundred other virgins, all more or less in the same boat. It's a figurative figure. Literal accuracy or statistics are obviously beside the point. The virginity will also be understood as figurative, that is, in a spiritual rather than physical sense.

The book, then, turns on the central section or panel, for in it the isolation of being a stranger in America (the first section) is recollected in its earlier form of alienation in her homeland, and it also finds its complementary theme of identification with groups of people, all in a sense emigrants. Such group identification becomes the focus of the third panel, where on the Lower East Side of New York one is *perforce* involved with mankind.

The "Four Stages of Life" in the first panel are "Childhood," "Youth," "Middle Age," and "Old Age." To see one's life in such stages is to see it as typical, like other lives, but at the same time as not one's own, as if at a distance; and in each stage Seaberg brings

out the loneliness, abnormality or alienation of her life in Atlanta, Georgia in the "barbaric year" 1973 (p. 11). Looking at the land covered with asphalt streets and parking lots, commercial buildings and broken sidewalks, she wonders what became of her youthful ideals of natural beauty. If she had seen this urban desolation when she was a child in northern Sweden, she would have thought it was hell. How did she end up here (p. 36)?

That is one version of a question asked more than once in *Utrest*: how did I get here, why did I leave? It is answered so many times in various ways that there apparently can be no complete, satisfactory answer. On p. 20 Seaberg first asks why she is in Atlanta, and on pp. 166-67 and 219 she explains why she and her husband lived on the Lower East Side of New York for so long. As for why she left Sweden, the answers express dissatisfaction with Swedish men on the one hand (pp. 30, 89), and with the prospects for significant employment in the Sweden of 1955 on the other (pp. 96-98). Thus Sweden offered neither love nor work. To the repeated question (pp. 75, 206) as to why so many women have crossed over borders, the answer seems to be that the world of their fathers was not for them, and if that man's world was inescapable, if women merely travelled from one prison to another, at least the trip itself was a change (pp. 64, 68-69, 73, 75-76).

The question as to why so many women left Sweden in the fifties is asked for the last time in *Utrest* on p. 106, with a clear indication that the previous answers were not enough ("But the question mark remains"/"Men frågetecknet återstår"), and yet it is finally answered with the most mysterious answer of all. Seaberg tells of a time of crisis in her youth when, disappointed and confused in life and love, she climbed a mountain in order to meet God, but at the top she found nothing. She had been ready to love that nothing, but neither she nor any other creature could live there, so she returned regretfully to live among human beings. "I had sat up on the windy mountain and been ready to love *absolutely nothing*. When one could travel to England or perhaps merely over the Danish border to get a little mild summer warmth."[6] The desperately loved Father was absent, his place was cold.

(In the recently published *Återresan* [1985] Seaberg addresses the question again when her persona Theresa says she left Sweden partly because of the prevailing loneliness there [p. 85]; and when a Swedish man rages at her, she is reminded of her father and discloses for the first time that she had crossed the ocean to escape

from that rage [p. 148]. It seems that such rage and the cold wind on the mountaintop are alike features of a father the daughter cannot live with.)

In contrast to the loneliness emphasized in the first panel of *Utrest*, oneness with others is established by the first word of the second panel "Women Emigrants": "We didn't talk about daycare in those days" — the fifties.[7] All was not well. Although she came from a fine and enlightened home, Seaberg says, children of her time in Umeå "without ever having to stand in the corner managed to get the idea that they might as well not have existed. We weren't even beaten. It didn't matter which home we came from. We were all ashamed."[8] But at least they were all in it together. She says they got their first period the year the Second World War ended (p. 41), and before long they could travel and found they were appreciated in other countries. "Frenchmen said we were pretty. Germans made shameless suggestions. Englishmen . . . spoke of their children as if they had developed personalities."[9] And these Swedish girls found most freedom on the road, hitchhiking; they were "liftarflickorna," the Swedish hitchhiking girls (pp. 51, 55). "We were representatives of a group of Swedish women whom the Swedish newspapers wrote about without the least pride: 'Swedish Girls Abroad.' "[10] They were accused of going to bed with foreigners who consequently lost respect for Swedish women. But if so, that didn't make the men impotent. "There were enough men at home who neither respected us nor were any fun . . . If the journalists at home weren't proud of us, we were proud of ourselves."[11]

Sometimes it seemed they had little to be proud of — as when, for instance, Seaberg stayed with an Englishman in a little hotel in Trier, and the innkeeper, whose shameless suggestion she rebuffed, took his frustration out on his wife and beat her up. Seaberg felt guilty about that. What right had she to flaunt her sexual freedom among poor and sexually shackled people?[12] But when the bruised wife then greeted her with "purposeful respect" ("en målmedveten respekt") and smiled at her, she imagined that it was not only because she had turned down her husband, but because the wife recognized that by sleeping with the Englishman, Seaberg was acting in the interests of sexually oppressed women. "That tormented woman's face, the most tormented I have ever seen, including among all the black women in America, winked in silence to me and said a sort of "We Shall Overcome." I hereby ask to convey her greeting."[13] In a way, Seaberg represents her, too.

Two interlocking features in this anecdote are characteristic of the second panel of *Utrest*, and it may be helpful to distinguish them: (1) the movement toward identification with other — indeed, more and more — women, not merely hitchhiking ones, and (2) the movement toward identification with the oppressed.

With the next chapter of the second panel, "Emigrants," almost without notice — a sort of clandestine border crossing — Seaberg expands her identification with hitchhiking women to Swedish women in general abroad. True, she first tells us the sad, funny story of her first job in America with a Swedish-American firm in Chicago's loop, but the other emigrant women who work there do not fit the stereotype she goes on to describe: "Men talked about us all over the western world, the beautiful, willing Swedish women who were as horny as they were." Half ironically, she calls it a great success for Swedish culture.[14]

For when one man told her that Swedish along with Chinese women were the world's best lovers, she was troubled, since she regarded Chinese women as oppressed. "Were we like them? The world's best drilled army for pleasing men? We Swedish women?"[15]

Their sexiness was the consequence of a mixture of self-confidence and inexperience, Seaberg says (p. 67), but she doesn't deny the sexiness, nor does she deny that there may be a link between it and oppression, for she cannot seem to make up her mind as to whether these Swedish women were the world's least or most oppressed women (see pp. 67, 82, 87). Perhaps there is an explanation hidden here as to how "ashamed" children became "self-confident" young women.

Seaberg sees a similar phenomenon of sexual transgression, that is, border crossing, among the many white women in the western world who united themselves with black men. One thing these women and men had in common was that they were "tired of white men."[16] In fact, she goes on to say, these women may have found black men as tyrannical as white, but they had *dreamt* of equality. She concludes: "The *dream* of leaving the old culture behind is strong among women. And the racially mixed marriage is not entered into on theoretical grounds but out of the need of both parties."[17]

Thus we have moved from Swedish women to white women to women in general and their dream of equality. At the same time the identification with the oppressed has widened. And a third point emerges: these oppressed people acted from necessity. They had no choice.

This is precisely the point Seaberg makes about women like the followers of Charles Manson or like her friend in New York who went underground, sought by the FBI for bombing defense installations and banks (pp. 69-70, 76). They all felt they had no choice but to transgress, to follow through the dangerous leap over boundaries, and Seaberg represents them, conveying once again the greetings of those who didn't land softly.[18] But to represent is not finally to identify with; it is to suggest a difference as well as a likeness.

Reviewing *Utrest* in *Dagens Nyheter* (31 Aug. 1978), Britt Tunander described Rönnog Seaberg's life as unusual because it was to such a large degree a *chosen* life. Since Tunander went on to say that it was "steered by an all overshadowing wish to just live, really *live*" and spoke of Seaberg as being possessed by life, one cannot be quite sure how different this estimate of her is from that of the anonymous reviewer in *Utlandssvenskarna* (Nov. 1978) who saw her not as a human being but rather as a "primitive creature of impulse," albeit gifted as a writer; but at least Tunander seems sure of Seaberg's humanity.[19] Perhaps both reviewers reflect some doubt as to whether Seaberg freely chose to emigrate or was driven to flee — a doubt Seaberg herself suggests in what she calls her two versions of her emigration. She says they are not really contradictory, and we might call them complementary versions, a positive one and a negative one. In the first, positive version, she voluntarily and deliberately chose to leave Sweden with her American husband; the marriage was successful and she has taken root in her new land. In the second, negative version she was no good at what women were supposed to do in Sweden. Instead, she wanted to think — about God, for instance — and to write. But these activities seemed to be the province of learned men, and she was not needed in the Sweden of 1955 (pp. 97-98). There were other women (and still are, she reminds us [p. 110]) who felt there was no place for them; they *had* to leave (pp. 95, 99), and they were free — to do so (p. 109).

Rönnog Seaberg has *chosen* to represent those who have no choice. One of the ways she emigrates or crosses borders is by thinking and writing, and here her main means of transport is poetic identification or similitude. She suggests that the unwanted Swedish women were like the Swedish farm horses not needed by increasingly mechanized agriculture after the war and exported to war damaged countries that wanted them. And the emigrant women were also like St. Ursula and eleven hundred virgins — virginal be-

cause they were unwanted at home, but adored, if sometimes martyred, as saints of sex abroad (see, e.g., pp. 75, 94).

According to Seaberg, it was "Amanda and in fact not Stagnelius who travelled to 'aldrig skådade länder,' [lands] never beheld by Stagnelius at least" (p. 77).[20] This identification shows in a condensed way the double nature of her emigration; she crosses borders in both life and art. That is, not only does she leave poor Stagnelius behind in Sweden, she transforms his dream. Perhaps one may speak of a transmigration of souls, for the poet's beloved — in fact, too little loved — does not only leave him; she becomes him — the poet. It is she who really goes and she who writes about going.

I shall say little about the third panel of the triptych: "Manhattan's Lower East Side." It should be better known as an unusually domestic account of life among artists and other poor people on the Lower East Side of New York in the late sixties, but it is not so directly concerned with my theme of the writer as representative emigrant. It is Seaberg's third city of the sixties after the Chicago of *Guds ansikte* (1965) and the Miami of *Miami* (1967). It reports the Seabergs' experience of New York after their arrival there from Miami in the summer of 1965. During their four years in New York they adopted two children of mixed race and lived crowded together with many people of various races and nationalities in that area of Manhattan between First and Fourteenth Streets where many immigrants from Europe had first settled in America, but which by the sixties was the new home of many Puerto Ricans and blacks as well — along with artists, run-away and radical youth, drop-outs from middle-class America.

Life there was exciting, hectic, and often dangerous: fights, muggings, murders, fires and looting; frying pans and beer bottles thrown from windows, furniture pitched from roofs; the incessant beat of phonograph, radio, or garbage can drums; frequent strikes of essential services like garbage collection; either too much heat or none at all — they were part of the daily routine. The Seabergs didn't need TV or newspapers; they had merely to look out the window or through the door.[21] But Rönnog Seaberg doesn't just report sensational events. Much of what she relates she learned from her neighbours and the women who sat with her in Tompkins Square Park while their children played in the sandboxes. The stories she tells, for instance of courageous women who married across racial and economic boundaries, go deeper than journalism into human experience. Whether for good or bad, many different people

impinged on each other; you could not ignore them. You had always to be either alert to the danger from others or dependent on their friendship. The intensity and variety of life on the Lower East Side fascinated Seaberg. And of course everybody was more or less an emigrant.

As she had two versions of leaving Sweden, so Rönnog Seaberg has two versions of her life on the Lower East Side. On the one hand, it was awful — indeed, desperate: the inhabitants were lost souls in a hell of pollution. On the other hand, it was a privilege, and those "who got to be there" were the elect, the *chosen*.[22] For the Seabergs it was a time of great change; their growth was forced as in a hothouse. The question as to whether she has chosen her unusual life or been driven to it may be answered by her own choice of words: she has *been chosen* — by the blood and spirit that move her. Her writing is after all something she must do; she serves her inspiration and she must feel that she speaks for, as well as to, and about others. She represents them. If her representations sometimes ignore distinctions, she really has crossed over borders between lands and people, not merely travelled or sympathized in the imagination. If she finds freedom as a writer in imaginative identification, in similitude, she knows the constraints of real travel through some stages of life and some lands of the world.

Notes

[1] Rönnog Seaberg's other books are *Hästkapplöpning* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1964), *Guds ansikte* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1965), *Inspiration till extas* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1966), *Miami* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1967), *The Monster in the Refrigerator* (Atlanta: Exodus, 1974), *Hemlig dagbok* (Stockholm: Författarförlaget, 1975), *Om baddräkter* (Stockholm: Författarförlaget, 1977), *Song of Atlanta* (Atlanta: Ali Baba Press, 1981), *Sången om Atlanta* (Knivsta: Arkturus, 1981), *Återresan* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1985).

[2] *Utrest*, p. 103: "Nej, jag tror inte på några gränser mellan olika länder och jag har i mitt liv försökt att specialisera mig på att leva som om gränser inte funnes, mellan raser, klasser, kön, religioner och yrkesfolk." Excerpts from *Utrest* in my English translation are included in a forthcoming anthology of Scandinavian women writers edited by Ingrid Claréus. Since as yet *Utrest* is available only in Swedish, I shall refer to it by its Swedish title.

[3] "Prosa" here means not only *not verse* but suggests, I think, *prosaic* in the sense of everyday reality — that is, the *non-fictional* — as well as (paradoxically) the *poetic*, the latter word being Seaberg's own gloss of "prosa." The link with "triptyk" (a work of art) itself suggests that the "prosa" is poetic rather than prosaic in the sense of unimaginative.

[4] *Webster's Third International Dictionary* also tells us that a triptych was a three-leaved wax tablet used by ancient Romans for everyday writing — and a triptyque is a customs pass for temporary importation of an automobile (fr. Gr. *tri* [three] + *ptychos* [fr. *ptyché*, fold, layer]). It may also have been appealing to subtitle a book about crossing over borders a *trip*tyk; although the pun is better in English than in Swedish (*tripp* — a [short] trip), Seaberg does know English well.

[5] *Utrest*, p. 94: "de moderna elvahundra jungfrurna." In the forthcoming English excerpts from *Utrest* (see Note 2 above), Rönnog Seaberg has corrected "elvahundra" to "eleven thousand." She seems originally to have changed the number (poetically?) in the direction of (prosaic?) plausibility. In *Utrest* she observes that the execution of the virgins took place on their way home, and with poetic wordplay she makes more prosaic sense of that by suggesting that the modern virgins could "be dispensed with at home" ("undvaras hemma" p. 94). Sainthood is a recurrent theme in *Utrest* as well as in Seaberg's other work. She calls the story of her militant New York friend who went underground and was finally captured by the FBI "this saint's legend" ("Den här helgonlegenden" *Utrest*, p. 74), and she accepts the popular canonization of "Groovy," murdered on the Lower East Side in November 1967, perhaps because he gave away drugs free. He was a saint, she says, because he took something with him to the grave; he embodied the spirit of the time (see *Utrest*, pp. 206-07). The autobiography of Saint Theresa of Avila is an inspiration in *Guds ansikte* (1965; see p. 150), and in both *Miami* (1967) and *Återresan* (1985) the heroine is named at least partly after the saint, "Tessie" and "Theresa" respectively.

[6] *Utrest*, p. 108: "Jag hade suttit uppe på det där blåsiga fjället och varit beredd att älska *absolut ingenting*. När man kunde fara till England eller kanske bara över danska gränsen för att möta litet mild sommarvärme."

[7] *Utrest*, p. 41: "Vi talade inte om daghem på den tiden." The subsection is entitled "Femtitalet."

[8] *Utrest*, p. 42: "Likväl kom jag från ett upplyst och bra hem. Utan att någonsin behöva stå i skamvrån lyckades barnen i min samtids Umeå lägga sig till med uppfattningen att de så gott som inte existerade. Vi inte ens pryglades. De spelade ingen roll vilka hem vi kom från. Vi alla skämdes."

[9] *Utrest*, p. 42: "Fransmännen sa att vi var vackra. Tyskarna gjorde oförskämda förslag. Engelsmännen . . . talade om sina barn som om de hade utvecklade personligheter."

[10] *Utrest*, p. 44: "Vi var representanter för den grupp av svensk kvinnlighet, som de svenska tidningarna skrev om utan den minsta stolthet: 'Svenska flickor i utlandet.' "

[11] *Utrest*, p. 44: "Det fanns tillräckligt många män hemma som varken hyste respekt eller var roliga . . . fast journalisterna hemma inte var stolta över oss, så var vi stolta över oss själva."

[12] *Utrest*, p. 54: "Vad hade jag för rätt att komma till de underutvecklade länderna med mitt idiotiska självförtroende och lägga hemska stenar på bördan i denna arma kvinnas hus? Vad hade jag för rätt att ta in här och knulla? ("What right had I to come to underdeveloped countries with my idiotic self-confidence and pile more misery on this poor woman's house. What right had I to come in here and fuck?")

[13] *Utrest*, p. 55: "Detta det mest plågade kvinnoansikte, som jag någonsin har sett, inklusive bland alla svarta i Amerika, blinkade i tysthet åt mig och sa ett slags We Shall Overcome. Jag ber härmed att få framföra hennes hälsning." It should be noted that in Seaberg's account, the husband is not the only oppressor. He had told the Englishman that he and Seaberg should be discreet and not go up to their room together while his pious mother-in-law was in the dining room, where she sat at the window peeling potatoes while her much disciplined little granddaughter played at

her feet (pp. 52-53). The grandmother is described as "big and fat"/"fet och stor" (p. 52) and as a "hard, fat, bitter old woman"/"hårda feta bittra gamla kvinnan" (p. 54). The wife, on the other hand, is like her daughter, "very polite and submissive . . . thin, tragic looking and quiet. She was obviously hemmed in by all the other people in the house." ("mycket snäll och undergiven . . . mager med tragisk uppsyn och nästan utan ord. Hon satt tydligen i kläm mellan alla andra personer i huset" (p. 53). Her "purposeful respect" for Seaberg "was not at all shared by the grandmother and husband"/"inte alls delades av mormodern eller maken" (p. 55). Wondering what she had done to deserve the wife's appreciation, Seaberg finally guesses that the wife quite simply was glad that an unmarried couple had defied "her mother-in-law." ("Det återstod att gissa att hon helt enkelt var glad över att vi trotsade hennes svärmor" p. 55.) Evidently — although it is not really so simple — the grandmother stands for sexual oppression, but it is puzzling that she is first referred to as the *husband's* mother-in-law ("hans svärmor" p. 52) and thus the wife's mother ("mormodern" pp. 54, 55), and then finally as the *wife's* mother-in-law ("hennes svärmor," p. 55). Perhaps Seaberg is simply inclined to think of a woman's rather than a man's mother-in-law. A woman's trouble with her mother-in-law is touched on in the "Amanda" section of *Utrest* and in *Om baddräkter* (p. 7), and it is a central concern in *Miami*. Seaberg's own explanation in conversation with me of the confusing words "hennes svärmor" is that she didn't want to think of the wife's female oppressor as her own mother. In the forthcoming translation of excerpts from *Utrest* Seaberg has changed "her mother-in-law" to "the grandmother."

[14] *Utrest*, p. 65: "Det var en stor framgång för vår kultur. Karlarna talade om oss över hela Västerlandet, de vackra villiga svenskorna, som var lika kåta som de var." The idea of a group of Swedish women who emigrated in the fifties and sixties was announced in *Om baddräkter* (1977), pp. 5-7. That may explain why it is not explicitly introduced in *Utrest*. The funny interlude in Chicago depicts comic versions of the crazy Swede stereotype in American literature, for which see Richard D. Beards, "Stereotyping in Modern American Fiction: Some Solitary Swedish Madmen," *Moderna Språk*, 68 (1969), 329-37, and Roger McKnight, "Those Swedish Madmen Again: The Image of the Swede in Swedish-American Literature," *Scandinavian Studies*, 56/2 (1984), pp. 114-39.

[15] *Utrest*, p. 65: "Var vi som de? Världens bäst drillade armé för att behaga karlar? Vi svenskor?"

[16] *Utrest*, pp. 67-68: "En sak som de har gemensam är förstås att de är trötta på vita män."

[17] *Utrest*, p. 68: "*Drömmen* om att lämna den gamla kulturen är stark bland kvinnorna. Och de rasblandade äktenskapen ingås inte av teoretisk princip utan av nödvändighet från båda parter."

[18] *Utrest*, p. 74: "Saltomortalerna kom då vi upptäckte, att marken redan hade upphört att existera under fötterna på oss . . . Somliga bröt nacken. Andra, som jag själv, landade litet mjukare, men vi hade gemensamma urupplevelser. Jag har hälsningar att framföra från sådana, som inte klarade sig. Jag vet hur de mådde. Vi hade fribiljetter på samma båt." ("The death-defying leaps came when we discovered that the ground had already ceased to exist under our feet . . . Some broke their necks. Others like me landed a little softer, but we had basic experiences in common. I have greetings to forward from those who didn't make it. I know how they felt. We had complimentary tickets on the same boat.") In a talk she gave at the August 1984 meeting of the International Association for Scandinavian Studies at the University of Washington in Seattle, Seaberg "forwarded" to her audience a "greeeting" from "the late second generation immigrant writer" Theodore Roethke by way of reading from and commenting on his poem "The Rose." This particular representation crossed borders between poetry and scholarship as well as between countries.

[19] Tunander: "Utrest är en ovanlig bok om ett ovanligt liv . . . Det ovanliga med det är, principiellt sett, att det är ett i så hög grad *valt* liv. Det som styrt hennes val är i sin tur en allt överskuggande önskan att just leva, verkligen *leva*. Man kan tala om livsbesatthet." *Utlandssvenskarna*: "Jag skulle gärna sett att Rönnog inte givit sina sex-och underlivsproblem så stor plats. Hon blir aldrig tydlig som människa — efteråt minns man henne bara som en skrivbegåvad men primitiv driftvarelse." ("I would have preferred that Rönnog hadn't given so much space to her problems with sex and genitalia. She never becomes clear and distinct as a human being — afterwards one remembers her only as a creature of impulse, gifted as a writer, but primitive.")

[20] "Resa, Amanda, jag skall till aldrig skådade länder, / dödens omätliga hem: icke du följer mig dit," Erik Johan Stagnelius (1793-1823). ("I shall travel, Amanda, to never beheld lands, / death's immeasurable home; you will not follow me thither.") Stagnelius's journey is to death, and he imagines the loving couple in the grave awaking in paradise, but then remembers that Amanda would not go with him.

[21] See *Utrest*, e.g. pp. 127-37. The point about seeing the real thing rather than the media version is made again in *Återresan* (p. 133) in a letter Seaberg quotes from her husband describing violent events taking place outside their house in Atlanta when she is in Sweden. Besides the obvious point of being close to the sensational events themselves, the comparison of two ways of watching indicates a degree of detachment, of looking on — and reporting — rather than participating.

[22] Cf. *Utrest*, p. 219: "I New Yorks slum fanns det två känslor igen: en som påpekade att man var förtappad tillsammans med de andra i den förorenade luften, och en som sa att man var utvald som fick vara där. Det var ett privilegium." ("In New York's slum there were two feelings again: one which indicated that one was lost together with others in the polluted air, and one which said that one was chosen who got to be there. It was a privilege.")

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THE SCANDINAVIAN PRESENCE IN CANADA

Chain Migration Among Icelandic Settlers in Canada to 1891

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(University of Winnipeg)

The exodus of Icelanders in the late nineteenth century was occasioned by climatic, economic and political factors which combined to produce sufficient push factors to send thousands of the islanders looking for homes overseas. Although Icelanders found destinations in many parts of the world, a major destination was western Canada, one of a number of open frontier areas available for settlement at the time. The establishment of an Icelandic reserve (New Iceland) on the westshore of Lake Winnipeg in 1875 provided a focus for most of the migrants for the next few years, but trouble in the colony eventually dispersed the Icelanders to a number of other destinations in Canada and the United States. This paper examines, in a preliminary way, the locational decision-making of migrants as expressed in their spatial arrangement after settlement.

Chain Migration

A major theme in migration studies is that of the process of chain migration by which individuals are persuaded to join friends and relatives already established elsewhere. Where the process is sufficiently well-developed, a block transfer may occur; that is a group of people from the same limited area in the source country may all occupy a small locality in the destination. Individuals of a distinct cultural group will tend to locate near others of a similar cultural background so as to be able to communicate and to preserve a cultural heritage. However, within the common culture region, individual settlers are most likely to choose land near friends and relatives rather than among strangers. This reflects the natural tendency to use the known — in this case friends — as a buffer against the unknown. It also reflects the limited spatial knowledge and consequent limited search space for the new migrant who, instead of searching all possible settlement sites, is most likely to believe in the advantages of the area about which his friends can give him information and is likely to doubt information strangers give about other areas. Immigrants can also expect better success during the establishment

period if they have friends already in the area to serve as a support group. The dominant spatial result of the process is the creation of clusters of migrants from the same village or district living in close proximity to one another in a new area. Much work has been done on this process in the Americas and the antipodes — most of it dealing with identifiable ethnic groups.[1] In western Canada, John Warkentin has provided evidence of block transfer among the Mennonite settlements of Manitoba, as has John Lehr for Ukrainians.[2] There is even considerable evidence that English-speaking migrants, not constrained by cultural ties to limit their search pattern to only a few areas, were also likely to group around a few primary decision-makers who were willing to be the first in a new area.[3] No such work dealing with Icelandic settlers has yet been published.

Data sources

The only complete data source outlining the location of all individual Icelandic settlers is contained in a series of "censuses" carried out by the Icelandic immigration agent, B.L. Baldwinson, and included with the annual report of the Department of Agriculture in 1891 and, after departmental reorganization, the Department of the Interior in 1892.[4] These documents are extremely rich, identifying each settler by name, by recent place of residence in Iceland and by time of settlement, and showing data on family size, number of animals, amount of crop and value of assets. For the purpose of this study, the data used were those showing "late address in Iceland," by province or *sysla*.

Fig. 1 shows the boundaries for the *syslur* and the total number of people from each *sysla* residing in western Canada in 1891-92. It illustrates that the great majority of the migrants came from northern Iceland and that relatively few came from the more populous area of the south-west. It also shows that relatively few of them came from South Mula and East Skaftafell, the only *syslur* that were affected by the volcanic eruptions of the mid-1870s, which have often been given as a cause of the migration. Brian Evans has used this as evidence to support the argument that the main cause of the migration was climatic.[5] The failure of the hay crops outside the areas affected by the eruptions was the result of cold, cloudy summer weather; the lack of summer warmth also allowed winter sea ice to remain, blocking many of the bays all summer and preventing fishing fleets from operating effectively. During the 1880s the ice in northern harbours caused difficulties for the emigrants as ships

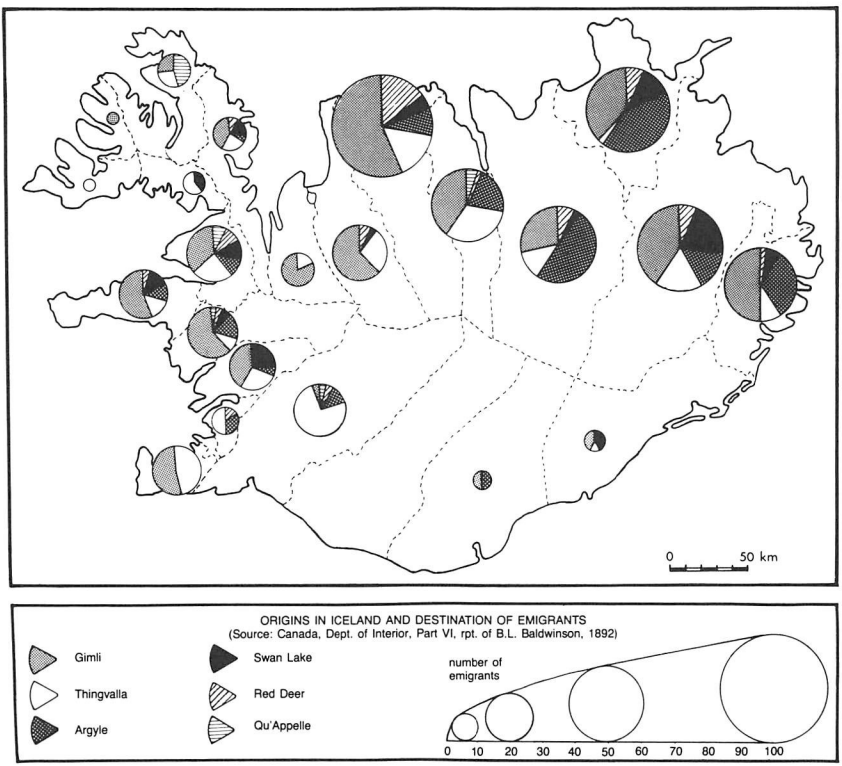


Fig. 1 Map of Iceland showing sources of Icelanders in western Canada by *sysla* in Iceland. (Courtesy Brian M. Evans, University of Winnipeg)

could not always get to all the ports, and in 1888 settlers from the north part of the island had to travel overland to Reykjavik because all the northern ports were still closed in late June.[6] Other push factors causing Icelanders to leave home were the economic depression gripping the island and the "impossibility of ever acquiring an independence" from Denmark. The pull factors were cheap fares offered on the Allan Steamship Lines and the blandishments of Canadian government agents.[7]

Fig. 1 also shows for each *sysla* the destination of settlers by major settlement area in western Canada. It suggests limited segregation of migration to individual settlements at the *sysla* level, but it could be taken to mean that such segregation as did occur is no more than could be accounted for by chance. On the other hand, the reports of government agents frequently refer to new immigrants as though they were all coming to join friends, and there are references to Icelanders sending money to friends and relatives in Iceland to as-

sist emigration, suggesting that there should be chain migration and block transfer occurring.[8] To determine which of these is true, each settlement is examined in detail. The locations of all Icelandic settlements in western Canada in 1891 are shown in Fig. 2.

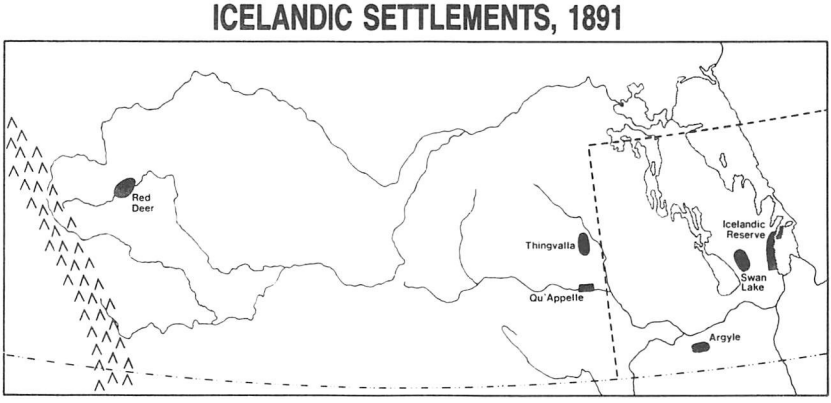


Fig. 2 Map showing the location of rural Icelandic settlements in western Canada.

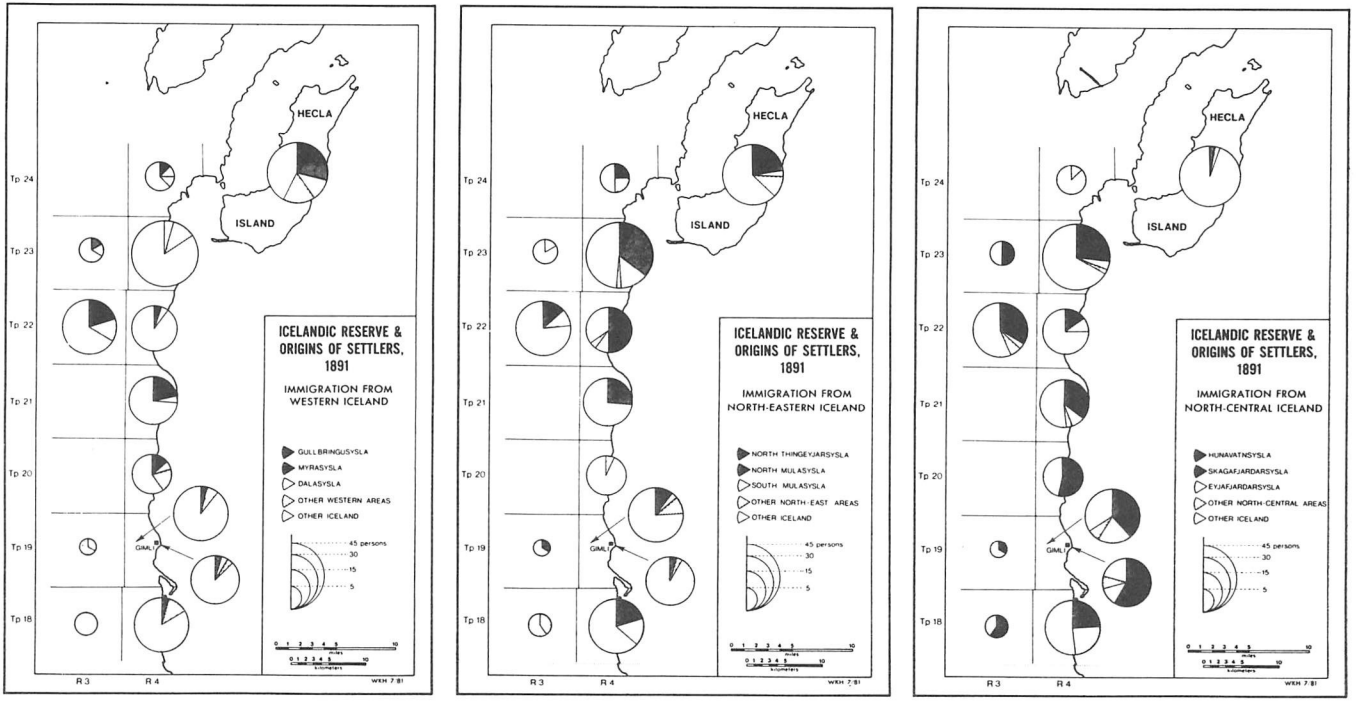
Icelandic Reserve

The first Icelanders in western Canada arrived late in 1875, most of them going at once to their newly-established reserve on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg. Because they arrived very late in the season and had found it necessary to use flatboats to get from Winnipeg, they were unable to travel as far north as they had planned, so the first group wintered over at the southern end of the reserve in what is now the town of Gimli. Most took land nearby, or northward along the lakeshore, but a small number continued on to the Icelandic River the next spring. Most of the first group had spent a year or more at a short-lived Icelandic settlement at Kinmount, Ontario, although thirteen families who had been living in Wisconsin joined them.[9] The clustering by place of origin in Iceland may have been partly destroyed by these moves as friends were wrenched apart and new alliances were made.

A much larger group of about 1200 arrived in 1876, most directly from Iceland. They came in two groups — one loading at Akureyri in north-eastern Iceland and the other at Seydisfjordur on the north-east coast. Although they arrived about nine days apart, the first group remained at Gimli until the second had arrived, then after an exploring trip northward, the settlement of both groups centered on Icelandic River.[10] Some also spread out along the lake shore north of Gimli and along the eastern shore of Hecla Island.

The only part of the reserve for which a detailed study of settlers in the 1870s has been published is Hecla Island, where a survey was conducted in 1878. Of the 48 settlers, two had first arrived in 1875, four came in 1878, and the rest were all part of the 1876 surge. Exactly half of them were from four adjacent *syslur* in west-central Iceland. Among them there were numerous links including immediate family links, people living on the same farm, and people who had lived together the first year in Canada. Another five from other parts of Iceland were similarly linked with the west-central group. The remainder, from scattered locations in Iceland, cannot be shown to have been linked in any way prior to the migration. The evidence for chain migration to Hecla is not overwhelming. However, as predicted by chain migration theory, all four of those arriving on Hecla Island in 1878 came to join friends and relatives already there.[11]

More settlers arrived in New Iceland over the next few years, usually directly from Iceland, but at the same time others were beginning to leave. The settlement survived a smallpox epidemic in 1876 and three winters of near-starvation conditions brought on by poor crops, insufficient animals and the failure of the fishing industry for the first two years, but the troubles continued. High water levels beginning in 1876 and getting worse for the next four years, caused the loss of almost the entire hay crop in some parts of the colony and the starvation of a number of the Icelanders' cattle. At the same time the colony was split by a religious schism and by efforts by one of the ministers to get them all to go to the United States. Some left for North Dakota, some for Winnipeg and a number for the Argyle settlement (Fig. 2). The greatest outmigration to North Dakota occurred from along the lake shore near Gimli whence three-quarters of the population left. The exodus was greatest in 1879 and 1880, but as late as 1882 a dispute over the repayment of a government loan to the colony was preventing those remaining from registering their homesteads. Drier weather, the resolution of the loan dispute and poorer economic conditions in Winnipeg brought some of the outmigrants back to the reserve in the 1880s, but the main source of population growth was the continued immigration of the poorest of the new arrivals from Iceland, most of whom found it easier to be self-sufficient on the reserve where fishing was always available even to the poorest. Many of the new settlers moved on to other Icelandic settlements or to Winnipeg after a short stay on the reserve.[12]



Figs. 3-5. Maps showing the origin in Iceland of settlers in the Gimili colony in 1891. (Cartography: Weldon Hiebert, University of Winnipeg)

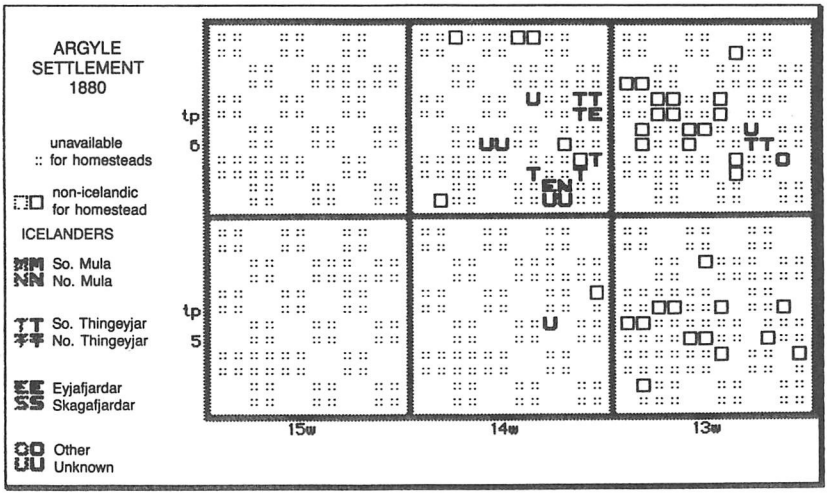
Figs. 3-5 show the origin by *sysla* of those Icelanders present in the reserve in 1891. They demonstrate that, in spite of the vicissitudes of the settlement process, there was much more segregation than Fig. 1 suggested. For example, almost all those from Myrasysla were in two concentrations, those from Gullbringusysla in two different concentrations (Fig. 3). Similarly, those from South and, to a lesser extent North, Mulasysla were heavily concentrated in what is now the Riverton area (Fig. 4). The *syslur* of north-central Iceland, the source of most of the migrants, were represented almost everywhere except on Hecla Island (Fig. 5). The source of settlers on Hecla Island was essentially unchanged from 1878 in spite of a number of outmigrants. Nonetheless, the degree of segregation was modest. This may represent a problem inherent in using the *sysla* as the basis for comparison, but it is more likely that the peculiar settlement history of the reserve disrupted any tendency toward segregation by point of origin.

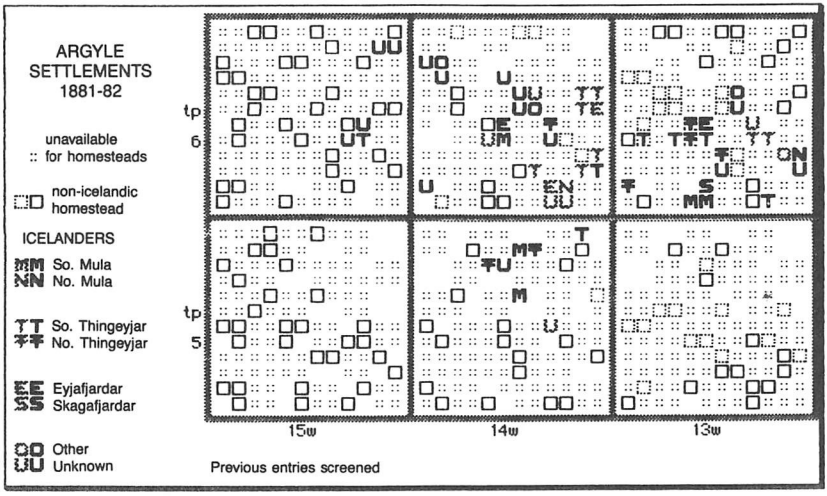
Argyle

The first migration from the Icelandic reserve to other parts of Canada was to what became known as the Argyle settlement, in the Tiger Hills area. The locational decision was somewhat accidental — an Englishman named Everett Parsonage who had worked at Gimli for some time with John Taylor, the Icelandic agent, had moved to Pilot Mound. His letters to Icelandic friends painted a glowing picture of the district, and finally two of them, Sigurdur Kristofersson and Kristjan Jonsson, came to investigate. As Kristjanson described it:

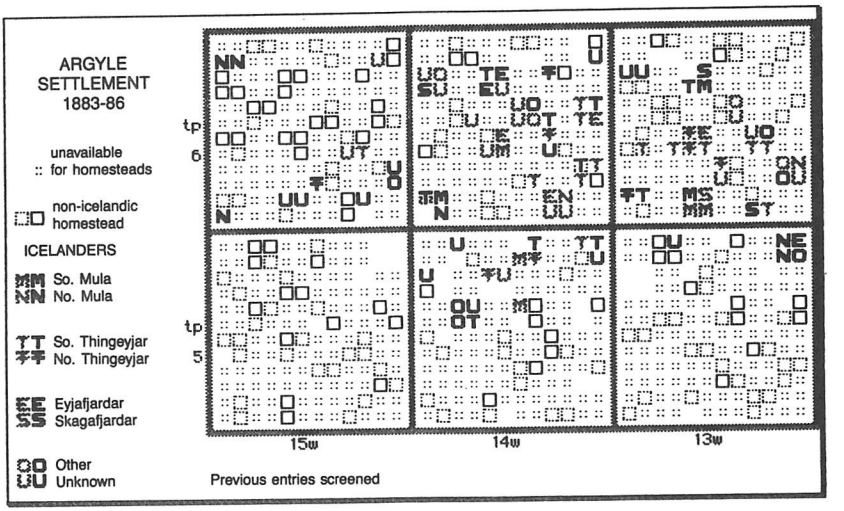
> Parsonage accompanied his friends on a journey of exploration. They travelled north-west about thirty-five miles [then north and west] . . . with the beautiful Tiger Hills on their left, overlooking rich prairie that was a rolling sea of grass . . . Parsonage rode his pony up the slope of the nearest hill, turned around, galloped his horse back, and told his companions he had found Paradise.[13]

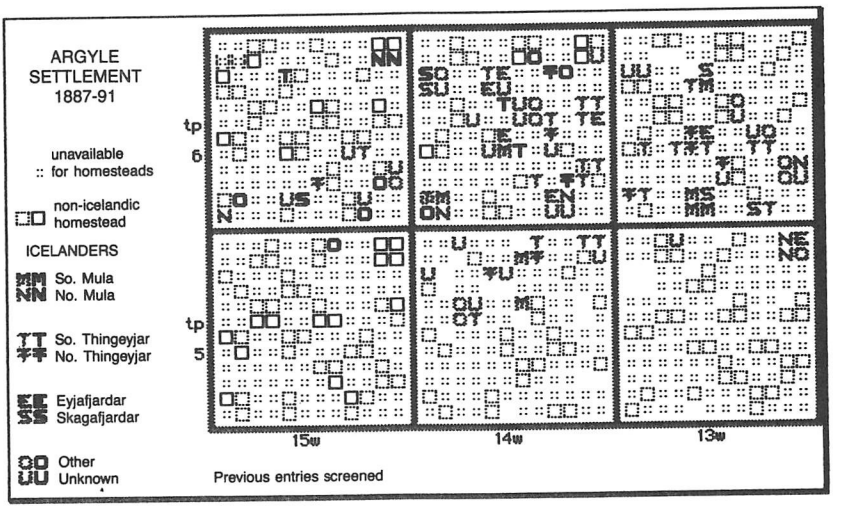
On their return, Skafti Arason and William Taylor "set out from Gimli to explore the Promised Land for their own satisfaction. They selected land for themselves *and others* . . ."[14] On returning to Parsonage's, they met two more Icelanders whom they took to the same area for selection of homesteads. The first settlers generally chose adjacent lands just west of the non-Icelandic settlers, although a small group was isolated to the east. The persistence of locational ties is suggested by the fact that, of the twelve for whom place of origin can be determined, eight were from South Thingejar and three others from the adjacent *syslur* (Fig. 6).





Figs. 6-7. Maps showing settlers in the Argyle Icelandic settlement in 1880 and 1881-82.





Figs. 8-9. Maps showing settlers in the Argyle Icelandic settlement in 1883-86 and 1887-91.

More settlers came during the following years, but the commonality of origin in Iceland was much less clear (Figs. 7-9). The settlers of 1881-2 all took land near existing Icelandic farmsteads, in a few instances taking up land abandoned by non-Icelandic settlers. Thereafter there was very little land available for settlement unless claims were abandoned or land was purchased. As a result, the Icelandic settlement spread westward in 1883-6, as many of the abandoned claims were being taken up by non-Icelanders (Fig. 8). By 1883 there were more Icelanders looking for land in the district and no available homesteads.[15] From 1887 to 1891, few non-Icelanders claimed land in the district, and the Icelanders were able to occupy most abandoned claims and further consolidate the settlement (Fig. 9). According to Kristjanson, the majority were from the Gimli area of the reserve and included many of the Ontario group. Those directly from Iceland were encouraged to come by Sigurdur Christofferson who made several journeys to the island to encourage settlement in Argyle and was nearly jailed there by Icelandic authorities who "did not appreciate his attempts to lure Icelanders from their native land."[16] In spite of this, the final pattern of the settlement in 1891 shows no more evidence of chain migration than was shown on Fig. 1.

Swan Lake

A second settlement within Manitoba occurred in the Swan Lake district, which was really two settlements — Lundar and Shoal Lake. The start of construction of the Hudson Bay railway through the district was probably the impetus to begin the settlement, and in 1886 a group of six people from Winnipeg looked over the area before any land was chosen.

Five of the original investigators chose land in an area centered on what is now Lundar and they were joined by others when they went to take up their land in 1887. More joined them in the next few years, including a number direct from Iceland and some returning from North Dakota. The histories and published recollections of the area give no evidence of chain migration,[17] and mapping the locations of settlers gives no more indication of chain migration than did Fig. 1.

A smaller group in 1887 continued on another fifteen miles to the north-east where they homesteaded. The area had been first examined as a possible settlement site in 1880 by Arason and Taylor before they decided to go to the Argyle district. They had deemed it

unsatisfactory, but it had a luxuriant growth of grass in the dry years of the mid-1880s, and the availability of timber promised great potential. However, although a few more settlers joined them, heavy flooding in 1890 caused them all to move south to the drier land near Shoal Lake. According to Kristjanson:

> The majority of the early settlers in the Shoal Lake district originally came from the western part of Iceland. Prior to their arrival in the . . . district they had been considerably dispersed. Kristjan Sigurdson . . . had made his home in Winnipeg . . . Jacob Crawford . . . had been employed on the steamboats plying the Saskatchewan River . . . Thorstein Hordal arrived at Gimli in 1876. Forced out of New Iceland by the flood of 1880, the family moved to Winnipeg and then to . . . North Dakota. Bjorn Lindal worked on a farm near Toronto, then moved to Minnesota, and to Winnipeg in 1882. Two of the early settlers had arrived in Canada in 1883 and had farmed in New Iceland. One settler came from Yorkton (by wagon) and one from Churchbridge . . . Other settlers came direct from Iceland.[18]

No doubt this reflects the diversity of the American experience of the group, but the 1892 "census" of the area shows only six from western Iceland and ten from northern Iceland. Furthermore, neither Kristjanson nor the account by Skuli Sigfusson, one of the early settlers, makes any specific reference to linkages among the settlers prior to settlement.[19]

Thingvalla

The first Icelandic settlement west of the present Manitoba border was at Thingvalla in Saskatchewan. The first settler was Helgi Johnson, Canadian immigration agent and editor of the Icelandic journal, *Leifur*. He selected the Thingvalla area for Icelandic settlement but was unsuccessful in his attempt to have it reserved for Icelanders. He set up a store at Shellmouth, in Manitoba in 1885, but the next year moved to Langenburg, Saskatchewan, when the latter became the railhead for the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway. In 1885 three other Icelanders entered the area and claimed land. Although one was from Bardarstrandarsysla in the northwest of Iceland, one from Borgarfjardarsysla in the west and another from South Mulasysla in the east, all three had known each other in Winnipeg before coming west. When their families came to join them, they brought another friend, originally from Gullbringusysla in extreme southwest Iceland.[20] The other 16 families who took up homesteads in 1886 included four others from Gullbring and six from adjacent Reykjavik and Arnes who formed the western side of the Thingvalla settlement in 1886 (Fig. 10). A group of four families

from Byjafjardarsysla grouped together on the east, and three families with no known association filled in the rest of the settlement.

In the years 1887-89 most newcomers were from the same areas in Iceland and tended to take up land near those already settled from the same *sysla*. This suggests that they must have had connections in Iceland, particularly as the settlement was expanding in all directions. The four families from Dalasysla on the eastern edge of Thingvalla are exceptional but were as close to the other Dala family as it was possible to get.

Settlement in 1890 included some further infilling of the earlier settlement, representing mostly the homesteading of preemptions abandoned by others. More important was the beginning of the Logberg settlement in township 24, about six miles north beyond an intervening non-Icelandic settlement. All the first Logberg settlers were from northern Iceland, but from scattered parts of the island.

Most of the settlers of 1891 took up land in the Logberg area, largely because of the lack of suitable land further south, with almost all coming from northern Iceland and most from two adjacent *Syslur*. It was from these two *syslur* that the two first settlers in the district came and their positions as community leaders may have sprung from their bringing in friends to the district. According to Joe Martin, most were direct from Iceland or spent some time in Winnipeg before coming to Logberg.[21] Absolute proof of the significance of chain migration could come only if information on the decisions of individual settlers was available, but certainly the pattern that developed can be taken as circumstantial evidence.

Red Deer

The Red Deer settlement, begun in 1888, was largely made up of Icelanders from North Dakota, most of whom had previously lived on the Icelandic reserve. The first settlers were the three Goodmans, originally from North Mula, and with no known connection to the American Icelanders. The latter group were looking for a possible location for a settlement and had sent Sigurdur Bjornson to British Columbia as a scout to look for a site. Returning after an unsuccessful search, he chanced to meet Olafur Goodman in Calgary and was persuaded to set up a colony at Red Deer for his group. Goodman does not appear in the 1891 report and Sigfus, his brother who served as a guide for Bjornson, is not shown as settling until 1890. Their father is shown as occupying land in 1888. Bjornson convinced eleven families and four single men to head out from North Dakota

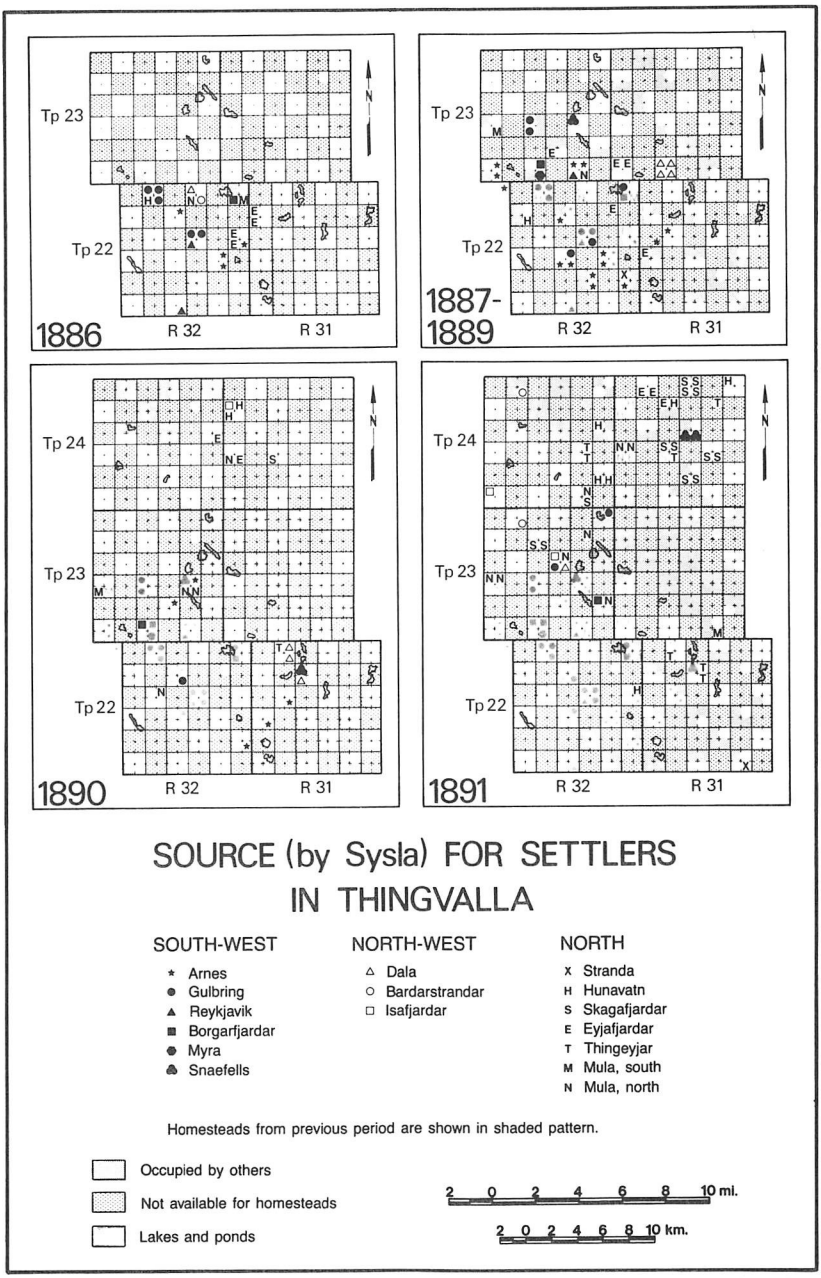


Fig. 10. Maps showing Icelandic settlers in the Thingvalla settlement to 1891. (Cartography: Weldon Hiebert, University of Winnipeg)

to Alberta, and on their way through Winnipeg they were joined by two more families. Several more families from North Dakota joined them the next year. The 1891 report shows the largest group coming in 1891, like the others all from Dakota.[22] They originated from all areas of Iceland, as did the arrivals of 1888 and 1889, but the largest number of each group came from Skagafjardarsysla. In spite of the significance of new friendships in North America and the migration chains thus produced, there is evidence to suggest a continuity of earlier groupings.

Qu'Appelle

The Qu'Appelle Valley settlement was begun almost accidentally in 1887. Frimann Anderson was guiding a group of four Icelanders to the Scandinavian settlement at Stockholm when he met a Scot for whose brother he had worked in Ontario. The Scot persuaded them to take up land originally intended for other Scots who had decided not to come. The first five settlers were all from Isafjardarkansplad in Iceland, but later arrivals were from other parts of Iceland. The Icelandic histories give no explanation of why they chose to join the first group, although it is known that one spent two years in Brandon after coming from Iceland and before joining the colony.[23] The evidence in this case would seem to suggest chain migration did not occur.

Conclusion

The complicated history of Icelandic settlement makes it extremely difficult to determine the significance of linkages between settlers prior to settlement in determining their choice of settlement site. Certainly there was some chain migration, but the transfer of entire groups from one area in Iceland to one area in western Canada did not occur in the settlements present in 1891, unless it had occurred in the first years on the Icelandic Reserve. A few of the manuscript censuses, taken by the local government for all the districts on the Icelandic reserve in 1877, 1878 and 1879, survive. A detailed study of the origins in Iceland, such as that done for Hecla by Nelson Gerrard, is the only way to determine if block transfer did occur then, but a complete census exists only for the Arnes district, a small part of the reserve along the lake shore. Perhaps the complicated history of the Icelandic migration and the desperation of the situation in Iceland combined to cause a less closely linked migration than occurred for other ethnic groups.

Notes

[1] For a comprehensive list of early work in Australasia, see Charles Price, "Immigrants," in A.F. Davis and S. Encel (eds.), *Australian Society: A Sociological Introduction* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1970), p. 188.

[2] John H. Warkentin, "The Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1960); John Lehr, "Kinship and Society: the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West," *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1985), pp. 207-219.

[3] James M. Richtik, "Manitoba Settlement: 1870-1886" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971); Donald Merwin Loveridge, "The Settlement of the Rural Municipality of Sifton 1881-1920" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1977).

[4] Canada, *Sessional Papers* (hereafter, *CSP*). 1892, No. 7, App. 19, pp. 145-170; *CSP*, 1893, No. 13, App. IV, pp. 114-39.

[5] Brian M. Evans, "The Icelandic Background of the Great Migration," *Newsletter of the Prairie Division of the Canadian Association of Geographers*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 20-22.

[6] *CSP*, 1883, No. 14, App. 18, p. 183; *CSP*, 1888, No. 4, App. 15, p. 109; *CSP*, 1889, No. 5, App. 29, p. 128.

[7] Evans, *loc. cit.*; Burke G. Vanderhill and David E. Christensen, "The Settlement of New Iceland," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 53 (1963), pp. 350-63; Walter Jacobson Lindal, *The Icelanders in Canada*, "Canada Ethnica," Vol. II (Winnipeg: National Publishers, 1967), pp. 127-8; Report of Wm. C. Krieger, Icelandic agent, in *CSP*, 1876, No. 8, App. 20, p. 73; A. Begg to Lowe, 25 April, 1874, Public Archives of Canada, Vol. 109, No. 10673; Canada, *Privy Council Order* No. 889, 13 September, 1875; *CSP*, 189, No. 5, App. 29, p. 128.

[8] *CSP*, 1884, No. 14, App. 17, p. 126; *CSP*, 1887. No. 12, App. 23, p. 140; *CSP*, 1889, No. 5, App. 29, p. 129; *CSP*, 1890, No. 6, App. 19, p. 126; *CSP*, 1893, No. 13, App. IV, p. 115.

[9] Lindal, *The Icelanders*, pp. 114-127; Vanderhill and Christensen, "The Settlement of New Iceland," pp. 351-6; John Taylor *et al.* to Alexander Morris, 3 August, 1875, Public Archives of Manitoba, MG12, B1.

[10] W. Kristjanson, *The Icelandic People in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Wallingford Press), 1974, p. 46; Anna Marteinsson, "The Large Group Comes to New Iceland, 1876," *The Icelandic Canadian*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (1976), pp. 8-11.

[11] Nelson Gerrard, "Settlers in Mikley (Hecla Island) 1878," *The Icelandic Canadian*, Vo. XXXVIII, No. 1, pp. 7-13; No. 2, pp. 22-27; No. 3, pp. 15-18; Vol. XXIX, No. 2, pp. 23-27.

[12] Kristjanson, *The Icelanders in Manitoba*, pp. 127-9, 142-5; Vanderhill and Christensen, "The Settlement of New Iceland," pp. 356-9; *CSP*, 1880, No. 10, App. 14, p. 78; *CSP*, 1881, No. 12, App. 12, pp. 60-61.

[13] Kristjanson, pp. 133-4.

[14] *Ibid.*, italics added.

[15] *CSP*, 1883, No. 14, App. 18, p. 183; Alfred Andrews to John A. Macdonald, 11 September, 1883, Public Archives of Canada, RG15, Vol. 307, No. 65816.

[16] Penny Ham, "Icelanders share Westman past," *Fostudagur* (Winnipeg), Vol. III (December, 1982), p. 6; Kristjanson, *The Icelanders in Manitoba*, pp. 128-39.

[17] Kristjanson, *The Icelanders in Manitoba*, pp. 302-07; Paul Reydal, "Lundar District from 1887 to 1947," *Lundar Diamond Jubilee* (Lundar, 1948), pp. 14-17.

[18] Kristjanson, *The Icelanders in Manitoba*, p. 305.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 304-5; Skuli Sigfusson, "The Shoal Lake District from 1887 to 1947," *Lundar Diamond Jubilee* (Lundar, 1948), pp. 26-8.

[20] Walter Jacobson Lindal, *The Saskatchewan Icelanders: A Strand of the Canadian Fabric* (Winnipeg: pub. by the author, 1955), pp. 82-3; Lindal, *The Icelanders in Canada*, pp. 182-5; *CSP*, 1887, No. 12, App. 23, p. 144.

[21] Joe Martin, "Aspects of Icelandic Settlement on the Canadian Prairie," paper delivered to Manitoba Historical Society, November 18, 1980.

[22] Howard Palmer, "Escape from the Great Plains: The Icelanders in North Dakota and Alberta," *Great Plains Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Fall, 1983) pp. 223-4; Lindal, *Icelanders in Canada*, pp. 191-93.

[23] Lindal, *Saskatchewan Icelanders*, pp. 107-111.

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Figure 1, prepared by Brian M. Evans, University of Winnipeg, first published in the *Newsletter* of the Prairie Division of the Canadian Association of Geographers, edited by James M. Richtik, University of Winnipeg.

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Scandinavian Settlements in Saskatchewan:

Migration History and Changing Ethnocultural Identity

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This paper describes the historical development of Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic, Danish and Finnish settlements in Saskatchewan from 1885 to 1910, as well as the contemporary demographic distribution of people claiming Scandinavian or Finnish origin.

Focussing on two large, primarily Norwegian settlements around Birch Hills and Shellbrook, in the north-central region, the paper summarizes data gathered in a survey on ethnic identity retention.

MIGRATION HISTORY

Historical Development of Scandinavian Settlements in Saskatchewan

There are approximately 50-60 thousand people in Saskatchewan today who claim Scandinavian or Finnish origin, including between 22-36 thousand of Norwegian origin, 10-15 thousand Swedish, 3-6 thousand Danish, 2-3 thousand Icelandic, and almost 2 thousand Finnish.[1]

Beginning in the mid-1880's, by 1910 they or their predecessors had founded a dozen primarily Norwegian settlements, half a dozen smaller Swedish settlements, three Icelandic, one Danish and a couple of Finnish settlements.

During the latter nineteenth century, large areas of Minnesota and the Dakotas became compact bloc settlements of Scandinavians, even more highly organized than their German counterparts towards the preservation of ethnic identity; by 1890 close to 20,000 Norwegian immigrants had settled in South Dakota alone.[2] Relatively few Scandinavians had immigrated as yet into Saskatchewan,

but this situation was soon expected to change markedly; already numerous Scandinavian settlers in the midwestern states were contemplating resettlement in Canada.[3] So, despite relatively little active encouragement of emigration in Scandinavia by the Canadian government, the number of people of Scandinavian origin resident in Saskatchewan leapt from only 1,452 in 1901 to 33,991 in 1911.[4] During that decade large areas of the province were settled by people of Scandinavian (mostly Norwegian) origin, thus adding to the compact bloc settlements which had already been established by Swedes in 1885 and 1889, Icelanders in 1886-93, and Finns in 1887.

Norwegian Settlements

It seems rather arbitrary attempting to determine the chronological sequence in which Norwegian settlements were founded in Saskatchewan. The Birch Hills settlement was probably the earliest, as it began to develop as early as 1894; however the first Norwegian Lutheran congregation was established at Hanley in 1903, followed almost immediately by congregations near Langham and Birch Hills. In the meantime, other Norwegian settlements had started to develop; virtually all of the Norwegian settlements in the province had come into existence by 1910. It is expedient, therefore, to briefly describe their historical development and contemporary extent in geographical rather than strictly chronological sequence.

Around the turn of the century large numbers of Norwegians had migrated northwards across the international frontier from earlier settlements they had established in Minnesota, North and South Dakota and Montana. Many settled in areas just north of the border. In the southeastern frontier area at least six Norwegian Lutheran congregations were established.[5] Today Norwegian Canadians form a substantial proportion in most of the rural municipalities along the border as well as in a corridor extending northwest from Estevan through Weyburn.[6] They constitute between half and a quarter of the population of eight communities and a substantial proportion (but less than a quarter) in another eight communities.[7] But in certain rural districts and unincorporated hamlets, Norwegians predominate.[8] Altogether there are at least four thousand people of Scandinavian (mostly Norwegian) origin in these communities and rural municipalities today.

Further west along the frontier, many Norwegian Americans spread northward across the border from neighbouring Norwegian settlements in Montana into the south-central frontier region, ex-

tending from the border northwards through the Big Muddy Badlands and Wood Mountain into the Cactus Hills. At least four early Norwegian Lutheran congregations were founded.[9] Today some 1,400 Scandinavians are scattered through eight rural municipalities and a dozen incorporated communities in this region. However they form a majority only in two of the smallest communities[10]; in the other communities and in the rural municipalities, they never form more than 15-20% of the population. Again, specific rural districts were settled originally by Norwegians, such as Norge and Lillestrom.

While there are fewer Norwegians (about 800) in the southwest frontier region, south of Cypress Hills, they formed a well-defined settlement in this region in 1909-10. Immigrating from Climax, Minnesota, they settled in and around Climax, Frontier, and Robsart and established Norwegian Lutheran congregations in these villages as well as in Shaunavon.[11] A continuous area of Norwegian concentration extends south into the adjacent Norheim and Hogeland districts in Montana.

A small concentration of Norwegians from North Dakota settled in the Simmie-Illerbrun area some sixty kilometres to the north in 1906, establishing a Norwegian Lutheran congregation at Simmie. Today their descendents in the area number about 700, inclusive of a small minority in the nearby town of Gull Lake.

A considerable number of Norwegians concentrated quite heavily in the region immediately to the northwest and north of the city of Swift Current around 1906-8. Six early Norwegian Lutheran congregations were established.[12] Today they do not form a majority in any incorporated community or rural municipality in this region.[13] In smaller, unincorporated hamlets and rural districts, however, they predominate.[14]

One of the largest primarily Norwegian settlements in Saskatchewan had begun to develop in the central region around Outlook and Hanley by 1903-6. Many of the original settlers came immediately from largely Norwegian communities in the U.S., e.g., Veblen and Langford, South Dakota, Northwood, North Dakota and Hanley Falls, Minnesota. Yet many had been born in Norway (and some even arrived directly from Norway, e.g., Gjovik, Valdres, Stavanger, Hardanger, Lofoten, Gudbrandsdal, etc.). The first Norwegian Lutheran congregation in Saskatchewan was founded at Hanley in 1903; several other early congregations "in town" were soon established.[15] But most Norwegian Lutheran churches tended to become

focal-points for compact, solidly Norwegian districts out in the country.[16] In fact, Scandinavian people do not comprise a majority in any community in the general region.[17] Yet close to 3,000 people of Scandinavian origin live in this region, hence this is one of the largest concentrations of Norwegian population in Saskatchewan. Outlook has the largest number of people of Scandinavian descent for any essentially rural community in the province (with the possible exception of Melfort, which is almost triple the size of Outlook), and is the home of a Lutheran college with a strong Norwegian tradition.

A very small concentration of Norwegians developed in the area between Langham, Vanscoy and Delisle, about sixty kilometres north of Outlook and immediately west of Saskatoon. The Norwegian Lutheran congregation founded near Langham in 1903 was one of the oldest in the province. Today only about 300 people of Scandinavian origin remain in the area.

A string of five primarily Norwegian settlements (but with substantial Swedish proportions in some communities and districts) weaves its way across the north and east-central Saskatchewan prairies from the Prince Albert region all the way to the Manitoba border. Today we may estimate that almost ten thousand people of Scandinavian origin live in these five settlements.

A large Scandinavian settlement around Shellbrook, west of Prince Albert, began to develop by 1904. The Parkside area southwest of Shellbrook was settled by people of both Swedish and Norwegian origin who had immigrated via the midwestern states, as well as immigrants directly from Sweden and Norway. Canwood, northwest of Shellbrook, became the focal-point of a large area settled by people of diverse Scandinavian origins — chiefly Swedish and Norwegian, but also some Danish. The Ordale area, between Parkside and Canwood, due west of Shellbrook, was settled primarily by people of Norwegian origin related to those at Hagen in the Birch Hills settlement. Early Norwegian Lutheran congregations were established at Parkside, Shell Lake and Shellbrook. In 1971 there were at least 1,500 people of Scandinavian origin within the settlement.[18]

Some thirty kilometres southeast of Prince Albert, the Birch Hills settlement was probably the earliest, and remained the best-defined, primarily Norwegian settlement in Saskatchewan. The Glen Mary district near the town of Birch Hills was first settled by Norwegian immigrants as early as 1894. In 1903 Rev. H.O. Holm, home mission superintendent of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church, travelled

through parts of Saskatchewan to determine the need for home mission work among the Norwegian settlers. Four days after he had organized the first Norwegian congregation in the province at Hanley (in the Outlook settlement), he founded the "Norden Skandianviske Lutherske Kirke" at Glen Mary. Later that same year Pastor S.H. Njaa was sent from Hanley Falls, Minnesota, to Hanley, Saskatchewan, by a church board which had met at Canton, South Dakota; then he was located in the Birch Hills settlement due to its being longer (nine years) and more heavily settled by Scandinavians than Hanley.[19] Fairly close contact seems to have been maintained between the various settlements within the province, between them and similar ones in the midwestern states, and between them and certain areas in Scandinavia. It was largely through these contacts that the settlement around Birch Hills grew, as more and more people of Scandinavian origin migrated to this settlement from other Scandinavian areas in the province, from the American settlements, and from Scandinavia itself. Today the Birch Hills settlement, together with an adjacent Swedish settlement north of Melfort, includes about 3,300 people of Scandinavian origin.[20] While Scandinavian people do not predominate in any town or incorporated village in the settlement region, they do form a very high proportion (over 90%) in many smaller communities and rural districts. The Hagen area west of Birch Hills, for example, is virtually completely Norwegian, as are the districts of Queen Maud, Prestfoss, Viking, Norden, etc., north of Weldon.

About fifty kilometres south of Melfort, another Norwegian settlement developed around Naicam. Immanuel Norwegian Lutheran Congregation, founded at Naicam in 1910, held all of its services exclusively in Norwegian during early years (as did most, if not all, Norwegian Lutheran congregations), and has long held a Norwegian Christmas service. Virtually all pastors who have served this congregation, as well as the Dovre Congregation, founded near Spalding in 1919 (later moved into the village), have been Norwegian (as in many other Norwegian Lutheran congregations in rural districts in Saskatchewan). A bilingual sign in Norwegian and English welcomes visitors to Naicam. The Scandinavian proportion is only 31.8% in Naicam, 25.7% in Spalding, yet surrounding rural districts tend to be quite heavily Norwegian, as early placenames suggested: Dovre, Norwegian Grove. Today an estimated thousand Scandinavians live in this settlement.

It is difficult to determine when one Norwegian settlement dwindles and the next begins. Apart from a small pocket of French-Canadians in the St-Front parish to the east of Naicam and Spalding, Scandinavian settlement continues eastward fifty kilometres into the Rose Valley area. However, Ukrainians outnumber Scandinavians in the village of Rose Valley, where people of Scandinavian origin comprise slightly over a quarter of the community population. To the south, only one in five residents in Fosston is Scandinavian; many Poles settled in this community. But the next village, Hendon, is largely Swedish and Norwegian, and Swedes, Norwegians and Icelanders comprise a substantial proportion of the town of Wadena. To the north of Rose Valley, Scandinavian people concentrated around Nora and Archerwill; the Dahlton district is largely Scandinavian. Further to the north Scandinavians settled around Chagoness, Bjorkdale, and Stenen. Early Norwegian Lutheran congregations were founded at Nora, Rose Valley, Hendon and Wadena.

Norwegian settlement continued eastward past Kelvington (13.6% Scandinavian) into the areas around Margo, Ketchen, Preeceville, Sturgis, and Norquay. Early Norwegian Lutheran congregations included Margo, Poplar Grove at Ketchen (1918), and North Prairie at Preeceville (1908); again, virtually all pastors for decades have been Norwegian. An estimated 2,400 people of Scandinavian descent live in this region. While they constitute relatively low proportions in the principal communities, they form higher proportions in the surrounding rural areas.[21]

Other isolated Norwegian Lutheran congregations included Carrot River, far to the north, and Melville, to the south.

Swedish Settlements

There is little doubt that the oldest Scandinavian settlement in Saskatchewan was the New Stockholm Colony, developed between 1885-1887, immediately to the west of the large Hungarian colony around Esterhazy in southeastern Saskatchewan. In the village of Stockholm, Swedes now form only 10% of the population and are outnumbered four to one by the Hungarians. In fact the neighbouring smaller village of Dubuc (to the west) actually has a higher Swedish proportion (20.7%). The Swedish Lutheran congregation at Stockholm was the earliest Scandinavian Lutheran Church in Saskatchewan. Later a Norwegian Lutheran congregation was established at Atwater, the closest village to the north. Approximately 400 Scan-

dinavians still live in this settlement, if we include those who moved into the large town of Esterhazy.

Another Swedish colony was soon founded in 1889 at Percival, just east of Broadview and 35 kilometres south of Stockholm. Not more than 500 Scandinavians are found today in the Percival-Broadview area. Eighty kilometres to the east, down the Trans-Canada Highway, is the small village of Kirkella, Manitoba; up to 200 Swedish people reside in the Kirkella area, extending across the provincial boundary to Fleming and the Rotave district in Saskatchewan.

Perhaps the largest primarily Swedish settlement in Saskatchewan is the Admiral area, east of Shaunavon in the southwestern region. Scandinavians (mostly Swedes) comprise exactly half of the population in the village of Admiral. Swedish settlement extended westward to the town of Shaunavon (which also had a substantial Norwegian element and a Norwegian Lutheran congregation), southward into the Sordahl district and northward towards Simmie (where Norwegians concentrated). Some 600 Scandinavian people live in this settlement today.

A number of small Swedish concentrations could be noted such as the Lunnar Swedish Lutheran congregation (closed in 1968) in the Fairy Hill district near Earl Grey, northeast of Regina (Norwegian Lutheran congregations were also established nearby at Earl Grey and Southey); also around Kindersley (again, with Norwegians who had congregations at Kindersley and Marengo). Many Swedes settled within or adjacent to several predominantly Norwegian settlements, such as at Canwood and Parkside, Melfort and the Fairy Glen district, Wadena and Hendon, or in the Outlook settlement.

Icelandic Settlements

In 1872, some 300 Icelanders immigrated to western Canada to found the New Iceland colony along the west shore of Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba. They declared their colony an independent republic in 1878, with its own constitution, laws and government, and Icelandic as the only official language; it lasted almost a decade before the Canadian government abolished it in 1887. In the meantime Icelandic settlers continued to move westward, eventually establishing a series of colonies across the prairies as far west as Alberta.

The first Icelandic colony to develop in Saskatchewan was the Thingvalla and Logberg colony in the Concordia district between Churchbridge and Calder, just across the border from Manitoba, in

1886. Today Churchbridge is less than 10% Scandinavian, but there are an estimated 400 Scandinavians (mostly Icelanders) in the immediate area.

A second colony, Valar and Holar, soon developed about 40 kilometres south of Churchbridge, outside of Tantallon and Spy Hill, in 1887. Few Scandinavians live in these neighbouring villages (although a Norwegian Lutheran congregation came into existence in Spy Hill), but there are an estimated 300 people of Scandinavian origin in the immediate area.

Those initial colonies have always remained very small, but a large Icelandic settlement grew in the Quill Lakes region in central Saskatchewan after 1891. None of the three main towns in the region (Wynyard, Wadena, Foam Lake) are predominantly Scandinavian today; in all three towns people of British or Ukrainian origin outnumber people of Icelandic and other Scandinavian origins.[22] Icelanders and other Scandinavians form little more than a third of the residents in the incorporated village of Elfros, perhaps a higher proportion in the neighbouring unincorporated village of Mozart. Yet Icelanders, preferring the family farm, settled heavily in many rural districts around these communities.[23] This is by far the largest Icelandic colony in Saskatchewan, with an estimated 2,000 Scandinavians (mostly Icelanders) in the region.

Danish Settlements

Most Danes, unlike other Scandinavians, concentrated in cities, particularly Saskatoon, where they pioneered the Saskatoon Scandinavian Club. Small numbers or individual families settled among other Scandinavians in several rural settlements, or in mixed areas where they were not sufficiently numerous to constitute a settlement of their own. Only a single, small Danish settlement came into existence in Saskatchewan: the Redvers area in the southeastern corner, where Danish families settled around 1910 and formed the Dannevirke Danish Lutheran congregation in 1923. Today the town of Redvers is slightly over 10% Scandinavian, as is the surrounding Antler R.M.; altogether there could be little more than 200 Scandinavians (mostly Danes) in the area.

Finnish Settlements

Three isolated rural areas may be discerned where Finns have concentrated. The New Finland colony was founded by a small

number of "Church Finns" affiliated with the Suomi (Finnish) Lutheran Synod in 1887 in the backcountry Clayridge district northeast of Whitewood in southeast Saskatchewan. Today they number less than a hundred.

In 1910 more Finns arrived from earlier Canadian and American colonies to settle in a second backcountry district, Rock Point, about forty kilometres southwest of Outlook in central Saskatchewan. This settlement was divided between the fundamentalist Laestadian sect, concentrated in the Rock Point district to the east, and leftist "Red Finns," concentrated in the King George district to the west. Today an estimated 300-400 Finns remain in the settlement, and retain a strong sense of Finnish identity, evidenced in many folk traditions.

Finns from this latter settlement gradually began to obtain summer cottage property in the Turtle Lake area, northwest of North Battleford. Some eventually settled here on a more permanent basis, so that now there may be as many as 300-400 Finns and Scandinavians in the area, in resort colonies around the lakes and in the nearby communities of Turtleford and Mervin.

Demographic Summary

From the foregoing description of the historical development and present extent of Scandinavian and Finnish settlements, we can conclude that almost two-thirds of the people of Norwegian origin in the province still live in settlement areas where they form a substantial proportion of the total population; the remaining third live in more mixed areas and in cities. On the other hand, only a very small proportion of the people of Swedish origin live in Swedish settlements, unless we consider communities and districts where Swedes have mixed with, or settled adjacent to, Norwegians. While far less numerous, almost all people of Icelandic origin still reside in Icelandic settlements. Yet hardly any Danes live in what could be called a Danish settlement. And about half of the Finns still live in compact Finnish colonies.

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE

Historical Background

Many writers would have us believe that the Scandinavian group was rapidly assimilated into general Canadian society. While

Hawkes was generally of this opinion in 1924, he remarked that in the case of the Swedish settlement around New Stockholm, "it looks rather as if the Swedes are assimilating us" rather than vice-versa.[24] The same situation might have prevailed in other Scandinavian bloc settlements, accounting for a fairly tradition-oriented attitude. But this could hardly be viewed as exceptional, at least in the earlier years of settlement, considering that a high proportion of Scandinavians, like other ethnic groups, settled in fairly well-defined bloc settlements. Moreover, by 1926 a considerable proportion of them still had not adopted Canadian citizenship (even though many of them came after first settling in the United States): 58% of the foreign-born Danes, 19% of the Norwegians, 25% of the Swedes, and 11% of the Icelanders.[25] Of course, preservation of a Scandinavian identity was never regarded as incompatible with Canadian citizenship. While Scandinavian-Canadians were noted for their contribution during the World Wars, it must be remembered that they were neither from countries hostile to Britain and Canada (as was the case for immigrants from Germany or Austria-Hungary), nor were they pacifists (as were the Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors). Thus, their contribution to the Canadian cause and the Scandinavian one was not incompatible.[26] Nor did the British-Canadian population in Saskatchewan tend to view Scandinavian immigrants as "unassimilable." In fact, even the Ku Klux Klan, which drew some support from Scandinavian settlers, suggested that "trained" Scandinavian immigrants should be allowed to settle on the land.[27]

The Contemporary Situation

Have decades of de-emphasizing Scandinavian identity, particularly in the school system, but also in the local prairie community (where Scandinavians seldom predominated), and through intermarriage, brought about significant differences between generations in attitudes towards ethnic identity?

Between 1968 and 1972, an extensive survey on ethnic identity preservation or loss was conducted by the present author in the north-central region of Saskatchewan. Focussing on two large, primarily Norwegian settlements around Birch Hills and Shellbrook, data were gathered on attitudes toward ethnic identity retention, language preference, religion, folk customs, institutions (schools, voluntary associations, and periodicals), as well as intermarriage. A sample of eighty-six respondents were interviewed in and around the communities of Hagen, Birch Hills, and Weldon in the Birch

Hills settlement and Canwood, Ordale and Parkside in the Shellbrook settlement.[28]

We learned from this survey in the sample as a whole, 16.3% strongly favoured the retention of Scandinavian identity, compared to 58.1% who were more or less in favour, and 25.6% who expressed their indifference; no cases of actual opposition were found. However, we further found that 74.4% believed that there had been a major loss from generation to generation, while the remaining 25.6% noted a minor loss. All of the first (immigrant) generation respondents (15.1% of the total sample) stressed their ethnic identity, compared to 79.4% of the respondents in the second generation (39.5% of the sample), and only 61.9% of those in the third generation (45.3% of the sample). Still, it is interesting to note that a majority in the third generation continue to take an interest in their Scandinavian ethnicity.

In striking contrast to some other ethnic groups, Scandinavian Canadians have tended to feel that it is possible to maintain a general interest in the "Scandinavian connection" without maintaining an ability to speak a Scandinavian language. The proportion of Scandinavian-origin population in Saskatchewan claiming an ability to speak a Scandinavian language declined from 59% in 1941 to 40% in 1951, 28% in 1961 and 20% in 1971; by 1971 hardly 1% actually used such a language as the primary language spoken in the home. The rate of decline was even more drastic in the north-central region, where our detailed survey was conducted: from 78% in 1941 to 48% in 1951, 35% in 1961 and 27% in 1971. Many, if not most of the original Scandinavian settlers in this province had formerly lived in the United States (for periods of time ranging from a few years to a couple of generations), so a considerable proportion probably had already considered English to be their primary language before immigrating to Canada (note that "first generation" was defined in our survey as the generation which immigrated into North America, not just into Canada). If the fifties was a decisive decade of linguistic change among Scandinavians in Saskatchewan, it could be noted that ethnic language loss during that decade was actually occurring more rapidly among the Scandinavian rural farm population (from 43% in 1951 to 30% in 1961) than among the rural non-farm (36% to 32%) or urban (29% to 24%). In 1971 a higher proportion of Scandinavians in rural areas (23% for rural farm population and 25% for rural non-farm) than in urban areas (17%) could still speak a Scandinavian language. A far higher proportion of older people than younger

retained this ability: 67% of the 65 and over group, compared to 38% of the 45-64 group, 16% of the 35-44 group, 6.5% of the 20-34 group, 3.9% of the 19-19 group and 2.1% of the 1-9 group.

Nonetheless, our survey results indicated that a very high proportion (89.5%) of respondents claimed at least some familiarity with a Scandinavian language, although relatively few (37.2%) actually used this language. To be more specific, 25.6% preferred to use their Scandinavian language both at home and out in the local community; 11.6% preferred this language at home, but English out in the community; 52.3% preferred English in both contexts yet were familiar with a Scandinavian language; and 10.5% could speak only English. The most interesting finding, however, was that there has been a drastic decline in the proportion preferring to speak a Scandinavian language (primarily or exclusively) with each succeeding generation: from 92.3% in the first to 55.9% in the second and only 2.6% in the third.

It is questionable to what extent those findings are representative of the Scandinavian population as a whole in Saskatchewan. Certainly sharp distinctions could be drawn between people of Scandinavian origin living in urban areas compared to those living in homogeneous rural settlements, also between people completely of Scandinavian origin compared to people of mixed parentage. In the extensive Scandinavian (primarily Norwegian) settlement between Hanley and Outlook, for example, Norwegian is rarely spoken at home, even among the older generation in homogeneous families, although this generation can speak Norwegian fluently, claiming they "have no trouble at all" when visiting Norway. Norwegian conversation in the community is limited to only the occasional expression. The second generation is less familiar with the language, the third hardly at all.

Finally, it may seem pertinent to question whether any differences might exist between the Scandinavian/Finnish groups in propensity to maintain fluency in the traditional ethnic language. Indeed, such is the case. At least a major contrast can be drawn between the Scandinavian groups, on the one hand, and the Finns, on the other. There is little contrast between the four Scandinavian groups. Out of 36 thousand people of Norwegian descent living in Saskatchewan in 1971, 6,800 (18.9%) claimed that they speak Norwegian as their mother tongue, compared to 3,400 out of 15 thousand Swedes (23.5%) speaking Swedish, 1,300 out of about five thousand Danes (24.6%) speaking Danish, and 840 out of some three thousand

Icelanders (27.1%) speaking Icelandic. Whereas 745 (43.2%) of the 1,700 Finns speak Finnish (1971 census data).

RELIGION

Historical Perspective

While many of the Lutheran parishes in rural Saskatchewan may be classified as ethnic parishes of a general denomination today, for several decades they were all in ethnic sub-denominations patterned after national churches in Scandinavia and Germany. During this early period the ethnic nature of each sub-denomination was very evident.[29] Where Lutherans of various Scandinavian origins settled in one area, Norwegians, Swedes and Danes each organized their own congregations.[30] Backed by affiliated bodies in the mother countries or bloc settlements in the American midwestern states, the Scandinavian and German Lutheran churches tended to support bloc settlement isolationism, ethnic traditionalism, and religious conservativism.[31]

These sub-denominations have been consolidated into more general Lutheran organizations since the 1940s.[32] But at the individual congregation level, many Lutheran churches, especially those in rural areas, remain non-juridical ethnic parishes. Even within the large Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, the pastors serving parishes where most of the congregation are of Scandinavian origin tend to be of Scandinavian origin themselves, while those serving the German-oriented parishes tend to be of German origin.[33] Services in almost all parishes, however, are invariably conducted in the English language, though on occasion they may be conducted in a Scandinavian language or German. And this church's junior colleges at Outlook, Saskatchewan, and Camrose, Alberta, both in the centres of large Scandinavian bloc settlements, remained mindful of their Norwegian heritage, flying the Norwegian flag on occasion and celebrating a traditional Norwegian holiday.

We should note, on the other hand, that an increasing proportion of people of Scandinavian origin are not Lutherans but converts to various evangelical sects.[34] In fact, the proportion of Scandinavian people in Saskatchewan who are Lutherans has steadily declined: from over two-thirds (67.1%) back in 1941 to little over half (56.2%) by 1951, less than half (45.3%) by 1961 and only four in ten (40.4%) by 1971.

Even in the solidly Scandinavian settlements where our detailed survey was conducted, Lutherans have long been less numerous than people of Scandinavian origin. For example, in Canwood, Scandinavians made up 42% of the community in 1961, while Lutherans constituted only 29.8% in 1951; Parkside was 48% Scandinavian, yet 23.1% Lutheran; Weldon 50% Scandinavian, yet 42.6% Lutheran.

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Religion

If our survey data clearly indicated generation differences among Scandinavian respondents in emphasis on ethnicity and in preference for a Scandinavian language as opposed to English, generation differences were not noticeable when religion was considered. A very high proportion (87.2%) of respondents reported attending a Lutheran church "as regularly as possible" (usually every Sunday), compared to 8.1% who attended "sometimes" or "usually, but not always", and 4.7% who attended "rarely" not a single respondent reported never attending. By generation, 69.2% of the first generation reported regular attendance, compared to 82.4% of the second and 97.4% of the third! Thus our hypothesis that regularity of attendance would decline with each new generation seemed to be reversed.

CUSTOMS

Scandinavian-origin people in Saskatchewan tend to be familiar with a wide variety of Scandinavian folk traditions, particularly foods, but also performing arts, decor, clothing, etc.

In the solidly Norwegian rural districts, numerous types of typically Norwegian baking are occasionally prepared, such as at Christmastime. Other Scandinavian foods may include *flatbröd* (readily available in city supermarkets), various soups and porridges (notably *römmegröt*, fruit soup, and fish chowder), as well as *lutefisk*, and other fish or meat dishes.

Such traditional foods are prepared primarily by older women, although it is not all that uncommon to find second and even third generation women preparing them. It should be stressed, however, that many of these foods are prepared only on special occasions back in Scandinavia; consequently they become even rarer in Scandinavian homes in Canada. On the other hand, some traditional Scandinavian foods have become accepted in ethnically mixed communities and are not necessarily recognized as Scandinavian. For example,

Lutheran Ladies Aids regularly serve Scandinavian-style or smörgåsbords (which are simply equated with "pot luck" suppers).

As for other customs, perhaps Scandinavian Canadians have been slower than many other ethnic groups in Canada to go in for performing arts — folk dancing, musical ensembles — although some evidence of such activity can be found in the prairie provinces (such as the annual Islendingadagurinn or Icelandic Day in Gimli, Manitoba, or participation by Scandinavian groups in folk festivals in all five major cities).

Interior home decor cannot be underestimated. While less common in Scandinavian homes in Saskatchewan than in Scandinavia, it is not uncommon to find Scandinavian miniature flags, embroidery and tapestries, tablerunners, and artifacts in Scandinavian Canadian homes in this province. While some weaving may still be practiced, most of this decor is brought or imported directly from Scandinavia, as is traditional clothing, or complete folk dress (such as the women's *bunad*). In Scandinavia, full folk costume is worn only on special occasions such as national days, baptisms, weddings, confirmations or family gatherings (usually by older women, hardly ever by men). In Canada such full dress is restricted to folk performances and festivals. Finally, it should be stressed that visits "home" to Scandinavia seem to be very common, particularly for the older generation, but also not uncommon for the younger; families may "return" every two or three years, sometimes even every year, or exchange visits with relatives in Scandinavia.

INSTITUTIONS

Schools

When the Martin government outlawed foreign-language teaching during school hours in 1919, there were few schools in Scandinavian settlements in Saskatchewan to which the legislation could apply.[35]

Three reasons may be singled out as accounting for the relative lack of interest in teaching Scandinavian languages. First, because of a high standard of education in Scandinavia, the immigrants were already literate in their traditional languages and well prepared to adjust to English. Second, many of the people of Scandinavian origin who settled in Saskatchewan had already settled in the United

States long enough to have become familiar with the English language.[36] Third, like other minorities, the Scandinavians were under considerable pressure to conform to the British group. As one 1918 letter to Martin from Shellbrook put it, "while recognizing that every person has a right to use his mother tongue . . . the only way we can bring up the rising generation to be loyal citizens is to inculcate in them from their earliest years a thorough knowledge of the English language." And the same year the Town Council of Hanley passed resolutions suggesting that over two hundred schools were "needlessly teaching foreign languages," that this was "detrimental to the national interest", that all instruction and texts must be in English, that "intentions to wean the people from Canadian ideals, to divide the national interest and national sympathy" must be resisted, and that "qualified teachers who are British subjects" should be required.[37]

The Scandinavians never really made much of an attempt to control the schools or to use their languages in the schools, perhaps largely due to their relatively high literacy and ready adjustment to English, to their interim residence in American states for a sufficient amount of time to allow their having already learned English there, and to their apparent acceptance of Anglo-conformity.

Voluntary Associations

The Scandinavian voluntary associations in Saskatchewan have clearly undergone a steady transformation from an orientation toward the ethnic group to one toward the general society. They still are, for the most part, centred on Lutheran congregations. For example, among Norwegian Lutherans the Kwende-Forening, a ladies club, quickly became the Ladies Aid,[38] and the Ungdoms Forening, a yound peoples' association, became the Young People's Luther League. Other youth groups were directly descended from similar ones in Scandinavia, such as the Little Children of the Reformation, the Lutheran Daughters of the Reformation, and Dorcas Girl's Society. It has become unusual to hear choirs in these churches sing the occasional song in Norwegian, and services in Norwegian (even partially) are now rarely held.

The Norwegian Lutheran Outlook College of 1911 became the Saskatchewan Lutheran Bible Institute in 1938; the Saskatchewan Norwegian Lutheran Association of 1911 disappeared with church mergers; and the Norwegian Lutheran Church Seminary at Saskatoon of 1937 is now the Lutheran Theological Seminary of the Uni-

versity of Saskatchewan. Moreover, the closure of the rural schoolhouses, which were also focal points for Scandinavian activities in bloc settlements, during the past couple of decades went far in lessening the significance of Scandinavian ethnic identification. When people of Scandinavian origin had immigrated into Saskatchewan from their bloc settlements in the American midwestern states, they had brought with them their associations, notably the Sons of Norway Lodges (since 1906), the "Bygdelag" associations of immigrants from the same region in Norway — particularly the "Tronderlaget" and "Opdalslaget," the Norwegian Singers' Association (since 1891) consisting of "sangføreninger" (choral societies), similar Swedish societies, and the Danish Brotherhood and Sisterhood (since 1882). Though most of these organizations are no longer found in Saskatchewan, there is a very large Scandinavian Club, as well as a Norwegian Cultural Society and Sons of Norway Chapter in Saskatoon.[39]

The Scandinavian Language Press

Doubtless, the Scandinavian group has been one of the least organized ethnic groups in the province with reference to the ethnic press. This is not to suggest, however, that no periodicals in the Scandinavian languages have been read in Saskatchewan. Aside from some periodicals imported from Scandinavia itself, such as *Norske Ukeblad*, magazines and newspapers in Scandinavian languages, or pertaining to Scandinavian culture, have found their way into Saskatchewan from Ontario, Manitoba, and particularly Minnesota.[40] The *Hyrden*, the bi-monthly Norwegian-language paper of the former Norwegian Lutheran Church in Canada, became the *Shepherd*, the monthly English-language magazine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, and now the *Lutheran*. Also published in English was the *Lur*, the monthly magazine of the Alberta-based Scandinavian Historical Society, and the current newsletter of the Saskatoon Scandinavian Club.

FORCES OF CHANGE

Intermarriage

There can be little doubt that increasing intermarriage tends to profoundly affect the ability to maintain ethnic identity and ethnocultural traditions. By 1971, 80.9% of the Canadian-born family

heads claiming Scandinavian ethnicity were married to spouses of other ethnic origins. In 1961, 36.5% of married people claiming Scandinavian origin in Saskatchewan had married within their group. However, there has probably been relatively little intermarriage of Scandinavian Canadians within the rural bloc settlement context in the prairies. Of the 71 married respondents in our survey, 68 (95.8%) were married to Scandinavian spouses. We learned that opposition to ethnic exagamy (i.e. to marrying a non-Scandinavian) was not as significant as opposition to religious exogamy (marrying outside the Lutheran religion): 52.3% of our sample were opposed to the former, compared to 77.0% opposed to the latter. We further found that opposition to marrying outside the Scandinavian-Lutheran group declined sharply by the third generation. The greatest decline occurred between second and third generation; there was little change between first and second (with a high proportion — over 90% — opposed both to ethnic and religious exogamy). Nonetheless it is interesting to note that a majority (56-61%) of third generation respondents were generally (though not very strongly) opposed to marrying someone who is not a Scandinavian Lutheran; they thought it would be "so much the better" or "more interesting," but not crucial, to marry endogamously. We are not prepared to suggest that these attitudes are typical even of Scandinavian people in compact rural settlements; perhaps these attitudes reflect a more conservative orientation in the two settlements surveyed than would be found in other settlements, not to mention among people of Scandinavian origin outside of such settlements.

SUMMARY

Tens of thousands of original Scandinavian settlers in Saskatchewan settled in specific rural areas, where they have preserved some aspects of Scandinavian ethnocultural identity. While there are numerous rural pockets where people of Scandinavian origin predominate, they seldom concentrated to the extent that they formed a majority of the population in a local town or village. Most Scandinavian immigrants into Saskatchewan (with the possible exception of Icelanders and Finns) did not actually settle within well-defined, compact, homogenous Scandinavian settlements but in dispersed patterns of rural settlement, or in cities or communities with mixed populations. This has doubtless facilitated their intermarriage and has served to lessen their emphasis of Scandinavian languages and traditions and their link with Lutheranism.

Notes

[1] The 1971 Census of Canada gives the ethnic origin of all Saskatchewan residents, traced only through the male lineage. On this basis the census counted 60,830 people of Scandinavian or Finnish origin, including 36,160 Norwegian, 14,635 Swedish, 5,220 Danish, 3,095 Icelandic, and 1,725 Finnish. Whereas the 1981 Census permitted a 20% sample of respondents to claim either exclusively Scandinavian/Finnish origin, or Scandinavian/Finnish origin plus another ethnic origin. This census counted 51,195 Saskatchewan residents of Northern European origin: 43,995 claiming exclusively Scandinavian/Finnish origin, and 7,200 Scandinavian or Finnish origin plus at least one other ethnic origin. Of those claiming exclusively Scandinavian/Finnish origin, 22,820 claimed Norwegian, 10,605 Swedish, 3,750 Danish, 2,250 Icelandic, and 1,280 Finnish, while an additional 3,295 simply claimed to be Scandinavian.

[2] See, for example, M. M. Gordon, pp. 133-135; N. Glazer in M. Kurokawa (ed.), p. 78; J.P. Johansen, pp. 8-22. Beginning in the 1850s large areas of Minnesota were settled by Scandinavian immigrants, for example the Northfield area south of Minneapolis, the southeast, the south-central area, the Granite Falls area, and the counties along the N. Dakota border. The eastern border counties in the Dakotas were also heavily settled by Scandinavians, chiefly Norwegians, particularly southeastern South Dakota. The latter area was settled 1859-1863 by immigrants from the Opdahl region near Trondheim in Norway, from Slesvig in Denmark, and from Sweden. Further north, Norwegians from Minnesota and Iowa, settled 1867-1869. Northeastern S. Dakota was settled by the 1870s, the Fargo area in N. Dakota in 1869-1870, and the Grand Forks area in 1871-1872 by Scandinavians from Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

[3] According to the Annual Report of the Canadian Department of the Interior (1895):

"The falling-off of Scandinavian immigration during the past year is in a great measure due to the prevailing depression in the United States; news of the unfortunate condition of that country having reached Europe and deterred many would-be immigrants from leaving their homes. In previous years immigration has been, to some extent, a necessity, but the improved condition that has characterized European affairs during the past summer has placed it within the power of a good many to act independently. It may be assumed that this damming-back of the stream which has annually left the coasts of Scandinavia must be followed at no distant date by a correspondingly increased flow. When this takes place we may reasonably expect to benefit by the movement . . .

Our colonies are growing stronger, and better known every day, and the fact that so many of their countrymen are comfortably settled and doing well is a source of much confidence in the new arrivals . . .

It is satisfactory to note that a number of Norwegians from . . . Minnesota are turning their thoughts to our country; hardy and thrifty, accustomed to farming, they make the best of settlers, as the success that has attended their efforts in the past amply testifies. The increase in numbers, and the want of good land, is forcing them to seek fresh fields of settlement, and we may look forward to a large immigration from this source next year. Already many have taken up lands with us, and their friends will unquestionably follow them as soon as the season sets in . . ."

[4] N. F. Black, p. 725.

[5] Estevan, Macoun, Midale, Torquay, Bromhead, and Lake Alma.

[6] Norwegians constitute usually 15-25% of the total population of each rural municipality and almost half the population of Lake Alma R.M.

[7] They constitute exactly half the population in one small community, Lake Alma, about a third in Tribune and a quarter in Midale, Goodwater, McTaggart, Osage, Torquay and Roche Percee; a substantial proportion (but less than a quarter) in North Portal, Frobisher, Estevan, Halbrite, Weyburn, Radville, Gladmar and Minton.

[8] For example they pioneered the Nygren district south of Estevan, the Lake Alma area, also Ibsen and Lajord northwest of Weyburn.

[9] Viceroy, Spring Valley, Scout Lake and Hodgeville.

[10] Ardill and Horizon.

[11] The population of Climax is 28.6% Scandinavian today, Frontier 47.7%, and Robsart 54.5%.

[12] Congregations were established at Swift Current, Hazlet, Cabri, Stewart Valley, Kyle, and White Bear.

[13] However, Scandinavians constitute a third of the population of Shackleton and a quarter of Hazlet, Success and Kyle, plus a substantial minority in Abbey, Cabri, Pennant and Stewart Valley.

[14] E.g., Battrum, Hovdestad, White Bear, Leinan (where storekeeper Axel Leinan first began to serve an almost exclusively Norwegian clientele in 1908).

[15] Outlook, Elbow, and further east at Watrous.

[16] Bethlehem near Hawarden, Skudeness near Loreburn, Saskatchewan R. near Outlook and Forslund near Viscount.

[17] People of Scandinavian descent constitute approximately a third of the community population in Hawarden, Bradwell, and Elbow; about a quarter in Outlook, Elstow, and Loreburn; and between 10% and 20% in Riverhurst, Weyburn, Macrorie, Lucky Lake, Beechy, Young, Viscount, and Hanley.

[18] In and around the towns of Shellbrook (13.6% Scandinavian) and Big River (15.5%), the villages of Canwood (30.9%), Parkside (37.5%), and Shell Lake (14.0%), the hamlet of Ordale and at least 35 other rural districts.

[19] Pastor S. H. Njaa, notes submitted to the History Committee, Hanley Evangelical Lutheran Church, January 17th, 1951 and January 20th, 1953 (including data from "Lutheraneren" records, Minneapolis, and from Rev. Wagnhild, Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika, 1918), partially included in Hanley E.L.C. fiftieth anniversary album.

[20] In and around the towns of Birch Hills (31.5% Scandinavian), Kinistino (19.2%) and Melfort (13.3%), the incorporated village of Weldon (40.4%), and as many as fifty hamlets and rural districts.

[21] 26.7% in Margo, 21.0% in Norquay, 18.3% in Sturgis, 13.6% in Kelvington, less than 10% in Preeceville; cf. two-thirds of the population in N. Livingstone R.M., half in N. Clayton R.M. and over a quarter in N. Preeceville R.M., and a substantial proportion in N. Hazel Dell R.M. (named after Hazel Dell, Minnesota).

[22] People of Scandinavian origin comprise 18.3% of the population of Wynyard, 18.6% of Wadena, and 14.4% of Foam Lake.

[23] Nordre, Mountain and Harvard (south of Wynyard), Kandahar (west of Wynyard), Valhalla, Old Holar and Mt. Hecla (south of Elfros), Bildfell, West-Sidel, Kristnes and Fishing Lake (around Foam Lake), Tornea, Gardar, Little Quill and Grandy (on the South shore of Little Quill Lake, north of Elfros, Mozart and Wynyard).

[24] J. Hawkes, p. 686, p. 707.

[25] Saskatchewan Royal Commission, p. 78.

[26] Note, for example, the case of Frank Eliason, who raised $34,000 to aid Norwegian and Finnish war victims during the Second World War and who was decorated for his services by King Haakon of Norway. See Saskatchewan Diamond Jubilee and Centennial Corporation, *The Saskatchewanians*.

[27] Saskatchewan Royal Commission, brief submitted.

[28] These respondents were selected randomly to represent age and generation categories approximating as closely as possible the demographic structure of each community.

[29] The first Norwegian Lutheran parishes in Saskatchewan were established in 1894 by immigrants from the conservative, tradition-bound Norwegian settlements in the American Midwestern states. The United Norwegian Lutheran Church of Saskatchewan was organized in 1904, by which time the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church, also affiliated with the former parishes of Norwegian immigrants from the United States, had congregations in the Prairies. In 1917 the Canada District of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of Saskatchewan, the Hauge Synod of Alberta (formed 1895), and the Norwegian Synod of Manitoba (formed 1904). This body represented the vast majority of Norwegian Lutherans in the Prairies (excepting a small minority in the Free Church). The Swedish Lutherans extended their Minnesota District of the Augustana Church to the Canadian Prairies in 1883, establishing the first official congregation in Saskatchewan and New Stockholm in 1889; the Canada Conference of this church was founded there in 1913. Around 1900 the first Danish Lutheran parishes were being established in the Canadian Prairies by immigrants from Nebraska; this body was to be distinguished from the Danish *folkekirke* of Vancouver and Alberta, connected directly with the Church of Denmark. The Icelandic Synod was established at Gimli, in the largest Icelandic settlement in Manitoba, in 1874. The small minority of Finns organized their Suomi Synod. Some German Lutherans organized the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Western Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in 1897, while others — immigrating from the American Midwest in 1905 — established the Canada District of the American Lutheran Church, and a third group formed the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Missouri Synod in 1922 (after early developments at Berlin, Manitoba, in 1879 and Winnipeg in 1891). See Rev. W. A. Mehlenbacher; F. S. Mead, pp. 133-146; W. E. Mann, p. 49; Pastor Immanuel Rasmussen, the *Lur* (Scandinavian Historical Society), Spring 1971, p. 4; V. J. Eylands, Lutherans in Canada (1945).
During the first fifty years of one representative congregation at Hanley, near Saskatoon, all of the sixteen successive pastors were of Norwegian origin and 116 out of 132 baptisms were of people having Norwegian surnames. In four confirmation ceremonies between 1910 and 1914, 21 of the 24 confirmants had Norwegian surnames; seven were confirmed in the Norwegian language, and another ten in both Norwegian and English. The Norwegian language was used in services until 1919. See Hanley Evangelical Lutheran Church, History Committee, Fiftieth Anniversary of the Hanley E.L.C., 1903-1953.

[30] For example, in the Erickson area of Manitoba (settled by immigrants from Sweden in 1884-1886 and later by people of Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish origin from the Midwestern states), a Swedish Lutheran congregation was organized in the Scandinavia district in 1891, followed by a Danish one at Danvers in 1894, Norwegian ones at Clanwillian in 1906 and Danvers in 1907, and another Swedish one at Erickson in 1915. See notes by O. Bruun in the *Lur*, September 1970, p. 2.

[31] W. E. Mann, pp. 49-50, p. 53; A. Ricke, Geschichlicher Ueberblick des Zwanzigjahren Bestehens des Kanada Districts der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und Anderen Staaten (Regina, 1928), cited in G. E. Britnell, pp. 188-190.

[32] In 1943 the Canada District of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America merged with German Lutheran congregations to form the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada. The German-oriented Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories became the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Western Canada (E.L.W.C.), later to join the United Lutheran Church in America (U.L.C.A.). The Suomi Synod of the Finns maintained a close connection with the Augustana Church of the Swedes, which in turn has cooperated with the E.L.W.C. The Icelandic Synod affiliated with the U.L.C.A. The German-oriented American Lutheran also cooperated with the E.L.W.C. Most Danish Lutheran congregations formed the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1946, but some remain affiliated directly with the Church of Denmark. The latter and the German-oriented Missouri Synod are the only Lutheran churches in Canada not enjoying membership in the Canadian Lutherian Council. See W. A. Mehlenbacher, op. cit.

[33] See *The Shepherd*, the official organ of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, appointments and resignations, Vol. 29, No. 17, (November 1953), Vol. 41, No. 9, (October, 1965), Vol. 44 Nos. 3, 5, 7, 9, (March, May, July, September, 1968), Vol. 45, No. 10, (November, 1969), Vol. 46 Nos. 2, 6, 7, (February, June, July, 1970), Vol. 47, No. 3 (March, 1971). A couple of good illustrations of the persistence of the traditional link between the Scandinavian parishes are the recent cases of Pastor Ove Pedersen, who went from New Denmark, N.B., to Hanley, Saskatchewan, and Viking, Alberta, then back to New Denmark; and of Pastor Arne Berstad, who served Viking, then Hanley.

[34] Note, for example, mention of some Scandinavian Lutheran conversion to Jehovah's Witnesses and Pentecostal Assembly in the Naicam area; see the Naicam Historical study, Naicam: Then (1905) and Now (1955). Also to the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant, World Alliance of Evangelical and Missionary Churches, Cooneyites, Seventh Day Adventists, the Evangelical Free Church, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Pentecostal Assemblies and the Apostolic Church of the Pentecost in Alberta. See W. E. Mann, p. 33. Many of these sects were, however, still ethnic-oriented. See Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967.

[35] A couple of years earlier, it was reported that no instances of a Scandinavian language being taught during the final school hour were known in the Kinistino Inspectorate, while in the Humboldt Inspectorate only five schools were probably using Norwegian and two more possibly using it.

[36] To a limited extent this suggests an injection of the "melting-pot" ideology prevalent in the United States into the Canadian "cultural mosaic" enhanced by a multicultural ideology. For example, those who settled in the Bohrson district west of Hanley in 1903 had previously immigrated from Norway in 1881 to South Dakota as well as Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois; while their school was an active community centre, it had little if any ethnic orientation.

[37] Data on the school situation in Scandinavian settlements from K.A. McLeod in op. cit., pp. 128-130; Bohrson; J. T. M. Anderson, pp. 39-48; Archives, Education 12a: Hutchison to Deputy Minister of Education, May 24th, 1917, O'Brien to Department of Education, May 26th, 1917; Martin 53: Rosser to Martin, November 28th, 1918, Resolutions of Council of Town of Hanley, December 5th, 1918.

[38] Although in the Naicam case, the secretary continued to take meeting notes in Norwegian for some time, and it is still fairly common in many congregations — Naicam, Dovre near Spalding, Hanley, etc. — for the women in this association to prepare Norwegian cooking, especially baking.

[39] See historical studies of Bethlehem, Spalding, Bohrson, and Hanley; V. J. Eylands, Chapter 8; J. P. Johansen, pp. 13-16, pp. 21-22.

[40] Periodicals circulating from Minnesota have included *Norske Ungdom* (since 1913), *Posten* (1940-), both in Norwegian, and *Kirke og Folk* (1952-), in Danish. Winnipeg periodicals have included *Logberg Heimskringla* (1886-), in Icelandic, *Canada Tidningen* (1892-), in Swedish, and *Norröna* (1910-), in Norwegian. The Danish paper *Modernsmaalet* was available from Toronto.

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POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL CONCERNS IN SCANDINAVIA — PAST AND PRESENT

Self-help and Co-operation in the Scandinavian Peasant Community

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The kind of large extended family found in southern and eastern Europe appears to have been in recent times uncommon in the Nordic world outside eastern Finland.[1] The typical Scandinavian peasant household (as far as anything in the peasant world can be labelled "typical") was made up in the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries of a small stem family consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children and up to three unmarried servants, the exact number of these, indeed their existence, depending on the ages, number and sex of the children. Once the children married they moved away. One or more of the parents of the married couple or an unmarried relative might live as dependants under the same roof.[2] Such a unit could provide satisfactorily neither all the labour required for the household's needs in a largely self-sufficient economy with only tenuous links with the outside world, nor the basic human need for social intercourse. Certain tasks, while not themselves labour intensive, often had to be completed in a hurry (for instance to take advantage of favourable climatic conditions), and all work was less tedious when performed in company.[3] The various forms which such mutual assistance between peasant households took is the subject of this essay.

Throughout Scandinavia, economic relations between groups of peasants were to a certain extent regulated by various provincial and national law codes.[4] How far the provisions of these — on, for example, common grazing rights — were obeyed in practice it is difficult to judge. Only serious breaches of them usually reached the courts. Peasants, at least in the early modern period, generally preferred to settle minor disputes among themselves without leaving any legal record behind. Legal records do, however, provide evidence of the existence of forms of collaboration for which the law codes did not provide. Agreements between individuals and groups for the common use of land, livestock or equipment might, for example, be registered in a court of law to make them more binding, and disputes concerning those which were not recorded might reach it.[5] More re-

cent evidence of collaboration can be gleaned from those accounts of village and parish life, often written by the local clergy, which appeared with increasing frequency from the early nineteenth century and from diaries written by peasants themselves as far back as the mid-eighteenth century which are now attracting an increasing amount of attention from Nordic historians and ethnologists.[6] More recent still are the accounts which began to be gathered by ethnologists and social historians in the later nineteenth century.[7] Even after the Second World War, elderly witnesses could still provide valuable information about a world which had passed, as the work of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has demonstrated.[8] Nevertheless the evidence of actual practice is somewhat meager before the eve of the break up of the old rural society, and the Swedish ethnologist Sigurd Erixon has warned that "many of what for us appear to be solidly constituted organizations are perhaps in reality very temporary."[9]

On the Danish islands and in eastern Jutland, in southernmost Sweden and in south-western Finland, economic and social life was conducted largely within the framework of the highly-organized village community. Associated with this are rather static societies, heavily dependant on the growing of grain in large open fields, with their outside contacts, as evidenced in trading contacts and the pattern of marriage partnerships, limited to a small geographical area beyond their boundaries.[10]

The affairs of such communities were regulated by councils consisting of all the heads of household. These heads took it in turn to act as "olderman" for periods of from one to three years. The olderman sometimes assisted by others, was responsible for ensuring that good order was maintained in the community, that fences adequately protected growing crops from animals and that, where houses were often built very close together, fireplaces did not present a hazard. He was responsible for calling meetings of the council and for keeping its records. He might have charge of the village bull and the village boar, although often each household took on this duty in turn. The council determined when sowing, harvesting and other work in the common fields should begin and end insofar as this was not dictated by custom. It appointed village servants like the herdsman, the smith and often a man to keep an eye on the fencing round the grain fields.[11]

The council also collected fines for transgressions of village laws. Such laws began to be recorded in Denmark as early as the end of

the fifteenth century, but in Sweden none has survived from earlier than the seventeenth, and quite a number of villages did not have them (at least in written form) before the eighteenth century.[12] A boost was given to their evolution in Sweden and Finland by the State. Demands came in the Diet for a more precise regulation of village affairs in the interests of efficient agriculture, and complaints were made at the beginning of the 1740s that the new Law Code of 1734 often prescribed lesser penalties than those laid down by village custom for the same offence. Consequently in 1742 a model village ordinance was issued to serve as a guide for those villages which had previously made inadequate provision: "wherewith not only good order may be maintained in the village but may be shown there one thing and another, knowledge of which is necessary for the farmer but on which he would otherwise be ignorant." Practice, however, continued to vary widely. Some villages took over the model ordinance *in toto* (though this is no proof that they adhered to it), others modified it in accordance with local conditions, while others largely ignored it. Much depended on the vigour shown by the local landlords and authorities in promoting it.[13]

Not only did the villages in this way regulate co-operation between their households, but in certain populous areas, where the countryside was open and there were no clear geographical divisions between village lands, collaboration also developed between neighbouring communities. Inter-village meetings were held and officials appointed to ensure the enforcement of the agreements reached at them. This was particularly common in relation to pastureland grazed by livestock from several villages. But precious fencing could also be saved by agreements to fallow adjacent grain fields at the same time. Such was often the case in southern Zealand and southern Skåne.[14] A large number of communities further north might also unite in common tasks like the hunting of wild animals which threatened their livestock.

The village, unless it were an unusually large one, formed a *lag*, a unit for co-operative enterprise, or a *gilde*.[15] This latter term was used especially in Denmark to describe both a co-operative group and the social celebration by the members of the group on completion of the task for which the group was formed — a significant example of the way in which social and economic life was closely interwoven in the traditional community.[16] Just as with the village council, the *gilde*'s ceremonies, such as those to welcome a new member, often reflected the influence of the urban craft gild. Smaller

villages might form *lag* for purposes not covered by village regulations. The whole village might, for example, assist in the clearing of new land, in the construction of a new house or in the repair of an old one. In areas, such as Denmark and southern Skåne, where houses were half-timbered and had to be redaubed every year, the young people of the *klinegilde* would turn out for the common task every spring, the boys doing the more physically taxing carting of the clay and the girls the actual daubing.[17] And every occasion would be followed by the consumption of food and drink (*foring* or *förning*) provided by all. Sometimes drink was consumed in the course of the work, especially if this was performed solely by men, in which cases standards were inclined to deteriorate as the task went on. Nicolovius gives an amusing example of this in his account of a fireplace inspection in Skytts härad in Skåne in the early nineteenth century:

> . . . the procession continued with vision still undimmed to the wealthier houses, where . . . beer and snaps were consumed to the accompaniment of singing and all kinds of merriment. The jollity grew at each house, and little by little chimneys and fireplaces were forgotten. At first one of the party might remark on leaving the farm: 'do you know, we forgot to look at the fireplace.' But finally even this was too much to expect![18]

Non-agricultural pursuits, which rarely figure in village regulations, were often organized in such a way that they could be undertaken in company. The women of the village would, for example, gather at each farm in turn to spin its flax or card its wool. Such meetings would be occasions for general gossip and the conveyance of traditional lore to younger members present. The circle would be joined by the menfolk after they had completed their tasks in the fields and meadows, and stories might then be told and songs sung. The knitting parties in communities on the heathland of Jutland have been celebrated by Steen Steensen Blicher in *E bindestouw* (1842).[19] In larger villages such activities would be organized within wards (*bydelav, grandelav* or *grannelag*) consisting of groups of farms, often separated by natural features, and even in the case of small villages a work group might include a farm or farms outside the village. This probably resulted from the departure of one member of a household to set up a new farm near enough to be called upon to provide help when needed.[20] One of the most interesting problems to be investigated in this field is indeed the importance of the wider family as against purely neighbourly ties. There is a growing amount of evidence to suggest that quite distant (in respect to both

relationship and geography) family ties might be the more important. In other words, that a peasant would be inclined to turn to a relative rather than a neighbour for assistance even if the neighbour could have provided it more conveniently.[21] It was, of course, often the case, especially in agricultural villages, that the two categories coincided.

Many, perhaps indeed most, Scandinavian peasants did not live in the closeknit village communities so far discussed. Such did not exist in Iceland, in central and eastern Finland, in Norway or in many parts of Sweden. In these areas farms were often scattered. Each farm's fields might be clearly divided from those of its neighbour. Or the farms might be gathered together in small hamlets of two or three units with some fields shared and others divided. The economy was usually a mixed one with animal husbandry playing as large a role as the growing of grain, and (except in Iceland) the farm buildings were more numerous and more loosely arranged than in the villages of the south. In such circumstances one might perhaps expect to find a more self-sufficient household than in the village. In fact there was considerable interdependence even if organized in somewhat different ways.

The nearest equivalent to a village community under these conditions is to be found in the large "multiple farm" of western Norway. This took the form of up to a dozen separate working units (*bruk*), each with six or more buildings huddled together irregularly so as to create an appearance very unlike the neatly arranged villages of Denmark or southern Sweden. In less fertile areas small patches of cultivable soil were scattered among the rock and might even be divided into narrow strips between the different households. Although no written codes emerged from such communities, a quite elaborate regulation of common tasks was associated with them. The equivalent of an olderman (often given the title of "king") to supervise joint enterprises and chair meetings at which common problems were discussed, might be chosen by his fellows for life or might simply emerge from the group by force of his personality. It is tempting to see in this an earlier stage of development through which rural society in Denmark and Sweden had passed by the later eighteenth century as the result of the greater interest taken by landlord or State in conditions in the countryside.[22]

Smaller groups of more scattered farmsteads in northern Scandinavia usually shared common pastureland, woodland and water, the uses of which were regulated by custom. Such groups, which

had often arisen from the division of a single farm or the formation of satellite farms from a common home, formed a *grannelag*, whose members assisted each other in common tasks like clearing new land for cultivation which might in the south be performed by a small village or *grannelag* within a large village. If the task proved too big for a single *grannelag*, it might unite with another for the specific enterprise.[23] Where large villages existed in northern Scandinavia, as in the lake Siljan region of Sweden, they lacked the organization of those further south, and there developed a complex interaction between the village and the various *grannelag* within it.[24] A more specialized form of *grannelag*, of great significance in northern Sweden and most of Norway, was the organization by which a group of farms shared distant summer pastureland and the buildings on it (*seter* in Norway, *fäbod* in Sweden). Where transhumance was highly developed, with different kinds of pasture used at different times of the year, a farm might belong to several different *fäbodlag*. The large *fäbodlag* might be divided into a number of smaller *vallag*, each of which would appoint a herdsman to look after the common cattle, and within which each farm would take it in turns to perform certain tasks such as the gathering of fodder for the winter months.[25]

In central and northern Sweden the parish containing a number of small villages or hamlets often came in the eighteenth century to perform a number of functions of the village community in the south. The parish council, headed by the parson, met twice a year to decide the responsibilities of each farm for such duties as snow clearing and the upkeep of roads and bridges as well as pass judgement on the moral conduct of the parishioners. The village council, where it existed, might look after fencing and elect some officials for various tasks, but there was often no olderman.[26] Like the encouragement given to the composition of village ordinances and the gathering together of Swedish farms into files (*rotar*) for various purposes from the seventeenth century, the institution of the parish is an example of the common interplay between the initiative of higher authority anxious to impose order on a society of infinite variety and the natural economic and social needs of the local community. Especially in east central Sweden, the village itself was a somewhat artificial creation with its boundaries drawn for administrative convenience rather than dictated by topographical or economic considerations; it was thus of secondary importance as a framework for co-operative enterprise.[27]

The smaller semi-permanent *lag* within the peasant community were often formed around an item of capital equipment which was too substantial for a single farm to run by itself — a tool, for example, like the heavy plow in use in Denmark and Skåne, a building like a mill or a forge, a large boat for carrying cattle to market or people to church on the other side of the lake, or a large fishing net. Most of these might elsewhere be owned individually by a substantial farmer or, in the case of a mill or a forge, be run by a full-time craftsman, and one would like to know more about the circumstances under which joint or individual ownership operated in such cases. Evidence from Skåne suggests a progression from common to individual ownership as society became more differentiated in the course of the eighteenth century.[28]

Use of certain kinds of equipment might be shared in various ways. A mill, for example, might be used by the farms within the *lag* on a rota basis, with each farm being allowed to use it on a certain day of the week or for certain hours of the day. Each *kvarnlag* might appoint a "mill bailiff" who kept the key and a record of the shares possessed by each farm and the use made of them.[29] Such a means of sharing was not, of course, possible in the case of a large boat or fishing net, which required the labour of the whole *lag* at the same time.

Each farm in the *lag* did not necessarily have an equal share in the end product of the *lag*, any more than each farm in a village necessarily had the same share in the common fields. And shares could be bought and sold, bequeathed and inherited in ways not possible with shares in the fields. Because of this, they often appear in probate and other legal records.[30]

Other forms of co-operation have left few traces in the written record, though there is evidence of their existence in diaries and oral reminiscences. Neighbours and relatives would informally exchange similar tasks, such as the slaughter of animals, or tasks which exploited each of the party's special skills. Little attempt was made to balance such services; even the slightest favour might involve some kind of social celebration with the recipient providing a modest portion of food and drink, but this was not looked upon as payment. On the coast there was often reciprocation between farmers and fishermen where the specialization of the two groups allowed, with the farmers helping to crew the boats in exchange for part of the catch and the fishermen helping out with agricultural tasks in due season.[31]

I have already suggested that economic activity and social life in the peasant community were so closely intertwined that organizations often served both purposes at the same time. And the successful completion of a significant (or not so significant) economic activity in common was followed invariably by a celebration at which food and drink to which all contributed was consumed. But there were also non-economic occasions for which a *lag* or a *gilde* would come together. It should be noted, however, that generally speaking social gatherings for social gatherings' sake were foreign to the traditional adult peasant world.

There were two main categories of social occasion which involved a circle wider than the household. One covered those events which mark stages in an individual's life — birth, marriage and death. Although to describe them as such is misleading because more important than their significance for the individual or even the individual's family was their significance for the life of the community. A birth meant the welcoming of a new member into that community. Marriage meant the formation of a new family and was a kind of secular confirmation of membership of the community, associated as it often was with the taking over of a farm. Death meant the reduction of the community by the loss of one of its components. The greatest of the personal celebrations was undoubtedly marriage, which was the occasion for public festivities lasting several days in which the whole community would participate at some stage. Birth was generally a more private affair which involved immediate neighbours and concerned women rather than men. With the high rate of infant mortality in the traditional world, birth might soon be followed by funeral. For an adult funeral at least the circle would, however, again be widened to embrace a large section of the community.[32]

For all these events groups of farms under various names formed the basic organizational structure. In Norway the *bedlag*, in Sweden the *bjudlag* formed a unity whose members, as its name suggests, invited each other to important functions to which all were expected to contribute. The *bedlag* might coincide with the *grannelag*, but it was usually larger and might be used as an expanded *grannelag* for economic co-operation. Its boundaries were often defined by natural features, but in open country and in the larger valleys it might take the form of a complex series of overlapping circles with central farms forming a common *bedlag* with their neighbours on either side but the more distant farms having no direct social contact

with each other. A farm might thus belong to more than one *bedlag*, and the *bedlag* might be different for different occasions.[33]

The other category of social intercourse consisted of the great festivals of the year, in which the pagan past was usually more prominent than the supposedly Christian present. Some of these, like Christmas, were celebrated largely within the household, although (at least in Norway) a group of farms might take it in turns to provide the entertainment for each other. Others, like Midsummer, were more communal in character. All were in particular the opportunity for the youth of the village or district (often a large area) to make its presence felt. An *ungdomslag* would be responsible for the entertainment. In the more egalitarian areas, such as northern Sweden, Ostrobothnia, and Western Norway, this was allowed more freedom by the adults than in the more socially differentiated south, where "undesirable" liaisons between the sexes were more likely to occur. Thus the practice of night courtship or "bundling" was much more widespread in the former regions, where it was controlled by the *ungdomslag* under an elected leader. In eastern Jutland and some other parts the latter had the duty of pairing off girl and boy for the coming year at a special ceremony.[34]

The forms of economic collaboration described above were seriously undermined by the breakup of the old village community by enclosure, a movement at first widely resisted by the peasantry precisely because of these consequences, and countered by such devices as the use of the star pattern of enclosure and twinning of farms in parts of Denmark.[35] In Denmark and southern Sweden enclosure was well-nigh completed by 1860. But in northern Sweden it continued into the twentieth century, and in Finland and Norway did not really begin until the later nineteenth century. It must also be remembered that the enclosure of pasture and forest often took place some time after the enclosure of the arable and the disappearance of the "common fields," so that agreement and co-operation were still necessary in important spheres even after farms had been "moved out."[36] In the areas which were first affected by enclosure, however, there is evidence that the individual farmer was becoming less and less dependant on his neighbour, at least in his economic life, long before enclosure was carried through. From the middle of the eighteenth century, with the great growth in the size of the lower strata of rural society — the smallholders and cottars of various kinds — the larger farmer had at his disposal a labour force on which he could call to aid him with tasks for which he had previously looked

to neighbours and relatives.[37] And later in the nineteenth century, when this surplus labour had been drained off by emigration and industrialization, mechanization enabled one man to do what the labour of several farms had been needed for in the past. Declining isolation and readier access to the market, especially evident after the coming of the railroad, also led to growing specialization and the ability to purchase various services for cash.[38]

And yet, in the midst of such changes, the old forms of co-operation were remarkably persistent. A new model village ordinance was drawn up in Sweden as late as 1918, and village councils continued to meet for a long time after the disappearance of all communal land. Their economic functions may have largely ceased and other organs of self-government — beginning with the setting up of parish councils in Denmark in 1841 — have been instituted by higher authority. But ancient bodies could take on new roles. On the Danish island of Møn, for example, enclosure was carried through at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. But in the 1880s an olderman was still being installed with due ceremony every February and the heads of household still met under his chairmanship to pay the communal tax.[39] New needs might also lead to the revival of old forms. An expensive piece of mechanical equipment such as a threshing machine often led to the formation of a *lag* of several farms to run it, and the whole co-operative movement of the later nineteenth century may be seen simply as a new variation on an ancient theme.[40] Increased market orientation of the local economy might also lead to the formalization of mutual obligations which had formerly been in everyone's interest to perform and even to the exploitation of old obligations by the economically powerful to their own advantage.[41]

But in general social life in the later nineteenth century was tending to centre less and less on the community as a whole than on interest groups within it which cut across the former age and social categories. Political parties and popular movements were claiming the farmer's allegiance and introducing him and his wife and children to a much wider circle of contacts than the village or the *grannelag*.[42] Family occasions like births and christenings tended to involve a more limited circle than in the past, though marriages and funerals maintained more of their old communal character, and in rural Norway today the *bedlag* still plays an important part in the organization of social life.[43]

Notes

[1] David Gaunt, *Familjeliv i Norden* (Gidlunds, 1983), pp. 89, 102-8. Mats Hellspong and Orvar Löfgren, *Land och stad* (Lund, 1976), pp. 233-4. Ilmar Talve, *Suomen kansankulttuuri* (Helsinki, 1980), p. 157.

[2] Gaunt, pp. 86-7, 90-100. Throughout this essay, "peasant" refers to the rural social class of *bonde*, i.e. farmer owning or renting a tax-assessed farm. It does not include smallholders, cottars etc.

[3] Helge Norddølum, "The 'dugnad' in the Pre-industrial Peasant Community," *Ethnologia Scandinavica* (1980), pp. 105, 111.

[4] In Sweden-Finland before 1734 by the Land Law of Magnus Eriksson from the mid-fourteenth century and afterwards by the new national Law Code, in Denmark and Norway after the 1680s by the national codes of Christian V. Sigurd Erixon, *Svenskt folkliv* (Uppsala, 1938), p. 208.

[5] Olav Isaksson, *Bystämma och bystadga* (Umeå, 1967), pp. 14-15. Martin P. Nilsson, "Byalaget i sydsvensk kultur," *Saga och sed* (1943), pp. 59, 61. Erixon, p. 220.

[6] See, for example, Karen Schousboe (ed.), *Bondedagbøger — kilder til dagliglivets historie* (Brede, 1980), where about 275 items are listed, and Jonas Berg and J. Myrdal, "Bondedagböcker," *Saga och sed* (1979).

[7] The Dane Ewald Tang Kristensen began collecting material from East Jutland in the 1860s.

[8] Andreas Holmsen, "The Old Norwegian Peasant Community I: General Survey and Introduction," *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, IV (1956), pp. 25-9. Rigmor Frimannslund, "The Old Norwegian Peasant Community III: Farm Community and Neighbourhood Community," *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, IV (1956), pp. 62-3.

[9] Erixon, p. 205.

[10] Börje Hanssen, *Österlen: Allmoge, köpstadfolk och kultursammanhang vid slutet av 1700-talet i sydöstra Skåne* (Gidlunds, 1977), pp. 74-93.

[11] Hellspong and Löfgren, pp. 64-6. Hanssen, pp. 32, 36. Eino Jutikkala, *Bonden i Finland genom tiderna* (Helsingfors, 1963), p. 265. Joan Rockwell, "The Danish Peasant Village," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, I (1973/4), pp. 419-20. Nilsson, p. 60.

[12] Poul Meyer, "Bystævne," *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, II (Copenhagen, 1957), pp. 445-6. Isaksson, p. 7. For early Scandinavian ordinances, see Sigurd Erixon and Sven Ljung, *Sveriges Byordningar*, vol. II:1, *Byordningar från Skåne*, vol. V: *V. Göinge härad* (Stockholm, 1955).

[13] Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 63. Jutikkala, pp. 263-5. Isaaksson, p. 7.

[14] Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 69. Hanssen, pp. 70-1. Åke Campbell, "Vångalaget i Skåne — en boskapskötselns samfällighet," *Skånes hembygdsförbunds årsbok* (1933), pp. 11-35.

[15] The Finnish equivalent of *lag* is *talko* (see, Talve, p. 167).

[16] August Schmidt lists some 260 different Danish *gilder* in his *Leksikon over Landsbyens Gilder* (Copenhagen, 1950). The form *gille* is also common in southern Sweden (Hellspong and Löfgren, pp. 72-3, 291). ". . . economic and social principles of organization in pre-industrial society were largely two sides of the same coin," Asbjørn Klepp, "Reciprocity and Integration into a Market Economy: an Attempt at Explaining Varying Formalization of the 'dugnad' in Pre-industrial Society," *Ethnologia Scandinavica* (1982), pp. 88-9.

[17] Schmidt, pp. 82-3. Rockwell, p. 428. Nilsson, pp. 60-1.

[18] Nicolovius, *Folklivet i Skyttshärad i Skåne vid början av 1800-talet*, (Lund, 1924[4]), p. 61.

[19] Schmidt, p. 123. Rockwell, p. 429. Hellspong and Löfgren, pp. 294-5. Martti Sarmela, *Reciprocity Systems of the Rural Society in the Finnish — Karelian Culture Area*, FF Communications, No. 207 (Helsinki, 1969), pp. 114-20.

[20] Schmidt, p. 16. Hanssen, p. 38. Jutikkala, p. 60.

[21] Poul Bulle-Petersen, "Gården, slægten og naboerne," *Folk og kultur* (1980), pp. 116, 120.

[22] Frimannslund, pp. 76-7.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-2. Erixon, p. 211.

[24] Erixon, p. 212.

[25] Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 69.

[26] Meyer, p. 445. Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 71. Isaksson, pp. 6, 8-10. John Granlund, "Bygdelag och byalag," in *Gruddbo på Sollerön* (Stockholm, 1938), pp. 157-162.

[27] Orvar Löfgren, "Historical Perspectives on Scandinavian Peasantries" *American Review of Anthropology* (1980), p. 197. Erixon, pp. 212-4, 216, 218.

[28] Hanssen, p. 34.

[29] Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 288.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[31] Frimannslund, pp. 73-4. Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 290. Hanssen, pp. 41-3. Norddølum, p. 104. Klepp, pp. 88-9.

[32] Frimannslund, p. 70. Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 321.

[33] Frimannslund, pp. 70-1. Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 321. Arne Berg and Aagot Noss, "Bedlag," in Halvor Landsverk, ed., *Gilde og gjestebod* (Oslo, 1976), pp. 88-90.

[34] Schmidt, p. 51. Rockwell, pp. 440-4. Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 320. Albert Eskeröd, "Soziale Organisation," in S. Svensson, ed. *Schwedische Volkskunde* (Uppsala, 1966), p. 172. Nilsson, pp. 59, 61. Sarmela, p. 158. Tavle, pp. 177-8.

[35] The traditional picture of a peasantry universally opposed to enclosure is being increasingly questioned; enclosures in Denmark and Sweden were frequently initiated by the peasantry themselves before the legislation of the mid- and late eighteenth century (Claus Bjørn, "The Peasantry and Agrarian Reform in Denmark," *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 25 (1977), pp. 118-123, and Göran Hoppe, "Skiftesreformerna och agrarutvecklingen," *Bebyggelshistorisk tidskrift*, Nr. 5 (1983), pp. 32-9).

[36] Rockwell, p. 410. Staffan Helmfrid, "The *storskifte, enskifte* and *lagaskifte* in Sweden — general features," *Geografiska annaler* (1961). Axel Steensberg, *Den danske landsby gennem 6000 år* (Copenhagen, 1973), pp. 148-56.

[37] Hanssen, pp. 38, 60. Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 297. Norddølum, p. 108.

[38] Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 297. Gaunt, p. 102. Norddølum, p. 110.

[39] Bulle-Petersen, pp. 126, 129, 146. Erixon, p. 210.

[40] Hellspong and Löfgren, pp. 297-8.

[41] Klepp, p. 92.

[42] Hellspong and Löfgren, pp. 86-7. Bulle-Petersen, p. 130.

[43] Hellspong and Löfgren, p. 339. Bulle-Petersen, pp. 132, 135.

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Between Swede and Saami:
The Reindeer Herd Rationalization Law

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Sweden's policy toward the Saami[1] minority has been grounded in a "parallel theory" of development wherein, it was argued, both Swedes and Saami could each prosper and exist, side-by-side, since livelihoods and lifestyles were essentially compatible. But mutualism, reciprocity and dual development rarely occurred. The record of Swedish/Saami interaction has been characterized by dominance/subservience and was often punctuated with conflict and confrontation. Much of the true nature of relations between the two communities can be observed through an examination of land use and tenure conflicts.

Central to Saami values, like those of other "original peoples," is the land which has been inextricably related to the realities of reindeer herding and through which identity, heritage and solidarity are rooted and expressed. Saami land rights have been recognized for centuries by the Swedish Crown. Throughout the 1500s, for example, "Lapp villages" and territorial rights received special recognition by the Crown. Taxes, moreover, were defined in a manner more consistent with the notion of tribute to the sovereign rather than as leasehold fees, as Magnus Mörner has observed.[2] The Border Codicil signed in 1751, as part of the treaty between Sweden and Denmark-Norway, constitutes the fullest early legal recognition of Saami rights to land in northern Sweden.[3] The treaty established the nomadic rights of the Saami people between the two countries and a taxation scheme was elaborated to guarantee that the Saami would not be forced to pay taxes to both nations. But in reality the integrity of Saami land rights was consistently compromised and largely extinguished whenever competition for the land occurred inspite of the existing legal framework. In essence, "parallel development" was negated when necessary. At those times when conflict emerged the record clearly indicates that Swedish interests were to predominate, largely because they were perceived to be "superior." Much of the justification for this has been attributed to the pervasive social Dar-

winism of Swedish policy toward the Saami.[4] This cultural policy, which permeated so much of Swedish life, found its paradigm in the thought of Supreme Court Justice Knut Olivecrona who wrote, in 1884, that

> Those people unwilling to give up nomadic life must remain on an inferior cultural level, must make way for more civilized settled groups and, in the end, grow smaller and smaller until they become extinct. The history of mankind is proof that this has been the case in all parts of the world, and the nomadic Lapps must be subject to the same law of nature and die out, unless they, in time, become willing to cultivate the land or engage in other occupations requiring permanent settlement. The State, whose interest must lie in the promotion of a higher civilization, is completely justified in favouring land cultivation . . .[5]

Indeed, some movement toward farming and permanent settlement among the Saami had occurred and these people joined their Swedish counterparts in the fencing of the range and in "privatizing" lands which formerly fell under Saami usufructory control, at least according to the law.[6] This situation was officially recognized in the "Lapp Ordinance of 1673" which drew important distinctions between Saami who were nomadic and traditional, and a growing "Lapp peasantry."[7] As homesteading intensified throughout northern Sweden the Saami became a minority, even in their historic herding areas.

Homesteading activity was promoted by the very same central government which theoretically sought to protect Saami rights. Crown lands, which included "protected" Saami lands, were often transferred to Swedish farmers with little regard given to the needs of the Saami people. The 1820 land ordinance for the province of Jämtland is illustrative of this policy.[8] By 1841 opposition to this practice mounted and certain lands in Jämtland, termed the "reindeer herding mountains," were reserved solely for Saami benefit and use. Elsewhere the practice of partitioning and title transfer continued, especially in the provinces of Norrlands and Lapland. Opposition from the Saami and their allies arose again and by 1867 the government was forced to curb its own activities.[9] In that year a "cultivation boundary" was created north of which Saami rights were to be protected. Yet in reality homesteaders consistently failed to respect the boundaries and local officials and authorities were largely mute in the face of violations. Swedish farmers were to be found everywhere. The final compromise of Saami land rights came with the expansion of mining developments in Saami areas during the nineteenth century. This short assessment summarizes the first phase of Swedish/Saami interaction wherein it was the avowed goal

of government to protect Saami land rights through the control of Swedish settlement of and intrusion upon traditional Saami lands. This sequence of events suggests the utter futility of such an approach given both the dynamism of internal Swedish economic development and the large-scale failure of policy-makers to follow through with an effective course of action.

The second phase of interaction, which is still very much in progress, is typified by measures to control the Saami. Perhaps the logic has been that if the Swedes could not be controlled, maybe the numerically much smaller and politically weaker Saami could. How convenient an approach for the more dominant community! The hallmark of this policy orientation has been and remains the various reindeer herd rationalization laws.

The first reindeer Grazing Act was passed in 1886[10] though a revision of the 1751 Codicil restricting Saami border crossings was implemented in 1883.[11] The significance of the first Grazing Act lies in the fact that it categorized only full-time, nomadic herders as possessing rights to grazing lands. Other Saami, even though they remained Saami under the law, no longer possessed grazing rights in the reserved lands of northern Sweden. The revised act of 1898 changed this situation in that it also recognized that grazing rights could exist for more settled Saami villagers who were nomadic for only some portions of the year. But one of the results of the initial rationalization law was a reduction in the number of Saami involved directly in herding activities. The reform of 1898 could not reverse this trend.[12]

The pendulum swung back again in 1928 with the third Grazing Act in that it further abandoned an ethnic definition of Saami and substituted instead ethnic *and* economic criteria: reindeer herding was an occupation relegated to Saami; but only those Saami who were herders could claim and exercise their land right. Saami who were not engaged in herding, and those who lived in villages and continued in herding only on a part-time basis, essentially lost their right to grazing lands. When the state defined a true Saami as a "herder," an "occupation-culture" split was created. This dysfunction remains one of the key issues in connection with the question of Saami survival, for as Swedish legalities whittled away at the entitled Saami population, actual rationalization programs have produced reductions in the number of animals permitted to graze on reserved lands. A modification of this rule was made in the fourth Herding Act which came into effect in 1971.[13] Non-village and village Saami

could now, at least to some extent, define tenure and management strategies. But the legal definition of a "village" still fails to coincide with the Saami's traditional collective entity, the "sii'da." This illustrates, once again, that policy is built upon Swedish conceptualizations rather than on Saami realities. The reform has been largely cosmetic, then. The overall effect of the herd rationalization laws has been the reduction of the herd and the number of herders and the semi-legal estrangement of non-herding from herding Saami.

Here, then, is another source of conflict between Swedes and the Saami: the imposition of standards, values and norms of one culture or community upon another. For centuries herding has been the Saami way of life. Sweden has helped make it the Saami way of business! The goal of herding has been transformed from one of survival and subsistence to production and profit maximization. Obviously the transposition of money as the central object of value and motivation to a land-based pastoral culture will foster a number of strains and stresses within any culture. The Saami are a case in point. The acceptance of a monetary-based system involved a major restructuring of the entire social life of the Saami, and one result has been the creation of class cleavages not previously observable.[14]

The Swedish government has defined the culture of the Saami as owing itself entirely to the herding of reindeer. Accordingly, only those people who herd reindeer as their full-time occupation are granted Saami status and the rights of their herding kinsmen. As stated in Section 1 of the Herding Act,

> The rights according to this law to utilize land and water for support for oneself and one's reindeer (reindeer herding right) belongs to him who is of Saamish ancestry, if his father or mother or one of his grandparents had reindeer herding as steady occupation . . .[15]

Not only are non-herding Saami excluded but so are those individuals whose families have not practiced herding for two generations or more. Thus, the group of legal Saami, or people who qualify for herding rights, continues to become ever smaller — a group more easily assimilated than a larger one with privileges beyond the reach of the average Swedish citizen.

The kinds of problems which the Saami face are, as we have suggested, not new. As Hugh Beach points out in his seminal *Reindeer Herd Management in Transition*, the "current rationalization policy of the State has it roots in earlier policy . . . rationalization of herd management is but a new expression of old, profound and unresolved dilemmas . . ."[16]

Saami rights were, for the State, a barrier to be circumvented, a barrier between the Swedish people and the natural resources which supported their growing affluence. The State managed to "rationalize" its exploitation of resources and the denial of Saami rights largely by promoting a social Darwinist logic. In other areas of resource conflict, such as trapping, hunting and fishing, the record is very much the same as with herding.[17] The social Darwinism which still permeates Swedish herding laws may be characterized by the following ethnocentric equation: nomadism does not qualify as a civilization and is therefore inferior; thus nomadism must yield to a higher civilization. Nomadism is a Saami form of livelihood; therefore, the Saami are not civilized and lack the grounds to make land ownership claims in a society seeking to meet the needs of its citizens. A gross oversimplification of Saami culture and livelihood, as well as an ethnocentric value judgement, are evident in this line of thinking. Beach has clarified the reason for such a problem: "It is easy to see how the misconception that real Saamis are only herders and that herding is the only true occupation of Saamis was not simply a mistake born of ignorance, but rather, a necessity for the colonial exploitation of resources and the introduction of the rights of Swedish settlers on the same land . . ."[18]

In *Greetings from Lapland*, Nils-Aslak Valkeapaa describes nomadism from the Saami perspective:

> Nomadism captivates me first and foremost through its philosophy. By being part of Nature, Man shows respect for Nature. The fact that the Saami culture has extended reindeer herding more into a way of life than a means of living is undoubtedly bound up with this 'part of Nature' way of thinking. That reindeer husbandry has subordinated itself to the principles of the meat industry is a step towards the usual commercial mode of thought, which follows on from the idea 'Go out and make all the animals and birds your subjects'. In other words, 'Man is lord over Nature'. This ideology has landed the whole planet in a state which is optimistically called a 'depression'.[19]

The most contemporary articulation of the Swedish position, that of the 1971 Herding Act, tends to substitute for this perspective a legitimate concern to avoid a "tragedy of the commons" situation in which each herder would maximize individual returns at the expense of the land, a finite resource, which must sustain all herders. But such an orientation fails to consider traditional Saami behavior which has historically avoided such overgrazing. Expansion cannot long continue for this leads to disease, famine and the scattering of herds in such a way that pastoral control mechanisms could not function effectively. Such a failure would indeed create a situation in

which total social breakdown would be unavoidable. The rise of the "proletarianization" of reindeer herding, the logical outcome of current Swedish rationalization policy, just may result in the very situation which the Saami have skillfully managed to avoid for a millennium. What an irony it is that those cultures which have created ecological moonscapes so devoid of life and fertility possess the power and authority to "manage" those who have lived in essential harmony with the great forces and processes of life since the beginning of time!

Notes

[1] There are a number of terms for the Saami. These include "Lapps," "Sami," "Saami," "Saamish," "Sabme," etc. The work of anthropologist Myrdene Anderson strongly indicates that "Saami" is the most appropriate term. I have, then, chosen to utilize her format throughout this paper. See, M. Anderson, "The Saami Reindeer-Breeders of Norwegian Lapland," *American Scientist*, 73:6 (Nov.-Dec., 1985), pp. 524-532.

[2] Magnus Mörner, "The Land Rights of the Saami and the Indians: A Historical Comparison Before the Swedish Supreme Court," *Historisk Tidskrift*, Vol. 4 (1980), as reprinted in Brigitta Jahreskog, ed., *The Sami National Minority in Sweden* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1982).

[3] *Codicil 1751*, Första Bihangeller Codecill Till Gränsse Tractaten emellan Konunga Rikerna Sverige och Norge, Lappmannere Beträffande. (Reprinted in G. Prawitz and T. Cramer, *Studier i Renbeteslagstiftning* (Stockholm: 1970).

[4] V. Danielsson, *Darwin's Penetration in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1963); and Gunnar Eriksson, "Darwinism and Saami Legislation" in B. Jahreskog, ed., *The Saami Minority in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1982).

[5] T. Cramer, "Knut Olivecrona and the Saami Issue," *Dagens Nyheter* (April, 1975).

[6] T. Ingold, "The Rationalization of Reindeer Management among Finnish Lapps," *Development and Change*, Vol. 9 (1978); T. Cramer, "Speech of Tomas Cramer, June 28, 1977," in *Samiska Domstoler* (Stockholm: Samerus Vita Bok IV: 5, 1979).

[7] Mörner, "The Land Rights of the Saami," p. 41.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[9] The issue of Saami annual migration across borders is another complex issue and it is complicated by the realities of international law. See J.G. Elbo "Lapp Reindeer Movements across the Frontiers of Northern Scandinavia," *Polar Record*, 6:43 (1952), pp. 348-58.

[10] Mörner, p. 49. M. Beach, "The Legal Pattern behind the Rationalization of Herding," in *Samiska Domstolar* (1979); T. Cramer, "The Policy Program of the Swedish Lapps," *InterNord: Revue internationale d'études arctiques et nordiques*," (Dec., 1970), pp. 293-94.

[11] Grazing Act of 1886, Lag anqående de svenska Lapparnes rätt till renbete i Sverige. (Reprinted in G. Prawitz and T. Cramer, 1970).

[12] Grazing Act of 1898, Lag om de svenka Lapparnes rätt till renbete i sverige. (Reprinted in G. Prawitz and T. Cramer, 1970).

[13] M. Mörner, "The Land Rights of the Saami," p. 51.

[14] M. Beach, *Reindeer-Herd Management in Transition: The Case of Tuorpon Saameby in Northern Sweden* (Uppsala: Studies in Cultural Anthropology, No. 3, 1981).

[15] M. Mörner, "The Land Rights of the Saami," p. 52.

[16] M. Beach, *Reindeer-Herd Management in Transition*, p. 304.

[17] R.T. Anderson, "Acculturation and Indigenous Economy as Factors in Lapp Cultural Change," *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, 7:1 (1960), pp. 1-22.

[18] M. Beach, *Reindeer-Herd Management in Transition*, p. 306.

[19] Nils-Askak Valkeapaa, *Greetings from Lappland: The Saami — Europe's Forgotten People* (London: Zed Press, 1983), p. 37.

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The Controversy in Denmark in 1938-1939 over Freedom of Expression

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An essential libertarian principle characteristic of Western democratic societies has been freedom of expression, especially freedom of the press. But, a major issue has been, and remains, the extent to which these freedoms can properly be limited. The activities of the Danish Minister of Justice in the late 1930s provide an illuminating example of how this issue of limitation of freedom of the press can become the subject of an intense and bitter debate in a free society. Denmark in the 1930s was struggling with the severe effects of the world economic crisis. The communists and the Nazis, at opposite, extreme ends of the political-ideological spectrum, were organizing, agitating, and mounting sustained attacks on existing democratic institutions, testing the limits of the traditional Danish values of tolerance, compromise, and "the golden middle way."

In the reconstructed coalition government after the 1935 election, the social democrat K.K. Steincke moved from being Minister of Social Affairs to become Minister of Justice. Steincke is a most interesting and controversial personality. Individualist, iconoclast, effective administrator and fearsome debater, Steincke was a prominent spokesman for a fundamental idealistic and ethical thread in Danish politics. He assumed office with a mission shared, with some misgivings, by his party and with even greater skepticism by its coalition partner, the *Radikale*. Steincke saw a growing licentiousness in public debate, and in the treatment of public officials and democratic institutions and values. The way in which not just the anti-democratic forces, but even the supporters of free institutions, were using (or abusing) freedom of expression, particularly freedom of the press in the broadest sense, was undermining Danish democracy.[1]

The Minister of Justice thus felt called upon not only to improve the moral climate by controlling and eliminating pornography and smut literature, but above all to maintain an atmosphere of respect for democratic institutions by amending the press law and the penal

code. Certain calculated, circumscribed, and well-defined restrictions were to be placed on freedom of the press and expression. The moral basis on which democracy rests could be protected only by assuring that public debate was carried on within the bounds of fairness, honesty, and the search for the truth.

Press Law

In order to protect democracy in Denmark, Steincke wished to tighten responsibility for what was published, as well as to expand the laws against libel and defamation of character, and extend their application to include politicians and government ministers. The debate that ensued thus tended to focus on the following issues: how far the press was to be held responsible for unfair and unfounded attacks on public officials, and the punishment for such actions; the extent to which the press could be held accountable for demeaning and racist attacks on specific groups within society, and for contributing to a general debasement of public debate (and thus to a weakening of respect for democratic institutions and values); and finally, whether or not a "right of reply" (*berigtigelsespligt*) should be imposed on the press, and if so, what its scope was to be.

All these issues were controversial, but what did the most to stir up opposition was Steincke's insistence that politicians, especially government ministers (of which he was a frequent target of abuse), should enjoy the same rights as other public officials and private persons. The right to criticize government and its officials is clearly crucial in a free society. The opposition press and politicians, and even many *Radikale*, were alarmed, for they feared that this could be the thin end of the wedge leading to a muzzling of criticism. While accepting much of the force of Steincke's argument on the rights of political figures, the *Radikale* resisted what they saw as the wider implications of Steincke's proposals. They would not support anything that could conceivably be interpreted as a threat to free criticism of government. As Gunnar Fog-Petersen, the *Radikale* spokesman in the upper house of parliament, the *Landsting*, was to put it in a radio discussion with Steincke in October 1938, "I have never seen a democracy be destroyed because it had too much freedom of expression."[2] The influential Copenhagen daily, *Politiken*, was of the view that the greatest danger to Danish democracy was not from the outside (Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany and their agents in Denmark), but from within, from Steincke and his efforts to preserve democracy by "destroying freedom of expression."[3]

Steincke dismissed such critics as irrational doctrinaires (*princippryttere*) who confused democracy with anarchy. Too many, he thought, believed that democratic freedom of expression in principle permitted one to say or write whatever one wished about whomever one wished, without any responsibility for one's actions. Freedom was not, he argued, the same as licentiousness, irresponsibility, or the right to commit crimes or injustices. Steincke thought it unreasonable to permit groups or individuals recklessly and irresponsibly to misuse freedom in order to take away the freedom of others. "No state can be so open-minded and tolerant that out of respect for the views of a minority, it allows this minority to put an end to the rights of all others to have their own views."[4] In a talk before the *Studenterforeningen* in 1938, Steincke argued, to great applause, that one should not be permitted to say publicly certain things, as defined by law and adjudicated in the courts.[5] For example, one should not be allowed to hide behind freedom of expression in order to: (1) form associations or parties whose purpose was the violent overthrow of the constitutional order; (2) propose putting opponents in concentration camps; (3) discriminate according to race, national origin, religion, or other distinction; (4) call for the use of violence or terror as a means of political propaganda; and (5) engage in reckless slander or libel or the sullying (*tilsvining*) of the private life of individuals. Such forms of "freedom of expression" should not only be curtailed — they should be prohibited and punished. The key question for Steincke, as for most of his opponents, was not "Should there be limits on freedom of expression?", but rather, "Where shall the line be set, beyond which freedom of expression can be punished, and what should this punishment be?" While drawing the line more restrictively than was acceptable to a majority in the parliament, Steincke insisted that this question was to be answered not by those in power, but by law through a free, democratic process.

The existing press law dated from 1851, and had made operative the guarantee in Article 91 of the 1849 Constitution that "Everyone has a right to publish his ideas in print but *with responsibility before the law*. Censorship and other preventative measures may never be introduced again." (Emphasis added.) Steincke, his party, and other supporters of the proposed legislation subscribed to *both* of these constitutional provisions, which had been carried over into the new Constitution of 1915. They supported freedom of the press, *but* a freedom circumscribed by a sense of responsibility, by the right of democratic representative institutions to set by law certain restric-

tions sanctioned by fairness, the rights of others, and good sense (and by implication, by the right to protect themselves from subversion). Individuals must stand accountable to the law, through the courts, for what they publish. As Steincke expressed it:

> That there naturally must be the widest possible freedom of expression without censorship [screening before publication] or other preventative measures is to be taken as given. Freedom of expression includes full criticism of institutions and individuals, including those in positions of authority and power, in so far as this criticism is of an objective, impartial (*saglig*) character. It does not include insulting one's honour [or defamation of character] (*æresfornærmelse*), libel (*bagvaskelse*), or violation of one's private life (*krænkelse af privatlivsfred*).[6]

Note here the standards by which he judges what is proper and protected criticism: it must be honest, objective, reasoned, and fair, and assert what is thought to be true — it must not be patently untrue, dishonest, distorted, misleading, reckless, or demeaningly personal.

There was a long history, going back to early in the century, of efforts to modernize the Danish press law.[7] It was left to Steincke to introduce legislation once again, and it came forth in draft form in December 1936. However, it took a further year of negotiations within the governing Social Democrat/*Radikale* coalition government and with representatives of the press before it went to parliament.[8] These discussions showed that there was a wide gap between Steincke's view of what constituted a responsible press in Denmark at the time, and that of the press itself. It should be noted that in the European context, a press law sets forth the legal rules within which the press operates — it determines who is responsible for what is published, who is responsible for providing compensation, and establishes the duties to be assumed by the press. It is left to the penal code to define the limitations on the press in the form of criminal offenses.

Steincke's press law tightened up the determination of responsibility for the contents of published material.[9] Under the revised law, authors, when cited by name, were to be held solely responsible for what they wrote. The law made the editor solely responsible for unsigned contributions. This protected the editorial staff and correspondents, whose contributions were not normally given by-lines. In either case, editors would not be inhibited from publishing the views of outside contributors, views which could well contribute to a healthy, informed criticism of public affairs, by holding them responsible for what these outside contributors wrote.

By far the most innovative (and thus controversial) aspect of the press law was the attempt in Paragraph 9 to impose on the press the obligation to publish corrections in rebuttal to published reports, charges, or other information — a "right of reply." The immediate effect of the proposal would have been to redress the balance between front page accusations in screaming headlines and the, at best, back page, back-handed retractions.

Steincke's preference was for "correction on demand."[10] The editor of a periodical would be obligated to publish, unchanged and free of charge if not over sixty lines, "corrections of statements concerning actual conditions (*faktiske forhold*) the publication has printed" (that is, corrections were required only in matters of fact, not of opinion) if the request for a correction was made by someone directly affected by the published report. Steincke was asking no more of the press than that it follow the same norms of behavior as parliament, where the right of reply had become a time-honoured rule in Denmark, as in most other democratic assemblies. As an institution crucial to the well-being of a democratic society, the press, he argued, had an obligation to be, and to be seen to be, as fair and as concerned for the truth as possible. He was particularly disappointed when parliament itself, including some in both the governing parties, would not support him fully on this issue. Steincke's rather cynical, but perhaps apt, aphorism — "The wise politician must not only want that which is just, he must also avoid doing it" — best expressed his feelings.[11]

As passed, the "right of reply" was limited to those "who would suffer significant economic damage or harm to their public reputation." This was further weakened by elimination of the obligatory "correction on demand" in Steincke's draft. A special tribunal, whose membership was weighted in favour of representatives of the press, was established to adjudicate claims.

The new press law was adopted by both houses of parliament with only the communists opposed, and it received royal assent in April 1938. Steincke had won some improvements, but he could not persuade parliament to follow him in his campaign for a dramatic change in the standards to which the press was to be held accountable. Those whose behaviour the draft law was directed towards, the extremists, saw it as a defeat for Steincke, as did much of the respectable opposition press.

The case against Steincke was put most clearly by Fog-Petersen, who expressed fear that a strong press law and the police would be

used "to keep down the new movements that have come to us from abroad [Bolshevism and Nazism] before they find free scope" within Denmark. He insisted that democracy could not be preserved by "destroying freedom of expression." What he saw as a temptation to transform Denmark into a police state (or a *censurstat*) through severe press restrictions had to be resisted.[12] To this Steincke was to reply that Germany was a tragic example of the consequences of unrestricted freedom. Certainly, it is hard to see how anything in Steincke's draft could reasonably be construed as even resembling a police state or a threat thereof. And yet, it is equally difficult to see how Denmark in 1938-1939 could be equated with Weimar Germany.

Changes in the penal code

Steincke was not content with a new press law. He complained that politicians did not enjoy the same protection under the penal code against libel and defamation of character as other citizens — not even ministers accused of gross misuse of office. For one thing, "laughably small fines [were imposed] for clear libels or the publication of unfounded accusations of gross misuse of office."[13] He was convinced, not unreasonably perhaps, that the small fines imposed were often taken by the public to be a confirmation of the accusations, rather than vindication of the individual attacked (if the charges were "really" false, a heavier penalty would have been imposed). In addition, the courts took into account the tone of public life, which they assumed was coarser and must, by nature in a democratic society, be more wide open and unrestrained. Steincke did not believe that it was appropriate for the courts to *follow* the tone of the public debate. They should, instead, help uphold an objective, socially constructive atmosphere. Finally, Steincke saw the *mod bedre vidende* (despite knowing better) clause in the "libel paragraph" as a more general obstacle to universally fair protection. That is, one could not be convicted of libel unless it could be shown that the accusations made were known by the accuser to be false. The burden was placed on the plaintiff to prove that his accuser knowingly made false statements — usually very difficult to do.

The press and the politicians were at first unwilling to support Steincke in his efforts to tighten the penal code. He thus decided that he had no alternative but to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of existing legislation by instituting proceedings in 1938 and 1939 against a series of individuals for libel and defamation of character.

He was proven right, but the press and most politicians remained unsympathetic. Only when he was able to show that *other* democratic countries had *already* introduced similar measures did the opposition within the Social Democrat/*Radikale* coalition give way to reluctant acquiescence in a considerably amended version of Steincke's proposals.

Steincke was able to point out that the punishment for false accusations against "public servants" was higher in most other countries than in Denmark, and that many countries had stricter rules on "contempt of court." Sweden had passed a law in 1936 by which "those who intentionally spread false rumors or mendacious statements" which could lead to a threat to public order or call forth scorn for public authority could be punished by imprisonment or fine. In Switzerland, an ordinance issued by the Federal Council in December 1938 punished by law "those who publicly and systematically seek to create contempt for the democratic basis of the state or canton, especially those who for this purpose knowingly advance or spread untrue assertions about actual conditions." It went further by punishing with imprisonment or fine those who supported propaganda originating outside the country and whose aim was to change Swiss political institutions, as well as those who publicly incited hatred against groups within Swiss society on the basis of race, religion, or citizenship. The Federal Council could, without regard to the fact that a particular individual could be held responsible, ban newspapers and periodicals for up to six months, and in repeated cases indefinitely.[14]

This information persuaded the *Radikale* that some tightening of the penal code in these matters was required. As Fog-Petersen put it, the changes were necessary "to enable democracy [in Denmark] to keep order in its own house," because of the increased potential for violence caused by "the importation of foreign political methods."[15]

The changes and additions to the Danish penal code, adopted in March 1939, went some way towards meeting Steincke's concerns, but from his point of view left much to be desired.[16] In attempting to introduce and extend the English concept of "contempt of court," he had proposed to punish (1) those who knowingly published untrue reports of statements made in court proceedings, in parliament, or in other public councils, and (2) those who publicly attributed actions to the government (or any other public authority) which in fact had not been taken, if the intention was to harm the reputation of

the government (or the public authority in question) in the eyes of the public. Strong opposition was encountered especially from representatives of the press in the *Landsting*, and its effect on the *Radikale* forced Steincke to amend this provision so that it lost its power.[17] As adopted, the first provision was applicable only if knowingly untrue reports *about factual conditions* were published, or if false citations from such reports were published; and the acts in the second provision were to be punishable only if the intention was to harm the interests of Denmark abroad. Knowingly untrue statements about the actions of public officials were, apparently, morally acceptable to most of the press, the Opposition, and Steincke's coalition partners.

Two of Steincke's more far-reaching provisions did not fare well either. He tried to extend responsibility to those who, while remaining anonymous, were in fact the source or inspiration of false information in the press. This was rejected outright. He also wished to prohibit dissemination in written form of false rumours or accusations intended to persecute, or to incite to hatred against, individual groups within the Danish population because of their faith, origin, vocation (*kald*), or legal occupation (*lovlig næring*). Designed to protect the Jews and public officials from the degrading Nazi racial hatred, this provision was rejected by the press and a majority in parliament as being too far-reaching; a potentially dangerous intrusion into editorial freedom and the right to criticize public officials which opened the door for the muzzling of all deviant opinions.

By leaving out any mention of vocation or occupation (thus excluding government ministers, for example), Steincke was able to save something from the latter proposal. Those who spread false rumours or accusations that served to incite hatred against a group within the Danish population on the basis of faith, origin, or citizenship were punishable by imprisonment — or fine under mitigating circumstances.

Steincke's objective of improving the tone of public debate can be seen clearly in his proposed additions to the penal code's section concerning defamation of character (*ærekrænkelse*). However, these proposals did not survive either, because of stiff opposition in the *Landsting*. Steincke would have: (1) increased the punishment as contained in the existing law for so-called "expressions of contempt" (*ringeagtsytringer*) in cases where insults were directed against civil servants with special authority in the judicial process in their professional capacity; (2) forbidden the courts from taking into considera-

tion when determining guilt or innocence, or in setting punishment, any special, expanded freedom of expression assumed to prevail within the particular circle of the individual charged; (3) defined libel as existing not just when an accusation was made *mod bedre vidende*, but also when it was made without the accusers' having any reasonable ground for believing it to be true (here the burden tends to be shifted — from the victim's responsibility to prove that the accuser knew his accusation was false, to the accuser's responsibility to show what reasonable grounds he or she had to believe the accusation to be true); and (4) imposed punishment for libelous or defamatory statements, even if proof of the validity of the accusation is put forth, if the guilty party acted out of lust for revenge (*skadefryd*), or an inclination towards malicious gossip. These provisions were rejected by the Opposition, with support from the *Radikale*, as "proposals for dictatorship under the guise of democracy."[18]

The amended penal code was adopted by the *Landsting*, 38-29, with several abstentions, and by the *Folketing*, 64-41, with even more abstentions.

There was another dimension to Steincke's efforts to contain the more extreme manifestations of freedom of expression. Steincke was a periodic participant in the ongoing *kulturdebat* in Denmark. As such, he and his ideas came into conflict with the dominant *kulturradikale* trend in Danish intellectual life. This conflict emerged earlier in the 1930s over his views, and actions as Minister of Justice, on public morality. Artistic publications were to be subjected to the same requirement of responsibility as the press in the more specific sense.

The *kulturradikale*, with the communists and the few Marxist socialists in Denmark as allies, campaigned against traditional values and morality (which were heavily influenced by Christian idealism) through a series of periodicals. For many of the Danish intellectuals the rallying cry became broad-mindedness (*frisind*). For the *kulturradikale* such as Poul Henningsen, this meant that society had to be completely democratized so as to promote the fullest, freest unfolding of human potential. In this conception, democratization meant, in effect, the tearing down of all restrictions (legal, moral, social) on individual self-expression.[19]

Steincke, who long before World War I had been arguing for greater individual self-fulfillment, was proceeding from quite another philosophy of life, or *livsanskuelse*.[20] The individual could never be free unless he or she could succeed in imposing morally elevating

and beneficial values upon one's behaviour, and these included, among other things, self-discipline and a sense of responsibility for one's actions. He equated Henningsen's definition of democracy and *frisind* with licentiousness and moral anarchy.[21]

Supported by his party, Steincke believed action was required against written material which had nothing to do with literature, or art, or objective informed public debate, but rather was intended to pander to the lowest vices and tastes, and emotions and prejudices, and to make its purveyors a profit. But how can one determine what is art? what is pornography? what is moral and what is fair and what is not? Poul Henningsen said that you could not legislate answers to these questions; Steincke said that you could and you must, for to have any meaning, freedom of expression must also imply responsibility. Society, through its democratic institutions, sets standards in the penal code and these should be interpreted, applied, and administered through the courts.

It is, on the one hand, easy to sympathize with Steincke's revulsion at the use of a free press by extremists to attack Danish democracy. It is also not unreasonable to suggest that political figures have a right to be treated fairly, and, above all, that the tone of political debate is important for preservation of respect for democratic institutions. It is hard to see, however, that Danish democracy was as seriously threatened from within in 1938 and 1939 as Steincke suggested. The Danish Nazi party did, it is true, almost double its share of the votes in the election in April 1939 — but this only took it from 1.0% to 1.8% (the communist share rose from 1.6% to 2.4%). Measured in terms of support for extremist parties, Danish democracy was quite able to withstand extremist abuse of freedom of expression.

Was Steincke, then, unduly alarmist and perhaps oversensitive to the personal abuse he received? Is it true that if left unchecked Steincke would have destroyed democracy in the name of preserving it? In fact, Steincke's proposals, and the way they would have been administered, did *not* constitute a threat to democracy. On the contrary, it is difficult to see how greater responsibility for what was written, based on criteria stressing fairness and objectivity and an effective "right of reply," could be construed as destruction of "freedom of expression" — particularly when it is not to be the government, but rather an independent judiciary, that was to apply the law.

Steincke became a figure of controversy because his proposals forced politicians, usually unwillingly, to face the difficult question of how to put the moral values of society into practice. At the same time, by insisting on the cultivation and promotion of many traditional, religiously inspired moral values, Steincke offended those who challenged the traditional moral basis of society. The fact that Steincke was a social democrat, associated with dramatic social reform, led many in the opposition parties who were in sympathy with his moral values to question his good intentions. The questions he raised, however, remain crucial for a democratic society. How can the press be held accountable when performing its necessary public functions? How can a free press act as an extra-legal check on government and as a forum for free debate, while at the same time providing adequate and reliable information, "contributing to the elevation of public tastes," preserving the reputations of the public officials whose acts were being scrutinized, and maintaining respect for legitimate, democratic authority?

K.K. Steincke approached these questions with a set of values that emphasized dispassionate rational debate and the search for the truth; fair treatment, and equality under the law, of all citizens — whether public official or private individual; and the responsibility of each individual in society to contribute (in word and deed) to the preservation of the moral foundation on which a democratic society rests. Perhaps these values, and the conception of freedom of expression held by the Danish Minister of Justice in the late 1930s, could, in an increasingly "permissive" age, profitably inform our contemporary search for answers to these important questions.

Notes

[1] As an example of what Steincke saw as abuse of the press, see his marginal note on a copy of the Danish Nazi paper, *Stormen*, November 26, 1938, in *Fhv. justitsminister K.K. Steinckes efterladte papirer, — Utilg. 482* (Hereafter referred to as *Efterladte papirer*), *IV. Politisk og juridisk virksomhed, 1. Lovgivningsarbejde, e. Straffelovsændring 1938*, Det Kongelige Bibliotek.

[2] *Berlingske Tidende*, October 24, 1938.

[3] *Politiken*, September 4, 1938.

[4] K.K. Steincke, *Farvel og tak*, 1948, p. 25.

[5] *Nationaltidende*, September 4, 1938.

[6] Steincke, p. 23.

[7] See *Aarbog for Rigsdagssamlingen 1937-38*, pp. 338-339, and Steincke, 171ff.

[8] For discussion in the press, see *Efterladte papirer, VI. Tryksager, 1. Scrapbøger (Okt. 1937-Apr. 1938)*.

[9] There were many drafts of a new press law prepared within the Ministry of Justice. According to Steincke, the first was put forth in December 1936 as a basis for discussion (Steincke, p. 176). For the draft submitted by the Minister of Justice to the Rigsdag in February 1938, see: *Tillæg A til Rigsdagstidende. Forelagte Lovforslag m.m. 90de ordentlige Samling, 1937-38*, II, pp. 4273-4284. For the essential points of the new law as adopted and how they differ from the law on the press of 1851, see: *Aarbog for Rigsdagssamlingen, 1937-1938*, pp. 338-401.

[10] For Steincke's preferences, see Steincke, p. 176ff.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

[12] For Fog-Petersen's views and the debate in the Landsting, see *Rigsdagstidende. Forhandlinger i Landstinget. 90de ordentlige Samling 1937-1938*, pp. 991ff., 1040ff., 1060ff.

[13] Steincke, p. 275.

[14] For citations from and discussion of the legislation of other countries, especially the Swiss ordinance concerning measures "against activities threatening to the state and for the protection of democracy," see *Tillæg B til Rigsdagstidende. Forhandlinger i Landstinget. 91de ordentlige Samling 1938-39*, pp. 747-760, 827-836.

[15] *Rigsdagstidende. Forhandlinger i Landstinget. 91de ordentlige Samling 1938-39*, pp. 382. For more on Fog-Petersen's views, see pp. 381-386.

[16] See *Aarbog for Rigsdagssamlingen 1938-39*, pp. 385-398, for a comparison of the amended penal code with what it replaced, and for a discussion of the points on, which amendments had been thought necessary.

[17] For discussion in the press of the proposed changes to the penal code, see *Efterladte papirer, VI. Tryksager, 1. Scrapbøger (Apr. 1938-Okt. 1938 and Dec. 1938-Jan. 1940)*. For the submissions to the *Landsting* committee by the Danske Journalisters Fællesrepræsentation and Danske Dagblades Fællesrepræsentation, see *Tillæg B til Rigsdagstidende. Forhandlinger i Landstinget. 91de ordentlige Samling 1938-39*, pp. 767-778.

[18] For criticism of the proposed amendments to the penal code by the Venstre and Konservative parties see *Rigsdagstidende. Forhandlinger i Landstinget. 91de ordentlige Samling 1938-39*, pp. 363ff.

[19] Steincke and Poul Henningsen engaged in a radio debate in November 1937 on the theme, "Censorship and Freedom." Among the various press reports, see *Radiolytteren*, Nr. 46, 14-20 November 1937, and *Politiken*, November 18, 1937.

[20] See Richard Cornell, "K.K. Steincke's Notion of *'Personlig Kultur'* and the Moral Basis of Social Democracy," *Scandinavian Studies*, 54 (1982), pp. 220-238.

[21] Steincke, p. 31.

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Domestic Politics and Development Assistance:

A Canada-Sweden Comparison of Recipient Selection

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I. Introduction

The literature dealing exclusively with the goals and motivations of small states in their foreign aid programmes is quite limited. Interest in the scholarly community has been concentrated on the large states and their foreign policies and on the relationship of foreign policies to the provision of foreign aid. Discussions of small-state aid programmes tend to be treated as an afterthought in studies dealing with larger states. In his excellent overview of foreign aid, John White states that: "A country's aid programme is shaped largely by its past and present non-developmental commitments."[1] While this observation is, in itself, too general to be particularly meaningful, it does at least provide a starting point from which to consider the aid programmes of small states.

For a beginning, the emphasis has to be put on the *past* non-developmental commitments because, aside from the size of the donor's population and GNP, what distinguishes small-state donors from large-state donors is the more limited interests in the past which small states had in the third world. The majority of small states (the obvious exclusions are Belgium and the Netherlands) had no colonial connections with the third world prior to WWII and had only very limited trade connections. The importance of these limited past connections to the development of the aid programmes of small states rests with the consideration of those factors that prompted these small states to become involved in development assistance at all. Once small states have become involved in an aid programme, attention can then shift to consideration of *present* non-developmental commitments to understand the shifts in emphasis within the programme.

Donor countries make five major decisions about their aid programmes: how much aid; how much should be distributed multilaterally or bilaterally; which countries should receive bilateral assistance; the terms of bilateral assistance; the selection of projects and programmes to be financed. Of these decisions, the one concerning the choice of recipients for bilateral assistance touches most closely the general foreign policy of the donor state. For the state with many past connections with the third world, the choice of recipients is fairly self-evident. For the small donor state without such past connections, the choice of recipients is more problematic. In effect, the establishment of a bilateral aid programme is an extension of the small donor state's foreign policy into uncharted waters. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising when White suggests that some of these states concentrate aid on countries for which there is an established coordinating framework, thus depending heavily on multilateral norms, while other states support governments that are considered to follow especially laudable development strategies. White identifies Canada with the former policy and Sweden with the later.[2]

Another study of small states as donors, has hypothesized that small donors will tend to give aid to a relatively narrow geographic range of recipients and will tend not to give aid to the enemies of large states with whom the small donor is allied.[3] In testing these hypotheses, Hoadley found that Canadian practice did not fit easily with the first hypothesis, and several small donors in Scandinavia "aided communist regimes and anti-Western liberation movements."[4] Indeed, the final conclusion on the latter hypothesis was that "the exceptions and alternative explanations remain formidable, and evidence fragmentary and speculative."[5] Viviani, in her study of Australia's experience as a donor, has suggested that small donors as a group "face a different set of constraints that derive from the scale of their aid."[6] She hypothesizes that small donors tend to use need as a principal criterion in the distribution of their aid, yet she then goes on to show that "the distribution of Australian aid is a response to historic circumstances and present perceptions of geopolitical necessities."[7] That historic circumstances and geopolitical necessities coincide more or less with the criterion of need, as Viviani suggests, does not eliminate the overriding importance of other factors than need in the choosing of recipients.

My purpose here is to look in some detail at the process of selecting recipients for aid in Canadian and Swedish development-assistance programmes at a time of change in those programmes be-

tween 1967-1970. To understand the process of change that occurred, it is first necessary to look at the original circumstances that brought Canada and Sweden into bilateral aid programmes and how this affected the initial selection of recipients. Generally, each country developed a bilateral aid programme that, at first, was not closely integrated into the mainstream of foreign policy concerns. However, this situation changed and when a shift of emphasis began in the 1960's and development assistance became a more integral part of foreign policy, the pressure for change in the choice of recipients came as much from internal domestic pressures as from reactions to external events. The aid programme of both countries developed a unique dynamic, which was an amalgam of foreign and domestic policy interests of the respective states. Of particular interest in this paper is the differences between the two countries in the domestic factors influencing the choice of recipients for development assistance.

II. Selection of Recipients — Canada

1. 1950-1966

Initially, Canada became involved in bilateral aid because of its membership in the Commonwealth. The formation of the Colombo Plan in 1950 came about because of the following: Commonwealth concerns over Britain's balance-of-payments problems, which were being aggravated by the depleting of sterling reserves by India, Pakistan and Egypt to finance post-war development; Anglo-American concerns about integrating trade between the sterling and dollar blocs; general Western concerns over the possible spread of Communism into South and South East Asia; and recognition of the great humanitarian and development needs of the countries of South and South East Asia. When the Colombo Plan idea was first mooted, Canada was quite reluctant to become involved, and only did so because of Commonwealth, and especially British, claims on Canadian loyalty. The eventual participation of the Americans in the Plan lessened Canadian reluctance somewhat, as did the assurances at the time that the need for this type of resource transfer would be short-term — initially for three years and probably not longer than six years.[8] Although the Colombo Plan included non-Commonwealth countries in South East Asia, Canadian aid was concentrated in the first decade of the plan on the three Commonwealth countries of India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Canadian bilateral aid literally "cut

its teeth" on these three countries, and the administrative experience of planning and implementing projects in these countries formed the basis for policy guidelines when bilateral aid was expanded to other areas.

The expansion of the Canadian aid programme was not long in coming despite the optimistic views of the short-term necessity for aid, and when the West Indies Federation was about to be launched in the 1956-57 period, aid was promised as a part of the advantages of Commonwealth membership. However, Canadian officials were less reluctant about providing assistance for the countries of the Caribbean than they had been in the Colombo Plan. Canadian interests in the Caribbean, in the form of Canadian banks and companies, were more evident and with the withdrawal of the British, the possibilities of increased bilateral trade appeared more feasible. A further spur to Canadian aid to the Caribbean came with the election of the Conservatives in 1957. One of the objectives of the Diefenbaker government was to increase Canadian trade with the sterling bloc, and aid to the Caribbean was seen as one way to further that objective. Thus, by 1960 a Canadian aid programme in the Commonwealth Caribbean was firmly established. The coming to independence of Ghana in 1957 resulted in the geographic expansion of Canadian aid to Africa through the Commonwealth connection. As each of the British colonies of Africa achieved independence, diplomatic relations were established and aid was provided.

The expansion of the aid programme into the Caribbean and Africa, and the belated realization on the part of Canadian officials that aid was not going to be a short-term fix for third-world development problems, found expressions administratively in the establishment of the External Aid Office in 1960. At the same time, the responsibility for administering the aid programme was transferred from the Department of Trade and Commerce to the Department of External Affairs. Thus, Canadian bilateral aid had come of age and had become the principal manifestation of Canada's relations with the third world. In 1968, the name of the aid agency was changed to Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), but the administrative role of the agency was not changed.

One of the administrative practices which had evolved in the first years of the bilateral programme had some significance for the recipients of Canadian aid, and for Canadian foreign policy. When bilateral aid was first allocated to a new geographic region, the eligible countries of the region were each allocated small amounts of

technical assistance. After that, through a process of consultation and study, a limited number of countries were offered capital assistance, and the countries that received the largest amounts of capital assistance became countries of concentration. This administrative convenience was eventually joined with Canada's foreign policy interests, and recipients identified as politically important to Canada were granted capital assistance soon after becoming recipients of technical assistance. Thus, although the needs of the African states for technical and educational assistance were considered paramount when Canada first granted aid to Ghana and Nigeria, the perceived importance of these two states in the evolution of African politics meant that capital aid was granted to both these states within two years of the first technical assistance grants.

The rapid expansion of the Canadian aid programme at the end of the 1950s had resulted in a more active interest in aid on the part of the Canadian public. For some people this interest was sparked by their support for the Diefenbaker government's commitment to the Commonwealth connection, but for others this interest was generated by dissatisfaction with the one-sided emphasis being given to Canadian foreign policy. Early in 1960, the quiet revolution in Quebec was generating demands for more acknowledgement of the francophone heritage in Canadian foreign policy. One of the avenues through which the government began to respond to this pressure was in extending diplomatic relations and aid to francophone African states. The francophone African programme was begun by the Conservatives but was barely established before the Conservatives were replaced by the Liberals in 1963. The Liberals were less inclined to emphasize Commonwealth relations to the exclusion of Canada's other commitments, and, due to the nature of their electoral support, were more anxious to respond to events in Quebec. Therefore, after re-election in 1963, they increased the commitment of funds to the francophone African programme from $300,000 per year in the period 1961/62 to 1963/64 to $4 million in 1964/65. Despite this increase in funding, the francophone African programme, up to 1967, seemed to lack the purposiveness of the Commonwealth Africa programme (which had also received increased funding since 1964/65). Further, the programme was characterized by one observer as passing through a slow process of mutual discovery, but on the part of the Canadian government it was basically a "wait-and-see policy."[9] Although difficult administrative problems were associated with the establishment of the francophone African programme, the

greater political importance attached to Commonwealth Africa can be seen in the fact that 12 percent of aid to that region prior to 1966-67 had been capital projects, while only 4.5 percent of aid to francophone Africa had been in capital projects.[10]

Meanwhile, events on the domestic front in Canada were developing a momentum that would finally provide the strong political incentive for the Canadian government to concentrate more effort and funds on its francophone African programme. Early in the 1960s, the Quebec government began looking towards France and other French-speaking states for the establishment of an association of "la Francophonie," in which Quebec would become a member. It was argued by some Quebec spokesmen that Quebec had the right to pursue international activities within the fields under provincial jurisdiction; this culminated in the establishment of a cultural entente with France in 1965. The Canadian government, after the fact, devised an "umbrella agreement" with Paris covering such ententes, hoping thus to forestall any further diplomatic mischief by Paris. Another entente between Quebec and France later the same year disabused the federal government of its hope.

2. 1967-1970

By 1967, the political tension between Ottawa and Quebec had become more pronounced. Quebec established a Department of Inter-governmental Affairs in April 1967, and a specific bureau to welcome foreign officials at Expo '67. Among the many foreign officials welcomed during Expo '67 were several Heads of States of francophone African countries, some of whom were more interested in visiting Quebec City than Ottawa. Furthermore, Quebec began to initiate direct exchanges with francophone Africans. These various moves on Quebec's part were perceived by Ottawa as the thin edge of the wedge in establishing Quebec's legitimacy as a sovereign power in international relations. The situation was further exacerbated by De Gaulle's "Vive le Québec libre" speech at Expo '67.[11] Things came to a head between Ottawa and Quebec and between Ottawa and other francophone states in February 1968 when Gabon invited Quebec to attend the Conférence des Ministres de l'Éducation Nationale des Pays Africains et Malgache. The Quebec delegation was treated like the other participants, that is, like a sovereign state. Ottawa was not invited to the Conference at all, despite efforts to receive an invitation, and was upset by the recognition accorded Quebec. Shortly after the end of the conference, Canada suspended

relations with Gabon and then undertook to reach agreement with Quebec over its representation at international conferences of "la Francophonie."

Although the Gabon affair might have been the last straw which strengthened Ottawa's resolve to stall the march of Quebec as an independent international presence, the election of Trudeau as leader of the Liberal party and shortly thereafter the re-election of the Liberals as the majority party served as vital reinforcement. Trudeau, as Justice Minister, had been instrumental in attempting to resolve federal-provincial jurisdictional disputes, including those dealing with international relations.[12] Trudeau's belief in a strong federal government motivated his concern for finding a resolution to this problem. In terms of foreign policy, Trudeau's view was expressed early in his first term of office:

> But at the present time . . . our paramount interest is to ensure the political survival of Canada as a federal and sovereign state. This means strengthening Canadian unity as a basically North American country. It means reflecting in our foreign relations the cultural diversity and the bilingualism of Canada as faithfully as possible. Parallel to our close ties with the Commonwealth, we should strive to develop a close relation with the francophone countries.[13]

This interest in a foreign policy that better expressed Canada's bilingual nature resulted in tight prime-ministerial control in all matters related to Quebec. Trudeau, with his closest advisors and Quebec colleagues, Gérard Pelletier and Jean Marchand, "defined in detail Canada's response to Quebec's interaction with France."[14]

One of the responses inspired by the Gabon affair was a new interest in Canada's aid programme to francophone Africa. During the Gabon conference, Quebec had agreed to establish its own aid programme in Gabon. Ottawa, then, had not only to make clear the political relationship with respect to Quebec's participation in international events, it had also to show decisively that, when it came to development assistance, the big money was to be found in Ottawa.[15] Therefore, in February and March 1968, a Canadian delegation, headed by Lionel Chevrier, visited several francophone African states to look into their development needs and make recommendations for Canadian assistance. The Chevrier mission identified a number of possible capital aid projects in the countries of Morocco, Tunisia, Ivory Coast, Niger, Senegal, Algeria, and Cameroun and recommended that the commitment of funds for these projects be increased by $30 million over a three-year period — additional to the existing $10 million committed to francophone Africa. The infusion

of capital aid signalled that francophone Africa was now politically important to Canada.

No transfer of funds had yet been made when a new crisis in Canada-Quebec relations occurred. A number of conferences of the francophone states were being planned for 1968 and 1969, and for each one the question of Quebec/Canadian representation was a matter of contention.[16] Niger was to be host of one of these conferences in Niamey in late 1968, and it had originally intended to invite both Quebec and Canada as two separate delegations. Through the intervention of Ottawa, the convention was delayed until the question of Canadian representation was settled. Senator Paul Martin was then sent on a diplomatic tour of several francophone African countries, including Niger, to clarify Canada's position. This visit resulted in Niger's concurrence with the Canadian government view that there should be only one invitation addressed to Ottawa and that Quebec would be included as part of the Canadian delegation. The conference was then reconvened in January 1969. The importance of this event for the aid programme was that on his tour, Martin had made it clear that any African state which followed "a course of action inimical to Canada's federal structure, or sympathetic to Quebec's aspirations" was not to be offered the new capital assistance identified by the Chevrier mission.[17] When Martin returned from his African tour he reported that the Ivory Coast, Ruanda, Congo (K) (later Zaire), Niger and Senegal were all desirous of closer and more advantageous relations with Ottawa: they had accepted Canada's conditions on Quebec's participation.[18] In the meantime, accommodation was also occurring between Ottawa and Quebec City, and by 1970 the issue of Quebec participation in conferences of *la Francophonie* was settled temporarily to the satisfaction of both Ottawa and Quebec.

3. Summary

With the clarification of the issue of Ottawa-Quebec relations vis-à-vis francophone Africa, and the more dynamic participation of Canada in development assistance, relations between Canada and the francophone African states moved into a more normal phase. The importance of this stage in the expansion of the Canadian aid programme was the deliberate use of development assistance as a means of furthering specific Canadian goals in relation to Quebec and the francophone African states. While much of the inspiration for the special status accorded Quebec at international conferences

of *la Francophonie* between 1967-70 seems to have come from Paris, the largest bloc of francophone states was in Africa, and the Canadian government's success in winning many of these states over to the Ottawa view of Ottawa/Quebec relations served to settle the issue for the time being. The focussing of the Ottawa/Quebec issue on relations with francophone Africa through the capital-aid programme meant that Ottawa intended to concentrate more political importance in the future on its relations with francophone Africa. In terms of the actual commitment of bilateral assistance, aid to francophone Africa increased from 9 percent of total bilateral aid in 1968/69 to 15 percent by 1971/72 and 20 percent in 1975/76. In 1982/83, the commitment to francophone Africa remained at 20 percent of total bilateral aid.

III. Selection of Recipients — Sweden

1. 1960-1966

An official Swedish bilateral aid programme began in 1962 as an outgrowth of an earlier semi-official programme initiated by Swedish voluntary organizations and churches in the 1950's. When the official bilateral programme was begun, the agency, Nämden for internationellt bistånd (NIB), took over the projects already implemented by the semi-official group in Ethiopia, Pakistan, South Korea (a joint Scandinavian project) and Sri Lanka (the first Swedish pilot project in population control). Furthermore, projects being negotiated in Ghana, Tunisia and India were also implemented by the NIB. Thus, at the beginning of Sweden's official bilateral aid programme these seven countries immediately became recipients of Swedish bilateral aid. Of these countries, only Ethiopia had a long history of official relationships with Sweden.[19] The other countries had been chosen as recipients because of the interest of a Swedish voluntary group in a particular project or the interest of the Scandinavian countries in a joint project.

When the bilateral programme was established, a development assistance bill (Prop. 1962:100) was passed, which covered almost every aspect of Sweden's development programme except the question of which countries should receive Swedish aid. The result was that, by default, the selection of recipients was left to the agency administering the programme. However, a number of principles which were important for the operation of the bilateral programme, were in the first Development Assistance Bill: Swedish aid was to contribute to a

"greater equality and greater understanding between peoples" and thus to promote international solidarity and peaceful world development.[20] Political independence was to be strengthened with the development of democratic societies and real national independence. Within the general aims of Swedish assistance, countries were to be selected on the following principles:[21]

a) Assistance should be given to countries that could utilize it most effectively.
b) With technical and financial assistance, importance was to be given to the development effect of the aid offered.
c) If the development effect of a given contribution was expected to be roughly equal in two different countries, priority would be given to the country that received least assistance from other sources.
d) Aid was not to be given to countries with anti-progressive social structures.

While these general principles cast some light on the country-selection process, they did not constitute a coherent selection process. Therefore, the recipient-selection process in the first eight years of the bilateral programme occurred largely outside of foreign policy decision-making.[22] The aid agency itself selected recipients.

The NIB had administrative problems and was replaced in 1965 by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA). Before NIB was disbanded it had begun projects in Liberia, Tanzania, Kenya, Sudan, Zambia and Algeria as well as having continued work in the countries mentioned before. One of the factors considered important in NIB's administrative problems was the rather rapid expansion in the number of countries being assisted and the lack of planning in project implementation. Therefore, one of SIDA's first major policy moves was the establishment of a "country concentration" policy which came into effect in 1966.[23] It was argued that too much geographic spread of Swedish aid would hinder the promotion of effective economic and social development in the developing countries. Concentration of Swedish aid was to be applied in those countries where the largest Swedish programmes already existed: Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Tunisia, India and Pakistan. Aid to the other recipients would be continued but on a much reduced level.

Selection of countries of concentration on the basis of the size and success of the established programme can be characterized as

concentration based on administrative criteria: size of programme; effectiveness of programme; future absorptive capacity potential. As far as the SIDA administrators were concerned, the policy was both rational and effective in its operation. Nevertheless, the use of administrative criteria in choosing these six countries meant that the principles of Swedish aid outlined above were bypassed in the selection/concentration process. Some parts of the Swedish public were particularly concerned in this regard by the continuation of assistance to Ethiopia, considered by many Swedes to be an anti-progressive regime.[24] In the meantime, developments occurred in Sweden that would have a profound effect on the choice of recipients. The major manifestation of an interest in change was the gathering momentum in Sweden for support to liberation struggles, an issue which became focussed on two regimes, Vietnam and South Africa. Issues in relation to Vietnam will be examined below.

2. 1967-1970

By 1967, the discussion about countries of concentration, and aid to Ethiopia, had become a matter of debate within the Social Democratic Party, and the Liberal Party had also taken up the issue. At this time, the argument put forward was that aid should go to people most in need and not to corrupt regimes. If aid had to be given state to state, then it should go to "progressive" regimes. In the following three years, one of the issues at stake was the definition of progressive regimes. SIDA's view, which was also the government's view at the time, was that support to the poorest groups in the poorest countries could be a catalyst for change even in countries with great inequalities. Ernst Michanek, Secretary-General of SIDA, defended assistance to Ethiopia on the grounds that by working for many years with Ethiopia's land-reform department, Sweden had some influence on the viewpoint there and this would have a good outcome eventually.[25] At an Extra-Party Congress in 1967, a number of resolutions were passed concerning development assistance. The main thrust of these resolutions was that Swedish assistance should be given to progressive and socialist regimes, and to movements aimed at attaining freedom from imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial oppression. It was argued that aid should go to these progressive social democratic and socialist states because such countries received less aid from multilateral or bilateral donors, had less corruption, and would affect a better development (i.e. through income- and land-equalization policies). Some of the states

suggested in these resolutions were Cuba, Cambodia, Zambia, North Vietnam, Guinea and freedom movements in South Africa and South Vietnam.[26]

Because Swedish reaction to events in Vietnam was part of the reason for the focus of attention on development assistance, it is worthwhile to outline briefly the evolution of Swedish policy on Vietnam prior to 1967. At the beginning of the 1960's, Sweden, in a general way, supported the Western view of events in Vietnam. They voted for admission of South Vietnam to the UN in 1957 and established diplomatic relations in 1960. By 1965, in reaction to American escalation of the conflict in Vietnam, Swedish leaders began to revise their view of events there. Torsten Nilsson commented in 1965 that, while Sweden, because of its policy of neutrality, had always exercised restraint in taking stands on international conflicts, this neutrality "did not prevent us from expressing an opinion on the principles which should be applied in the solution of such conflicts."[27] He also commented that the protests among Swedish youth and intellectuals against escalation of the Vietnam war were creating a demand for "a more active Swedish foreign policy." In a speech in July 1965, Olaf Palme, then Minister without Portfolio, said:

> The fundamental moral evaluations of Democratic Socialism at any rate make it our obligation to stand on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors, on the side of the poor and the distressed against their exploiters and masters.[28]

At the end of the speech, Palma added "it is about Vietnam that I have mostly been talking." In December, 1965, the Swedish Ambassador to Peking visited North Vietnam, and informal contacts were established between the two governments. Nevertheless, until 1967, most of Sweden's objections were rhetorical: no immediate effect was seen in tangible official measures. Aid to Vietnam continued to be given in equal amounts to South Vietnam, North Vietnam and to the NLF through such neutral organizations as the Red Cross and Lutheran World Alliance. In 1967, rhetoric became reinforced by action. Relations with South Vietnam were suspended, and the North Vietnamese Ambassador to Moscow was invited to Stockholm for consultations. In February 1968, Palme (not yet Prime Minister) joined an anti-Vietnam-war demonstration in Stockholm in company with the North Vietnamese Ambassador to Moscow. This and subsequent actions resulted in a deterioration in official Swedish-U.S. relations.[29]

Not everyone in Sweden supported the new policy of activism, but 1968 was an election year, and the Social Democrats were con-

cerned about their electoral support. For this reason they were listening more attentively than usual to their youth wing and to the radical left of the Party to secure their support in the election. Furthermore, while the Social Democrats were pragmatists in government, they took party policy congresses seriously and tried to implement the policies put forward. At the Extra-Party Congress in 1967 it was not just Sweden's foreign aid that was under scrutiny but the whole philosophy behind SDP ideology as it applied to Sweden's domestic affairs.[30] The wider issue of ideology was put in the hands of a committee that presented its report, *Jämlikhet* (Equality), at the Party Congress in 1969. The resolutions concerning development assistance, which were passed at the 1967 Congress, were incorporated into the *Jämlikhet* Report and became part of SDP policy.[31]

In the years between 1967 and 1970, three personalities were also influential in the acceptance of these new proposals. On the side of the maintenance of a policy of recipient selection, which was neutral with regard to regime-orientation, was SIDA's Director, Ernst Michanek. His opinion carried great weight with Nilsson, the Foreign Minister, but after the 1968 election, Nilsson became more amenable to suggestions for a change in the aid policy, and by 1969 he was willing to accept the recommendations in *Jämlikhet*. The third person involved, and the one who appears to have been the most instrumental in bringing Nilsson around, was Lennart Klackenberg, State Secretary for the Aid Bureau in the Foreign Ministry. The Aid Bureau within the Foreign Ministry had only been established in 1968, but its function as a liaison between SIDA and the Foreign and Finance Ministries gave it a special role in policy formation. Klackenberg was an active SDP member and sympathetic to the idea that aid programmes had great possibilities for success in states actively struggling to overcome poverty.[32]

By the time the new policy with regard to country selection and concentration became written into legislation, it was obvious a compromise had been reached between the old and the new policies. The already-existing countries of concentration were to be given continued support, but in the future, Sweden in the first instance would seek "cooperation with countries where the government in its economic and social policy strives for the kind of structural change which creates the necessary conditions for a development characterized by economic and social equalization." Foremost in consideration under this new policy would be increased support for North Vietnam: humanitarian assistance until such time as the Vietnamese

conflict ended and reconstruction support after that.[33] The 1970 Bill also reiterated the policy in support of liberation movements enunciated in 1969. Between 1970-75, the recipients selected as a result of this new policy were Bangladesh, Botswana, Cuba, Vietnam, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Zambia. In terms of actual funds committed, by 1975/76 the original countries of concentration received 40 percent of the total bilateral funds, while the newer group of countries received 36 percent. (The balance of funds went to another group of countries which received small amounts of bilateral aid, especially for family-planning projects.)

3. Summary

This change in Swedish aid policy between 1967 and 1970 was the most dramatic manifestation of the radicalization of Swedish foreign policy. In some other areas of Swedish foreign policy the new emphasis on equality and justice was evident but nowhere was it as systematically applied as in the aid programme. Traditionally, Swedish foreign policy has not been open to extensive public debate because of the all-party support of Swedish neutrality. The application of this neutral policy then was the exclusive preserve of the King-in-Council and the Foreign Ministry. SIDA, while it was a semi-autonomous agency attached to the Foreign Ministry, was not perceived to be as sacrosanct as other parts of the foreign ministry in terms of public debate. Furthermore, the whole background of Swedish aid was premised on the notion of public participation; aid policy became the avenue through which public opinion could legitimately push for changes in foreign policy.

IV. Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper, I outlined some of the hypotheses which have been put forward as important factors in determining the aid programmes of small states. These factors were:

1. The historic circumstances prompting the first involvement in bilateral aid;
2. The relationship with allies and/or superpowers;
3. The limited aid budgets and interests of small states.

Each of these factors had an important impact on the choice of recipients in the Canadian and Swedish development-assistance programmes. Canadian aid was first given through the Commonwealth, and the Commonwealth fixation continued for more than 15 years.

Swedish aid was first concentrated on six countries for administrative convenience, and even a change in policy direction did not affect those six countries. So, inertia, commitment or administrative efficiency favoured those countries that were among the early recipients of assistance.

The second factor, the relationship with allies or superpowers, obviously affected both Canadian and Swedish selection of recipients. Canada became involved in Commonwealth aid in part because of Anglo-American concern for keeping Britain's ex-colonies in the Western camp. On the other hand, the stepped-up activity in francophone Africa after 1967 was a reaction in part to French support of Quebec aspirations. In Sweden's case, as a neutral state, the role of support of allies would not appear to be a motivating cause either for extending aid or choosing recipients. Nevertheless, Sweden was influenced by general Western perceptions of development needs when it established its bilateral programme in 1962. The selection of early recipients, however, was based on factors internal to Sweden or related to Nordic cooperation. The change in recipient-selection policy was a reaction to a superpower activity — principally U.S. action in Vietnam. While the Canadian and Swedish changes in recipient policy were both in reaction to a larger power, the difference between the two countries is significant. Canada reacted because French activities were directly affecting Canadian affairs. Sweden reacted because the U.S. was interfering in the affairs of a weaker state.

The third factor, the size of the aid budget, was not directly addressed in this paper, but the small state obviously must cut its aid suit to fit the cloth of the budget, and some sort of selection policy must be in place. On the other hand, the change in policy direction that occurred in 1967-70 could only be implemented because the aid budgets of both countries were expanding rapidly, and the budgets allowed for additional funding for the targeted recipients.

It was suggested in the introduction, however, that the main factor distinguishing the country-selection process after 1967 from that before 1967, was the response of Canada and Sweden to domestic politics and the dynamic this provided to the recipient-selection process. This internal dynamic gives the aid programmes of the small states as much uniqueness as that of large states. From the two cases described above, several differences between the two states can account for why, and in which ways, the two governments responded to these particular issues.

First, the demands of the federal state make Canadian politicians more than ordinarily sensitive to issues affecting the provinces, and especially the province of Quebec. Sweden, as a unitary state, does not face this type of centrifugal force in its domestic politics.

Secondly, differences between the respective parties in power, the Liberals in Canada and the SDP in Sweden affect policy issues. The Canadian Liberal Party is a "brokerage party," that is, a party that selects whatever ideas or policies it feels will have the widest appeal to the voters, in order to ensure a majority in the government. Brokerage politics in Canada often serves to moderate and modify diverse regional interests. For the Liberal Party, which has for several decades received strong support from Quebec, brokerage politics requires the Party to respond to Quebec issues. Even before 1967, the increase in aid to francophone Africa was a response to demands from Quebec for a greater emphasis on the French fact in foreign policy. After 1967, this demand and the threat to federalism posed by Quebec's actions in international relations were joined, giving the federal government even more incentive to act decisively. The Social Democratic Party of Sweden, on the other hand, is a party of principle. It established its party platform on the basis of the principles agreed to by the membership at party congresses. When in power, the SDP utilizes an astute pragmatism in order to remain in power, but every once in a while the rank and file of the Party call for a return to principles and a restatement of the party ideology. The Extra-Party Congress of 1967 represented a step on the way toward the reinterpretation of party ideology, which culminated in the *Jämlikhet* Report. Development assistance — particularly the issue of support to regimes that sought equality and justice for all their people — was simply another aspect of policy drawn into the debate. But once development assistance had been drawn into the debate, it was necessary for the SDP to respond to that issue with practical policies.

Thirdly, the attention of the Liberals in Canada, and of the SDP in Sweden, to the particular problem of recipient selection and support was heightened by the elections held in both countries in 1968. The Liberals, under a new French Canadian leader, were determined to put a federal-only stamp on foreign policy while acknowledging the need to expand the francophone component in Canada's foreign policy, and they were motivated in part by their interest in securing the Quebec vote. The SDP, also under a new leader, was sympathetic to the radical demands of some of its members in a bid

for support in the election. In both countries, by responding to the domestic demands for another type of recipient selection, the respective governments added a new, distinctive depth to their foreign policy.

Notes

[1] John White, *The Politics of Foreign Aid* (London: Bodley Head, 1974), p. 37.

[2] White, pp. 53-4.

[3] J. Stephen Hoadley, "Small States as Aid Donors," *International Organization*, 34 (Winter 1980), p. 124.

[4] Hoadley, p. 128.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Nancy Viviani, "Problems of the Small Donor: The Australian Experience," in *Cooperational Development in the Asia/Pacific Region: Papers*, eds. L.V. Castle and F. Holmes (Tokyo: Japan Economic Research Center, 1976), p. 200.

[7] Viviani, p. 209.

[8] For the details of the Canadian position at the time of the establishment of the Colombo Plan, see Douglas LePan, *Bright Glass of Memory*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), Ch. 4.

[9] Louis Sabourin, "Canada and Francophone Africa," in *Canada and the Third World*, eds. Peyton V. Lyon and Tareq Y. Ismael (MacMillan of Canada, 1976), p. 140.

[10] Calculated from figures in External Aid Office, *Annual Review, 1966-1967*.

[11] A more detailed discussion of these events is found in John P. Schlegel, *The Deceptive Ash: Bilingualism and Canadian Policy in Africa: 1957-1971* (University Press of America, 1978), pp. 190-224.

[12] Trudeau's role in the pre-1968 discussions is outlined in Schlegel, pp. 245-51.

[13] "Canada and the World, 1968." Statement by . . . Mr. Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, May 29, 1968, Repr. in *Canadian Foreign Policy, 1966-1976: Selected Speeches and Documents*, Arthur E. Blanchette (ed.), (Carleton Library, 1980), p. 340.

[14] David B. Dewitt and John J. Kirton, *Canada as a Principal Power* (Toronto: John Wiley, 1983), p. 214.

[15] Schlegel, p. 263.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

[18] *Senate Debates*, 18 December 1968, pp. 795-6.

[19] For the details of Swedish relations with Ethiopia see: Viveca Halldin Norberg, *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924-1952* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1977).

[20] *Development Assistance Bill, 1962*, p. 17. The Development Assistance Bill is the English text of Prop. 1962:100, somewhat edited but containing all the essential information from Prop. 1962:100.

[21] *DAB, 1962*, pp. 18 and 28.

[22] The dynamics of the policy process in Swedish aid for the years 1960-68 are explored in Janet G. Hankin, *Growth Without Guidance: The Development of the Swedish Foreign Aid Programme, 1960-1968* (Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1979).

[23] Prop. 1966:1, Bil 5, pp. 33-4.

[24] A discussion of Swedish opinion on Ethiopia is found in Ian R. Barnes, "The Changing Nature of the Swedish Aid Relationship During the Social Democratic Period of Government," in *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 15, no. 3 (1980), pp. 143-44.

[25] Ernst Michanek, "Bistånd och Påverkan," *Tiden*, 1969:3, p. 157. See also the comments on this issue by Torsten Nilsson, Foreign Minister, at the SDP Extra-Party Congress in October 1967, *Documents on Swedish Foreign Policy, 1967*, p. 48 (Hereafter *DSFP*).

[26] Barnes, p. 144.

[27] *DSFP, 1965*, p. 50.

[28] *DSFP, 1965*, p. 46.

[29] M. Donald Hancock, *Sweden: The Politics of Postindustrial Change* (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1972), p. 254.

[30] Barnes, pp. 141-2. The early history of the Social Democratic Party and the interplay between pragmatic politics and party ideology is found in Herbert Tingsten, *The Swedish Social Democrats: Their Ideological Development* (Bedminster Press, 1973).

[31] The abridged English version of *Jämlikhet* is *Towards Equality; The Alva Myrdal Report for the Swedish Social Democratic Party* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1971).

[32] Barnes, p. 147. Klackenberg's view of country selection was set out in "U-Hjälp och Länderval," *Tiden*, 1969:2, pp. 93-7.

[33] Prop. 1970:1, Bil. 5, pp. 17-18. See also the interpretation of the Prop. in SU 1970:84.

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Is the Swedish Welfare State in Trouble?

A New Policy Model

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Mancur Olson has often talked about the sclerotic development of economies that have been riding a wave of success for a long time. Herbert Giersch has introduced the term Eurosclerosis. In Olson's 1982 book[1] Sweden was cited as the exception to this rule. But during the last ten years or so it has become very popular to entertain thoughts and write books about the impending collapse of the Swedish welfare state.[2] Critics were fast to take note of the signs of distress that began to show by the middle 70s. At last, Sweden was conforming.

On many occasions and in many articles Lester Thurow has praised industrial policy-making. Industrial policy-making in various forms and shapes has a longstanding tradition in Sweden. The *old* Swedish policy model that I will explain later had an active labour market policy as its central element. Since the late 60s this policy has been gradually abandoned. Swedish industry, the argument ran, had to become competitive; it needs government help. So we had the *new* policies of the 70s. When introduced they seemed very much like the programs Thurow has been pushing for.[3] Here, I will present some evidence on the outcome of the new Swedish policy experience.

Industrial policy and the welfare state are very much related, and the old Swedish policy model illustrates just that. The more one believes in markets, the more infrastructure-oriented industrial policy will be, and the more insurance and mobility-oriented will be the welfare programs. This is the old Swedish model which had a pronounced individualistic orientation.

If, in contrast, the orientation of the welfare state is more egalitarian, then more collective means are chosen to counter the influences of the market. Selective interferences in the economy begin to dominate, the purpose often being to achieve short-term policy ob-

jectives related to unemployment. When the price system is not allowed to exert its influence on economic structures — especially in a small, open economy like Sweden's — industries eventually become less competitive. A potential unemployment problem builds up. This is the background of the *new* Swedish policy model.

This paper is organized as follows. The old, Swedish industrial policy model is briefly presented in the light of a long history of industrial growth and an even longer history of a business-minded, conservative culture. The gradual break-up of the old Swedish model, I continue to argue, may have been caused by Olson-type forces and the building of a welfare culture that would not adjust to new economic realities, or by political pressure to impose employment-oriented policies on a healthy economy, or by sheer political blundering and failure to understand the changing economy. Whatever the reason, the argument runs, economic damage is done. The problem is political: there are many feasible solutions, but all require a short-term adjustment with negative social effects and unpredictable distributional outcomes. All require a roll-back of the welfare ambitions of the past. Yet politicians are reluctant to move, and individuals and households, dependent on public transfer income, are caught in a situation like the prisoners' dilemma. At the same time whatever the policy-makers do, the internationally exposed Swedish economy is under world market pressure to adjust on its own.

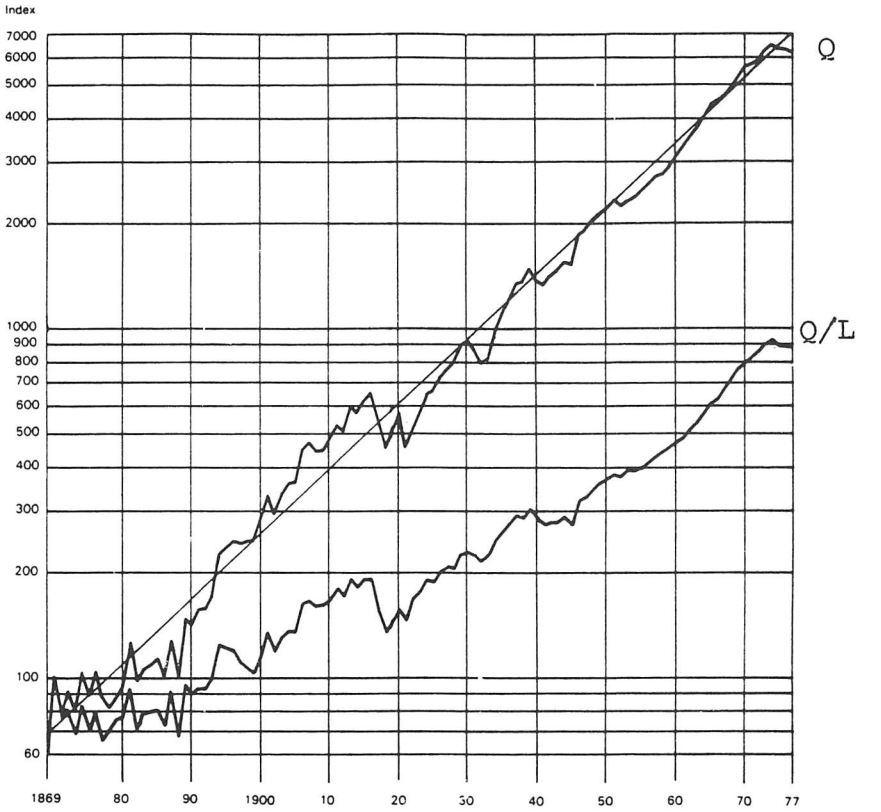
1. Some Background Evidence on the Swedish Economy

Swedish industry has been a superb economic performer (Figure 1). Manufacturing output grew by just above 5 percent per annum on the average for more than one hundred years. This success story appears to have ended abruptly in the 70s. Manufacturing output stagnated after 1973: growth resumed in 1983 only after a large devaluation of the Swedish krona (Figure 2). It is interesting to note that the four Nordic countries represented in Figure 3 can be placed in two groups:

Sweden and *Norway* have weak manufacturing growth, a low level of open unemployment and extensive policy interference in the manufacturing sector.

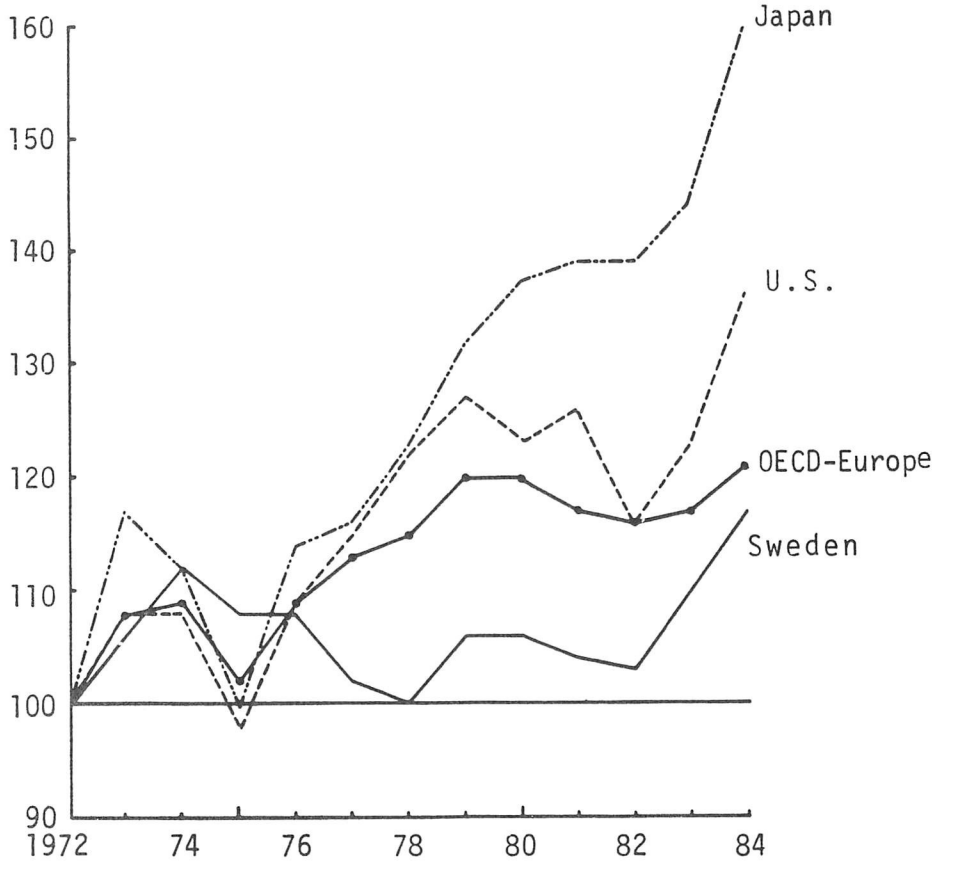
Denmark and *Finland* have continuing growth in manufacturing, at, or above, the average OECD rate, high open unemployment and virtually no selective industrial policy interference in the market allocation machinery.

Figure 1: Manufacturing Output (Q) and Manufacturing Output per Employed (Q/L)
Index 1870 = 100



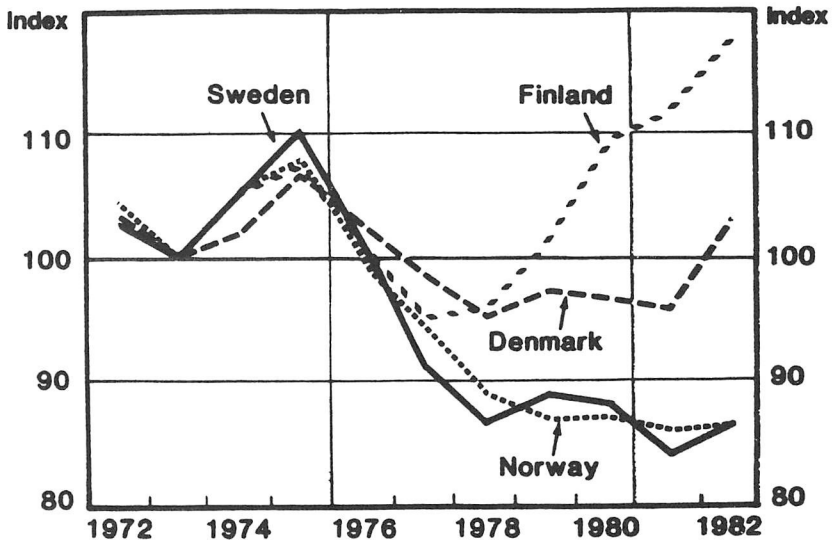
Source: *Industriell Utveckling* [4]

Figure 2: Manufacturing Output in the U.S., Japan, OECD Europe and in Sweden, 1972-1984
Index 100 = 1972



Source: *Att rätt värdera 90-talet*[5]

Figure 3: Production in Manufacturing Industry, 1972-82; The Nordic Countries Compared with the OECD
Index OECD = 100



Source: *Economic Growth*[6]

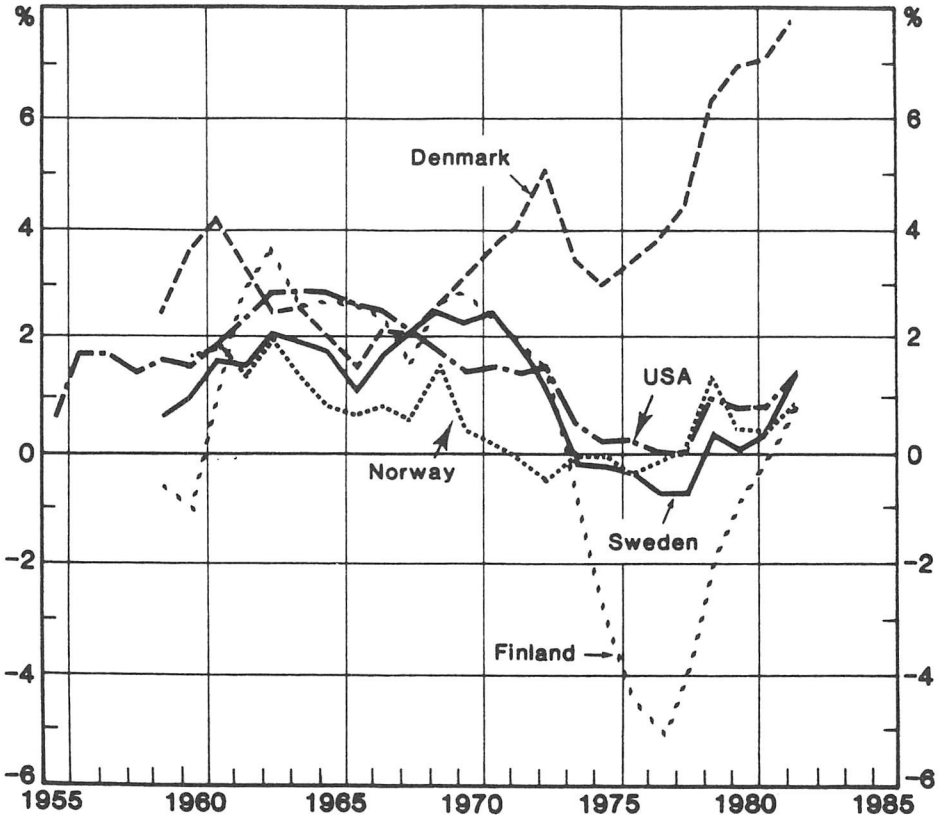
The Danish situation is particularly interesting. Denmark has long been considered the bankrupt nation of Europe, with its huge foreign debt. A consequence of this growing debt, (currently reaching almost 35 percent of the GNP on a net basis), has been rising real interest rates. The domestic (Fisher deflated) real interest rate has been far above those in the other Nordic countries and the United States since the mid-60s, and investment has been plunging (Figures 4 and 5). Nevertheless, manufacturing output has been expanding with the OECD average, despite dramatically reduced employment in the sector, and Denmark is currently endowed with a relatively small, but very sophisticated industry, consisting mainly of small and medium-sized firms.

Sweden takes the other extreme position. Interest rates have been kept low, investment in manufacturing increased strongly after the 1973/74 oil situation, and employment has been maintained; but output has been standing still. If manufacturing output had ex-

panded since 1973-74 at the average OECD-Europe rate, it would have been more than 15 percent larger than it was in 1982. Although Sweden was only lagging OECD Europe by 5 percent in 1984, United States manufacturing was still more than 15 percent ahead (Figure 2).

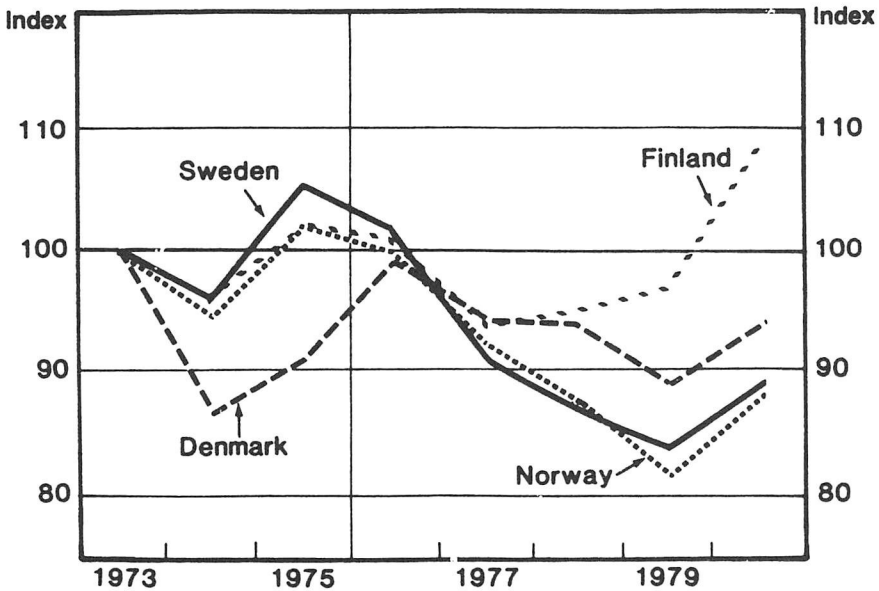
Apparently resource allocation and use in an economy affects the output result.

Figure 4: Real Interest Rates (Before Taxes) in the Nordic Countries and in the U.S., 1955-82
5 year moving average, per cent



Source: *Economic Growth*, p. 28.

Figure 5: Investment in Manufacturing Industry, 1973-80; The Nordic Countries Compared with the OECD
Index OECD = 100



Source: *Economic Growth*, p. 18.

2. Scandinavia's Old Capitalist Tradition

It is a trivial observation from philosophy that the way one approaches a problem determines one's understanding of it. The nature of one's understanding is, however, not trivial if transformed into policy action. Policies may easily worsen the situation if based on a misconception of dynamic economic processes.

The year 1983 marked the 100th birthday of two great economists, Lord Keynes and Joseph Schumpeter who have come to represent two distinct theoretical outlooks on the workings of an industrial economy. The two economists also represent two markedly different ideological or political outlooks that have been very influential in the design of economic policies. Schumpeter emphasized innovative entrepreneurial qualities in the economic growth process.

He also observed that the nature of the capitalist process was not independent of a nation's culture, and that the qualities needed for economic growth took a very long time to develop. In Sweden, the early industrial policy had Keynesian aspects, but was fundamentally Schumpeterian in its appreciation of industrial knowledge and talent.

Recent years have brought a growing interest in the life and culture of the Scandinavian vikings, not because of their reputation as great warriors, but rather as developers of commerce and industry. Some, like Adam Smith, have argued that understanding the development of the economic wealth of nations, requires a very long-run historic perspective; others maintain that economic behaviour is as much guided by non-economic factors like the value system of a nation's inhabitants as it is by prices and profits. In this vein run arguments that the cradle of capitalist thought and action really lies in the culture of the Scandinavian vikings.[7]

I am not going to insist that events of 1,000 years ago explain what is going on today, but entrepreneurial attitudes are certainly an integral part of Swedish culture. And the current situation in the Swedish economic and political systems cannot be explained without due consideration of a long history of conservative traditions, a business-minded culture, and a democracy firmly rooted in the private ownership of land by farmers and guaranteed by written and unwritten laws from medieval times. Sweden never developed the continental European feudal political order.

While large scale manufacturing of goods is relatively new in the other Nordic countries, factories for manufacturing weapons and jewelry which date from the very early viking age (ca 400 AD) have been uncovered in Sweden. Extensive mining of iron ore and copper for exports has been going on for at least one thousand years. The first incorporated company in the world (Stora Kopparberg) has its charter dated in the 13th century: it is currently the 12th largest export company in Sweden. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Swedish kings encouraged foreign, direct investment and the import of new technology. Shipbuilding was started on a large scale in the 16th century. In the 17th century, Sweden had a commercial, as well as a naval, fleet comparable to that of Great Britain. Of the 35 largest Swedish manufacturing corporations in 1981, two-thirds started production before the turn of the century.[8] The ten largest of them together employ some 400,000 people worldwide.

Directly and indirectly these firms keep more than 25 percent of the domestic manufacturing labour force busy. At least seven of the ten companies are the largest producers in the world in their main product lines (vacuum cleaners, hard core metals, ball bearings, dairies, etc.) If we look at the group of large, international Swedish manufacturing corporations the picture looks impressive indeed. Some authors[9] even want to place Swedish industry in a special class, removed from all other industrial countries and together with the largest industrial nations — the U.S., West Germany and Japan — when it comes to diversity and levels of industrial competence. This, somehow, has to be incorporated into a story that explains the stagnation of manufacturing output during the last decade.

3. The Old Swedish Industrial Policy Model

The old Swedish industrial policy model, as incarnated in formal and informal agreements between the unions, business and the social democratic governments, included the following: (1) non-intervention on the part of the central authority in the production process of firms, (2) so-called solidaric wage policies, (3) an active labour market policy to stimulate mobility, (4) a low interest rate policy to stimulate growth in manufacturing and (5) re-distribution through taxes and public sector growth. The full extent of this should be understood, since most writers on the Swedish policy model have restricted attention to the active labour market policy part.[10] The key notions were efficient production through free trade and competitive entry, decentralized production and ownership, efficient structural adjustment through active labour market policies and efficient (equitable) distribution through public sector growth. The objective was to maximize the growth of total output and to appropriate as much as possible of output — through the tax system and public sector growth — for re-distribution, *but without violating the basic growth premise*. This is how the welfare state and industrial policy came together.

The Swedish policy model started from the assumption that a decentralized market organization of the production system is efficient. The competence to manage industrial activities resided among the micro agents in the market and they mattered critically for the success of a business venture. Bureaucrats were assumed to lack the competence to manage a business firm. Market forces, therefore, should be stimulated through the policy system. Industrial efficiency

was not a matter of coordination, but of finding the right business combinations — to use a Schumpeterian expression — that should receive investment funds. This principle also presumes that inferior firms that find themselves in the wrong market, or are badly managed, should be allowed to go bankrupt or be purchased by somebody else on commercial grounds. Creative destruction, to use another Schumpeterian term, was as important as finding the right opportunity. The active labour market policy was in place to minimize the social costs of the adjustment. Under the reign of the old policy model there was no place to complain about the hardship suffered when having to change job or move because of market competition. The absence of a Department of Industry or similar industrial policy agencies until the 70s signifies an attitude of society in this respect. This was part of the old Swedish policy model and defines its perhaps most important characteristic: a means of indoctrination to make people accept the rules of the market game.

As pointed out earlier, the basic philosophy underlying the Swedish policy model was formulated in the early 50s within the Swedish labour union movement. This philosophy formed the backbone of the Social Democrats' economic policy through most of the 60s. It held that *there was no reason to socialize the means of production and to abstain from the benefits of an efficient, market-organized production system for reasons of doctrine.*

With a high-performance production system — a "capitalist engine" — the public authorities' ambitions could be oriented towards the *distribution* of the total output produced, according to principles that differed from those of the market.

4. The Public Sector — From Infrastructure Provider to a Huge Redistribution Game

For about 100 years, up to the late 60s, the public sector in Sweden consisted mostly of local government bodies. Most local government activity concerned the provision of healthy and educated workers for industry. Besides health, schooling and retirement funding, the remaining large budget item was transportation.[11] Very little research has been devoted to evaluating the significance for industrial expansion of such infrastructure activities. Were they important in facilitating the "take off" in manufacturing output growth that occurred around the mid-19th century? In any case, the major share of public expenditures is still being allocated to these infra-

structure "investments," even though new forms of expenditures for social and egalitarian purposes have been rapidly growing in importance.

My *first* observation concerns the actual production of these infrastructure services, which recently have been exhibiting signs of a deteriorating quality. Schooling, health care, retirement schemes and transportation are almost wholly "socialized" and run through public agencies. But financing education, health, and pensions is basically a matter of transfers over the life-cycle, which can in principle be handled through the market by insurance companies and credit institutions, as it is to a much larger extent in the United States and in Switzerland. An important issue in the economics of the welfare state is the relative efficiency of private solutions compared to running these enormous insurance and banking activities through a government bureaucracy. It may sound surprising, but only a relatively small share of the total tax take of some 10 percent of the Swedish GNP, is used for truly egalitarian measures, aimed at equalizing the life income among individuals.

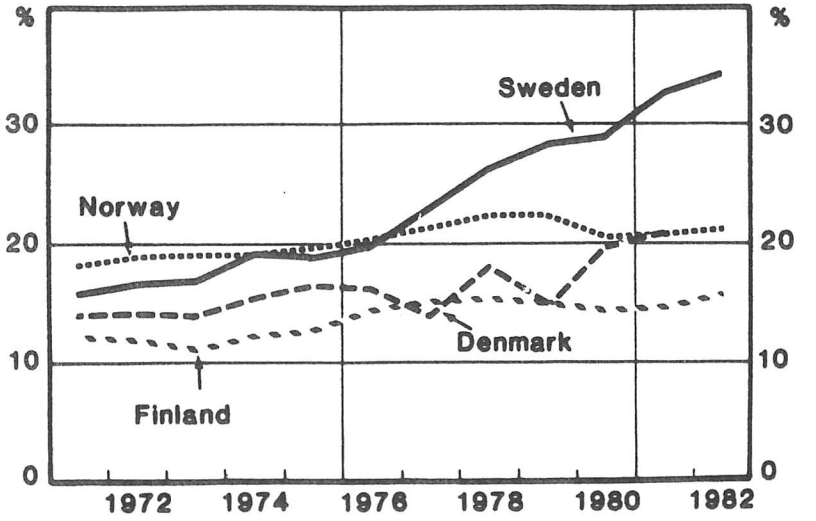
The *second* observation concerns the rapidly growing share of transfers in the government budget (see Figures 6 and 7). This concerns individuals and households as well as firms, and it separates compensation from job effort. It is interesting to note that for the first time in history clients of the public sector — public employees, retired people, those on welfare and so on, were a majority of the 1985 electorate.[12] The important question, though, is how much this growth in transfers has affected incentives, and efficiency.[13]

5. The New Industrial Policies — or Socialization Through the Back Door

Even though few observers seemed to realize it, under the old industrial-policy model Sweden in the mid-60s had one of the lowest rates of industrial public ownership in the OECD. Publicly operated manufacturing companies accounted for less than 5 percent of manufacturing employment.

However, to discuss industrial policy without including the publicly run service sector means downplaying the extent of "nationalization policies." There are private alternatives to the service production that accounts for most government activity in many countries.

Figure 6: Transfer Payments to Households in the Nordic Countries, 1971-82
Per cent of GNP



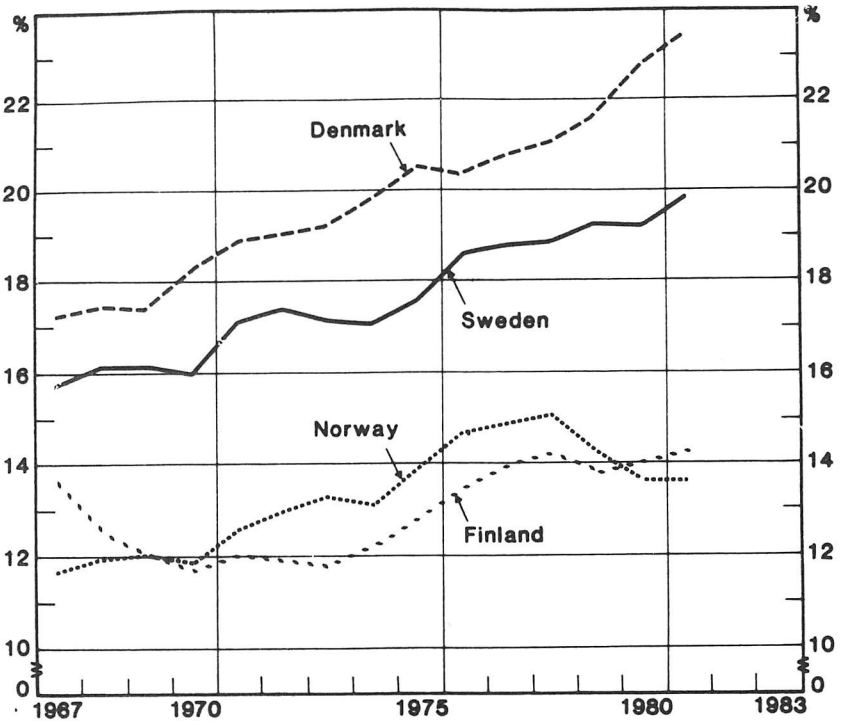
Source: *Economic Growth*, p. 33.

The interesting distinction is between the market and the non- or semi-market sectors of the economy (the latter being the one over which the Government exercises considerable control through regulation and ownership, providing protection from market competition).

It was estimated that in 1977, 22 percent of Swedish goods production came from the non-market sector, and of service production between 35 and 42 percent originated in the non-market sector.[14] Only 32 percent of the total consumption was free of price controls or subsidies. Nevertheless, one has to realize that the public sector is not a homogeneous, centrally controlled body. It consists of a great many reasonably autonomous decision bodies, as autonomous as many firms constrained by a competitive market environment. The difference is that the public bodies are governed by different criteria than the market agents, a circumstance that affects their efficiency.

Even if we include the public sector, Sweden was not particularly socialized in the early 50s when compared with other industrial countries. Today, however, the public sector is significantly larger

Figure 7: The Public Sector in the Nordic Countries, 1967-83
Per cent of GNP



Source: *Economic Growth*, p. 34.

than the manufacturing industry if measured by employment (30 percent of the labour force compared to 22 percent). Again, this is not the largest share among the industrialized countries. The distinguishing feature is the extent of transfer payments, and the change in direction of these payments during the 70s.

a) A dual economy

If one looks at the total share of Swedish output that is now protected from the direct competitive pressure of foreign and domestic firms, it is large by international standards. This protected sector includes almost the entire public sector. This does not imply that the Swedish people do not demand the services produced in the public sector. On the contrary, demand for health care, education and re-

tirement schemes tends to increase with the level of economic wealth in all countries. There must, however, be concern about who runs the production, pricing and financing of such services. Is production less efficient if organized under a centralized authority within the public sector, shielded from outside competition, than if organized on a more decentralized basis? More efficient private solutions, with a higher price and a smaller tax subsidy, may exist, and they need not violate the ambitions concerning welfare and distribution set by Swedish Governments during the 70s.

Labour market policy is a good example. Labour market agencies are run by the public sector in Sweden. This is a standard feature of welfare societies. However, they are not always monopoly institutions. In Sweden, private labour agency activity on commercial grounds is prohibited, and the Labour Market Authority and its employee organizations keenly watch, objecting to proposals and legislation which might undermine that monopoly position and introduce competition. Competition in the service production currently monopolized by the public sector is potentially very beneficial for the entire society. But it implies tougher standards for both the service agencies and their employees. It is paradoxical to observe that the total labour market program, which along with the industrial subsidy program drew more than 6 percent of the GNP in the late 70s, rather than lowering unemployment, appears to have increased open unemployment at each targeted inflation rate.[15] On the margin, the enormous — at least 3 percent of the GNP per year — labour market policy program of the 70s even appears to have been welfare reducing.[16]

The potential social benefit foregone by the public control of service production arises from the fact that a major share of income distribution policies in Sweden involves a *reshuffling of benefits over the life-cycle of the individual rather than between life incomes of different individuals.* This makes financing alternatives based on individually based insurance principles adequate and efficient.

Moreover, a deteriorating macroeconomic situation is not a good basis for ambitious welfare and distributional policies. During the postwar period international competition faced by Swedish goods production has increased strongly. But the rapid growth of the public sector, sheltered from both domestic and foreign competition and coupled with the full employment policy, has forced up wages throughout the system. This has reduced the relative size of manufacturing. Hence, the export-oriented industry sector has had to ab-

sorb a growing structural adjustment burden that relates to the entire economy. The conflict between distributional ambitions and growth has finally led to an economic impasse in the early 80s, the solution of which may be critical for the future success of the Swedish economic system.

b) How to make public production more market oriented?

Guaranteed output and employment levels in public production pose part of the problem of insufficient market price guidance of the economy. Well into the 70s the demand for labour largely determined the level of employment in private industry: Swedish labour market policies involved helping workers move to jobs where they were most needed and obtained the largest marginal product. Thus, employment in the agricultural sector was reduced from more than 600,000 in 1950 to just above 200,000 at the end of the 70s. This corresponded to closing down a major shipyard every second or third month for more than 30 years, a labour migration on a scale far larger than the more modest adjustments necessary within industry today.

The so-called "solidaric" wage policy on the part of unions — combined with a highly progressive income tax and rising payroll taxes — increased the speed of structural change. Those industries unable to maintain profitability through higher prices or increased productivity were simply forced to fade away. Despite the hardening international competition for a relatively shrinking export sector the adjustment burden was shared fairly equally between labour (unemployment, job change) and capital (losses) until the mid-70s.

The 70s marked a break with this tradition, as labour began to be increasingly protected by legislation from being forced to move. Equally important, probably, were the erroneous expectations about future labour needs, and the ability to pay high wages, on the part of firm managers during the first round of extreme inflation in 1973/75. Add a new mood of "social responsibility" among business leaders when it comes to laying off workers, and it is easy to see that almost the entire adjustment cost forced on the Swedish economy during recent years has been absorbed by business profits, especially in the export sector.

An implicit "employment guarantee" of the Swedish type suggests that making exaggerated wage demands involves smaller risks than before of losing a job. While the total adjustment pressure on the economic structure has increased, the sector that has to make the adjustment has shrunk relatively. In addition, since the non-market

sector, controlled by public authorities, has grown relatively, the diversity of structures, demonstrated to be important for macroeconomic stability,[17] has decreased. The supreme generators of diversity in an economy are innovative, competitive entry of superior, and exit of inferior production establishments. Within the public sector entry is normally restricted or forbidden, and political bodies are notoriously bad in shutting down commercially impractical activities. As a consequence, new elements of instability and tension have crept into the Swedish economic system.

c) Socialization through the back door?

For the first time, many large corporations have come close to bankruptcy. The government has stepped in with subsidies to prevent large, concentrated shutdowns: shipbuilding is the prime example. A number of industrial companies have been taken over by the government in recent years for the same reason. It has become increasingly difficult politically to allow large, inferior production plants to die. Labour will of course interpret this as a "local" job holding insurance, and managers and capital owners will probably interpret the relief from market pressure as a political insurance of their assets. Unpleasant internal reorganizations will be postponed.

Eventually, political pressure will build up for public control of decisions regarding when and where to invest, since the government is footing the bill anyway. The employee or wage earners funds (see below) become a natural socialist conclusion to such a development, if nothing steps in to break it. Perhaps this is part of the dismal vision of the future semi-planned economy that Joseph Schumpeter once had. Some of the West European industrial countries are already close to this scenario. The process began in Sweden by the government making individual business firms responsible for employment in their firms. This has in turn led to the government stepping in to take over managerial responsibility in a growing number of companies — an absurd mismatch of competence and task.

Schumpeter viewed capitalism, individualism and democracy as interlinked concepts. Those who worried about the future of the market economy had equally good reasons to worry about the future of individual freedom and democratic processes — or in short, about the future of western industrial society.

d) The political discount rate is high

The 70s began in Sweden with pompous political fanfares about the need for government intervention in industry to make it behave

and perform better. The Swedish state-operated company, Statsföretag AB, was created with the declared ambition of setting a good example of socialized business, doing everything at least as well as the best private companies, but also assuming a social responsibility.[18] The Department of Industry was formed, and it drew up extensive plans, including those for a gigantic standard steel plant in the underindustrialized north ("Steel Works 80"). The plant was never built, to the relief of later governments, but just the preparatory work on the site almost wrecked the finances of the proposed host city of Luleå.

The ultimate industrial policy ambition was vested in the joint push by the social-democratic party and the central blue-collar union, the LO, for collectively (read union) controlled "employee funds" that would eventually take over control in private industry.[19] Returning to power in 1982, the social-democrats, pushed by the unions, reluctantly forced a watered-down version of these funds through a marginally willing parliament. (The three bourgeois parties pledged to throw the funds out when they returned to power.) The economic situation of the country was very different from what it had been when the political push for these funds began.

The early ambitions of Swedish industrial policy-making aimed at improving business performance within the firms and industries. This new kind of attention did not please business leaders, and created a tension between unions, government and business that had not existed during the many years of the old Swedish policy model. During the later phase of the political process the state of tension worsened considerably. (In the early 60s business leaders and union leaders travelled the United States to praise the Swedish model, shaking hands and smiling in front of TV cameras. In October, 1983, business owners and executives marched the streets of Stockholm to protest the employee funds.) A gradual take over of control in the private sector was the obvious ambition. Hailed by its promoters as a step towards economic democracy, it was strongly resisted by industry as representing an unwarranted change of the politico-economic system. A critical political question now is whether the employee funds will be thrown out. Is the watered-down version potent enough to lead eventually to a government-union takeover of industry (read socialization)? Or will it rather be a costly vehicle for wasteful disposal of investment resources?

The new policy model as practiced through the 70s has turned out to be entirely different from the old policy regime. Outcomes are

also very different from the pompous intentions that accompanied these policies.

As the policy regime shifted after 1973-74, policies all turned very short-term, aiming to protect employment wherever it was threatened. One could say that the political discount rate was raised very much, so the time horizon within which politicians operated was dramatically shortened. The allocation effects of these policies have in fact been disastrous, and the industrial subsidy program alone may explain the stagnation in aggregate manufacturing output after 1974.[20] For some years, for instance, value added in the Swedish shipyards was negative: steel plate was being destroyed by the highest paid labour in Swedish manufacturing. In 1980, almost 3 percent of the GNP was devoted to labour market policies[21] and 3 percent to direct subsidizing of industries. The extent of this activity is enough to show that something had gone seriously wrong in the policy machinery. The effects would be large for years to come.

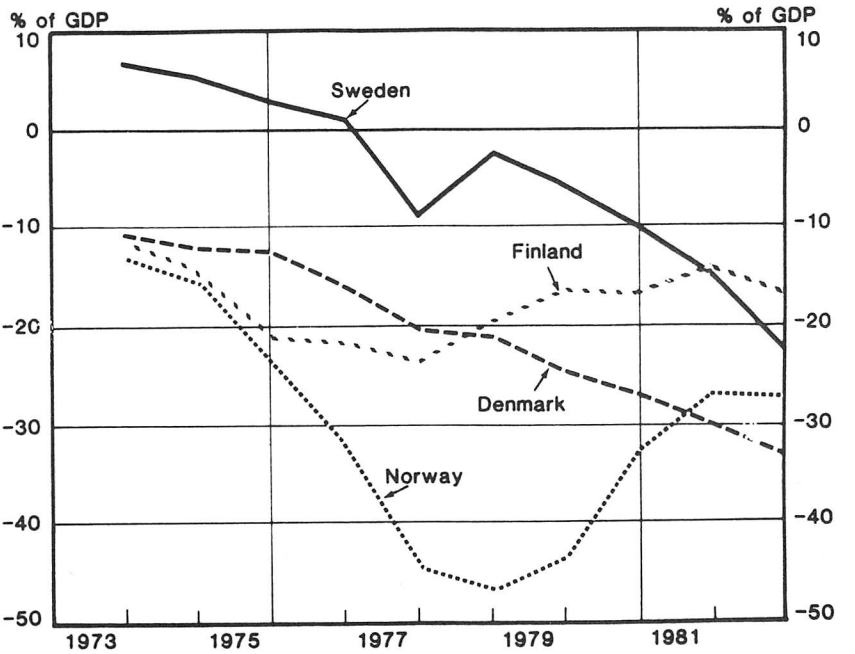
These policies were being carried out by a bourgeois government, but with the agreement of the social democratic opposition. Was it all an unfortunate accident, due to a misunderstanding of how a dynamic industrial economy works? Or does this policy story illustrate the shortcomings of the democratic process in advanced economies when it comes to take really difficult political decisions? Or could it possibly be a clever bourgeois scheme to block, once and for all, further socialization ambitions on the part of future social democratic governments? Huge public and external debts (see Figure 8) will prevent further "experimentation" with the Swedish economy for years to come.

e) Privatization through the back door?

The ultimate irony of the excessive welfare state may still lie ahead. My assessment of the economic situation of Sweden over the past three years or so has been that policy-making is much more difficult than was ever envisioned. The intended welfare effects derived from overly simple models were perhaps realized for several years, especially the growth effects from expansive — and inflationary — demand policies. But no commonly accepted policy models foresaw the possible reversal of these effects due to the disorganization of the price system that followed from inflation and from constant operation at full or excess capacity.[22]

The dynamics of price/quantity interaction has always been a weak spot in economic theory, and the additional consequences for wealth creation of rigid, non-adjusting real structures and disorderly

Figure 8: Net Foreign Assets in Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark, 1973-82
In per cent of GDP



Source: *Economic Growth*, p. 39.

price behaviour have so far never been understood or predicted. The emerging evidence is that while income distributions in a cross sectional sense may have been made more even, the effects on the more appropriate welfare distribution, lifetime consumption capacity, are probably insignificant. Indeed they may have reversed this for the worse, through the combined effect of the disorganized price system and the widening spread of wealth distribution caused by taxes.[23] If the ultimate outcome of the enormous redistributional gamble of some overly ambitious welfare states turns out to be a return to pre-policy wealth distributions and economic stagnation, then the game will have been played back at us, and more skilfully, by market forces.

6. The Prisoner's Dilemma

Sweden closed the 70s with a large and growing foreign debt, a large and growing public debt, and an output growth rate in manufacturing knocked down to zero. During the preceding decade, income earners had delivered all increases in gross income to the public sector in the form of higher taxes. They had received some increases in disposable income back in the form of government transfers. Hence, practically all disposable income increases for most Swedish income earners in the 70s appeared to originate in public budgets.

The massive industrial rescue program to avoid immediate increases in open unemployment was an important part of the story. Taxes and subsidies together with inflation had significantly distorted the domestic price system and the efficiency of the investment allocation machinery.[24]

Full employment, as measured conventionally through labour force surveys, was a key variable in Swedish economic policies for decades. For the first time in post-war history it was threatened by the turn of economic events, and in retrospect it appears that the moving force behind this policy shift has been the desire to prevent open unemployment.

But the extreme openness of the Swedish economy makes its internal markets very sensitive to developments in world markets. Emerging imbalances must be corrected sooner or later by explicit policy action or by endigenous responses from the economy. Policy makers are beginning to realize that they have devoted too many resources to extensive welfare programs while neglecting their most vital task in a mixed economy: acting as the guardian of the rules of the market game. Even on the distribution side, their policies seem to be back-firing.

Empirical evidence is telling a very clear story. Sweden's current economic malaise has nothing to do with a lack of potential economic or technical competitiveness on the part of private industry. The problem is entirely political, residing in the non-market, Government-controlled parts of the production system and in the inability of politicians as representatives of the electorate to take a long-term view of the economic adjustment problem.[25]

There is only a longer term solution to the Swedish policy problem. It requires short-term structural adjustments in the economy, connected with some roll-backs on the welfare agenda. These adjust-

ments will necessarily be accompanied by a temporary increase in open unemployment and some losses on the part of income earners working in distressed industries and in the public sector.[26] The transitional problems must be minimized by macro policy management. Skilled policy management is essential for successfully rolling back the welfare agenda, cutting transfers to households and industries, and reducing taxes to allow after-tax incomes to widen significantly.

Most observers today agree that the Swedish economy cannot carry the current welfare burden much longer. A roll-back of welfare would restore incentives and pave the way for a more prosperous society later on. There are, however, two critical questions that are left unanswered: (1) *how long* will the adjustment period be? (2) *who will benefit* in the end?

No one can provide an answer to these questions. This is a prisoner's-dilemma type of problem. The income and benefit distribution will change but most will probably be better off, if rational macro-policy decisions can be taken. I would venture the assessment that the Swedish production system would respond quite speedily to tough adjustment policies of the kind suggested, due to an efficient, sophisticated and well adjusted private manufacturing sector. I do not believe the Swedes have to worry about replicating the British experience of similar policies. The political process, however, is not well designed for difficult policy questions like this.

Nevertheless, rational policy making means a return to the old Swedish industrial policy model. If the political process can achieve that, and can weather the transitional period of adjustment, there is no cause for alarm. The industrial base of Sweden could hardly be better — only larger. And the industrial base certainly could have been larger if the government had abstained from carrying out structure-conserving industrial policies. Sweden has had a "lost decade." A significant volume of material output has been lost for good. We may call this loss the costs of a learning experience. Now the Danes are going through the same adjustment process, and Sweden can learn from their experience. If the Swedes, however, cannot make it, then economic and political prospects look dismal.

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