

INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

7913135

**HOOVER, KNIGHT EUGENE
ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORKS AND ETHNIC
PERSISTENCE: A CASE STUDY OF
NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY IN THE NEW YORK
METROPOLITAN AREA.**

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

University
Microfilms
International 300 N ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

© 1979

KNIGHT EUGENE HOOVER

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORKS AND ETHNIC PERSISTENCE:
A CASE STUDY OF NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY IN
THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA

by

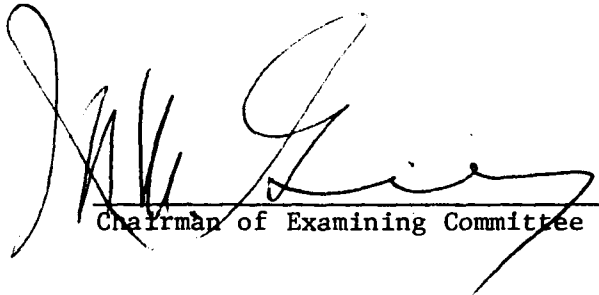
KNIGHT E. HOOVER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

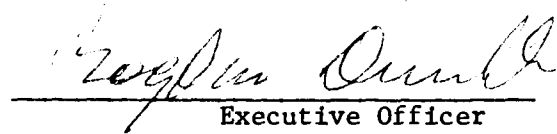
1979

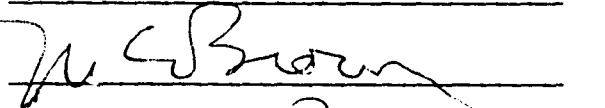
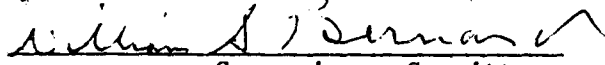
This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty
in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dec 16, 1978
date


Chairman of Examining Committee

Jan 19 1979
date


Executive Officer




Supervisory Committee

Abstract

ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORKS AND ETHNIC PERSISTENCE
A CASE STUDY OF NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY IN
THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA

by

KNIGHT E. HOOVER

Adviser: Professor John M. Goering

This dissertation discusses the importance of ethnic interest organizations in helping to maintain ethnic persistence among Norwegian-Americans in the New York metropolitan area. According to current concepts of structural and cultural integration, the Norwegian-American population in the New York metropolitan area is assimilated. Nonetheless, Norwegian-Americans maintain viable and, in one instance rapidly growing, ethnic institutions within a metropolitan "community" at a time when Norwegian immigration is virtually at a standstill. The objective of this study is to examine institutional factors which underlie this group's persistence. It ascertains the roles of the press as well as those of business, cultural, religious and social institutions and the linkages among them. These linkages constitute an ethnic network which maintains and creates an ethnic community. While earlier studies pertaining to Norwegian-Americans state that ethnic institutions serve as paths to assimilation, the unique and significant aspect of this study is its focus on both ethnic and Norwegian national (Norway-based) organizations as maintainers and creators of ethnic identity. One result is new forms of "ethnic" organizations which are based in part on tradition and in part on organizational interests. The data

presented may serve to suggest some of the structural components necessary in a theory explaining how "older," white ethnic groups adapt, change and persist in twentieth century urban America.

PREFACE

This study seeks to explain Norwegian-American ethnic persistence through a sociological and historical analysis of the origins, development and adaptation of the organizational network of the ethnic group in the metropolitan New York area through the past century. It focuses on selected organizations which are integral parts of the Norwegian-American ethnic social structure in the late 1970s. It is hypothesized that organizations and organizational networks have enabled Norwegian-American ethnicity to persist and adapt to changing, contemporary situations. Despite the social and cultural assimilation of Norwegian-Americans, they continue to support and remain active in institutions and organizations which maintain identity and contact with Norway and things Norwegian. These organizations form coalitions and broad networks based upon shared interests. They appeal to an array of persons including Norwegian-American, Norwegian and other non-Norwegian-American persons interested in Norway and/or in the benefits which the organizations offer.

The researcher, based upon earlier studies of Norwegian-Americans in the New York metropolitan area, was of the opinion that an in-depth analysis of a small ethnic group integrated into the American culture and society might shed new light on the phenomenon of ethnic persistence which has received renewed attention during the past decade. It is hypothesized that persistence does not refer only to survival, but to a process of organizational and individual adaptation to changing demographic, cultural and social factors both in America and in Norway. Ethnic persistence is not static as the term survival suggests, but is

a process which is characterized by continual adaptation. Thus the content of ethnicity varies from time to time. With the process of adaptation in mind, there is also a concern with a broadening conception of pan-Scandinavian ethnicity among some of the Norwegian-American leadership despite historical factors which often reveal long standing antipathies among Scandinavian peoples.

An historical and sociological analysis of Norwegian organizations and ethnicity was based upon the researcher's familiarity with the Norwegian-American population in the New York area. The intent was to focus on the development of Norwegian-American ethnicity in the New York metropolitan area, in other words, to trace the group's life history from the beginning of its settlement in New York in the 1850s to the present. This method enables the separation of the past forms of ethnicity from the present forms, to isolate factors involved in group change and adaptation and to distinguish among various forms which ethnicity assumes through time. The focus on organizations was chosen because they have constituted, in institutional and ad hoc forms, the "backbone" of the ethnic community. They also present the most visible forms of ethnicity among Norwegian-Americans in the New York metropolitan area in the 1970s especially since the population of the ethnic enclave is declining.

The primary method chosen for the study was an analysis of the major Norwegian-American press in the New York area, the Nordisk Tidende, a Norwegian language newspaper, published in New York City (Brooklyn) from 1891 to the present.

This study also focuses upon non-traditional, Norway-based organizations as a component of Norwegian-American ethnicity. This interest was dictated by the researcher's understanding that contemporary ethnicity among Norwegian-Americans is not restricted to organizations created by the immigrants and their American-born descendants only. Another hypothesis of this study is that Norway-based organizations are an integral aspect of Norwegian-American ethnicity. In other words, recognition is given to the role of the homeland in contemporary ethnic adaptation and persistence. The roles of Norway-based organizations are less visible, but it is contended here that they constitute important components of ethnic organizational networks among Norwegian-Americans in the United States.

This dissertation focuses upon a selected number of organizations, including Norwegian-American, Norwegian, Scandinavian-American and Scandinavian, which have been among the most important in the Norwegian-American community's development over the past century in the New York area. Detailed discussions of organizational life cycles, including goals, programs, leadership and constituencies, as they interact and coalesce with other organizations, suggest that networks of ethnic organizations are, at least in part, responsible for Norwegian-American ethnic persistence. This study charts Norwegian-American ethnic organizational creation, change, interaction and persistence primarily through an analysis of the archives of the major Norwegian-American press in the New York area. The newspaper constitutes the major means by which it and other selected organizations have been studied.

This study could not have been conducted without generous support from Professor Bogdan Denitch, Chair, Doctoral Program in Sociology, City University Graduate School, from his Faculty Research Award, "The Survival of Ethnic Institutions in New York."

The research was further realized through the tremendous support and cooperation of the ownership, staff and employees of the Norwegian News Company, publishers of Nordisk Tidende. They not only provided me with access to the paper's archives, but also graciously allowed me to sit among them during nine months of research. I would especially like to mention Mr. Gunnar Bjorkman, Mr. Sigurd Daasvand and Mr. Carl Soyland for accepting my role as researcher and for their willingness to share information which only they possess with me.

I also thank my Dissertation Committee, Professors William S. Bernard, Michael Brown, John M. Goering (Chair) and William Kornblum for their encouragement and guidance. They provided me with structure and pertinent suggestions, but also permitted me the freedom to pursue my own research interests.

I also extend deep felt thanks to my close friend, William Paulsen, who was a constant source of support and historical advisor throughout the research process.

I especially thank my wife, Christine DeVita Hoover, who has endured and supported me throughout the course of the dissertation. She has been a constant source of companionship. Only we can understand the full range of emotions involved which, yet, we find impossible to explain.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>		<u>Page</u>
Part I: Setting the Stage		
1	Introduction	1
2	Conceptual Background	10
3	Historical Background	30
Part II: Organizational Network		
4	The Press: <u>Nordisk Tidende</u>	56
5	Norwegian Information Service	149
6	Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce	158
7	Selected Tourist Organizations: Norwegian National Tourist Office, Norwegian- America Line, Scandinavian Airlines System	177
8	Norwegian Club	198
9	Norwegian Seamen's Church	205
10	Norwegian Children's Home	216
11	Sons of Norway: Third District	232
12	Nordmanns-Forbundet (Norsemen's Federation)	260
13	Scandinavian-American Business Association	287
14	May 17 Committee of Greater New York: The Parade	308
15	Scanpresence Committee	333
Part III: Norwegian-American Ethnic Persistence in 1978		
16	Contemporary Norwegian-American Ethnicity	353

	<u>Page</u>
Appendix I: Methodology	369
Appendix II: Resolutions Arrived at During Scanpresence II Conference	381
References	386

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
TABLE 1: Sons of Norway Membership and Lodge Totals for Entire Organization and Third District for Selected Years	246
TABLE 2: Percentage of Ads in Selected May 17 Parade Journals: By Ethnicity, By Organizational Type, By Geographic Location	319

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<u>Page</u>
FIGURE	
1. Map of New York Metropolitan Area by Countries . . .	2
2. Map of Norwegian Settlements and Migrations in Manhattan and Brooklyn: 1850-1978	40
3. Map of Location of Focal Organizations	42
4. Map of <u>Nordisk Tidende's</u> Office Locations January, 1891 to Present	85
5. Map of Four May 17 Parade Routes	321

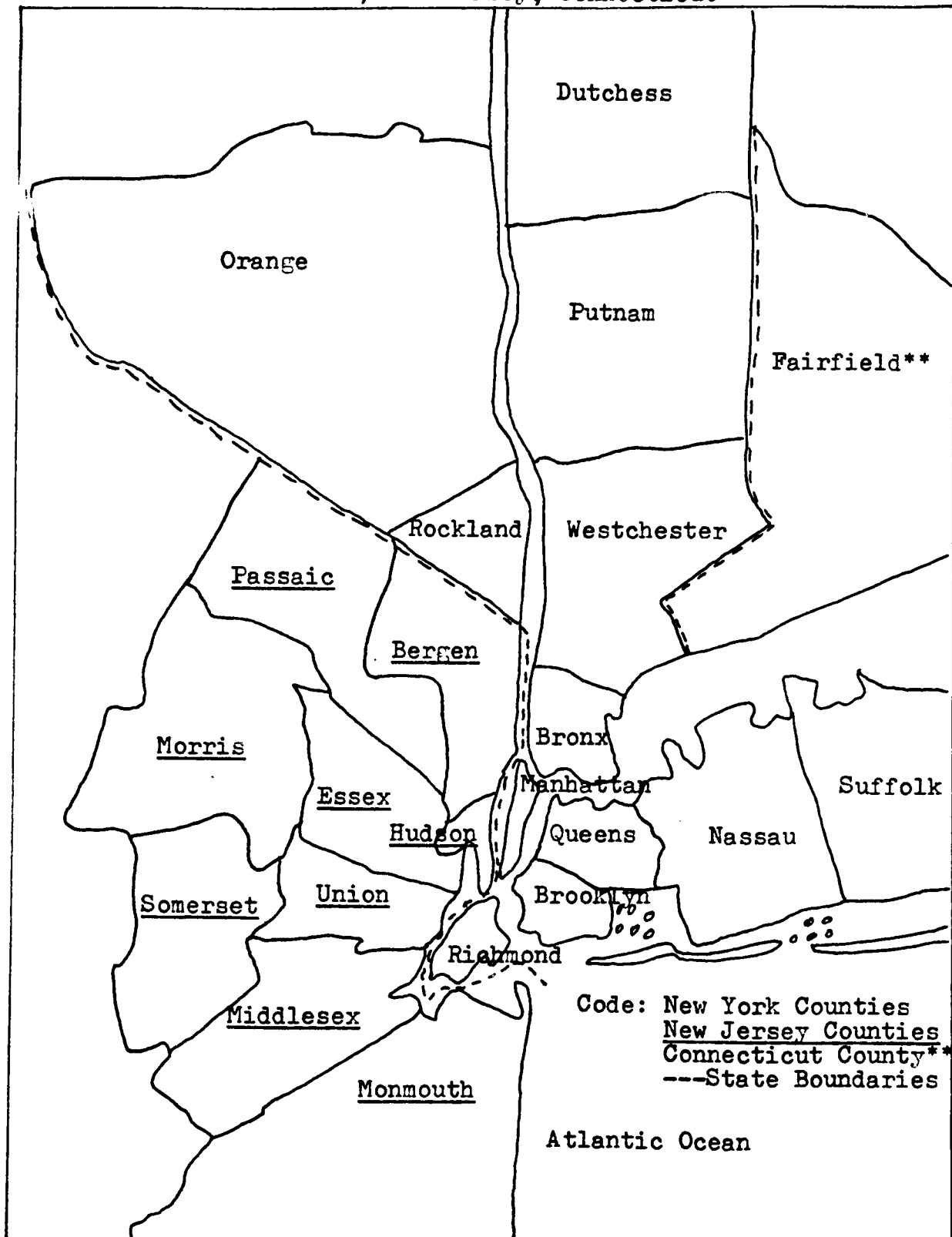
PART I
SETTING THE STAGE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines institutional organizational factors which underlie the persistence of Norwegian ethnic groups in the New York metropolitan area.¹ It focuses on selected ethnic institutions and their interest in sustaining, building and integrating ethnic support.² It is hypothesized that Norwegian ethnic persistence, that is, continued affiliation with Norwegian-American as well as Norway-based organizations, and identity with Norway is "manufactured" and maintained by the interests of economic, political, religious and socio-cultural organizations. Further ethnic persistence occurs despite both the cultural and structural assimilation of the group.

Sociologists have generally argued that ethnic organizations serve the function of facilitating the immigrant's assimilation; indeed, ethnic organizations have usually been studied as Americanizing agents. But there is another conflicting purpose of ethnic organizations and that is to sustain a base of ethnic support and membership. Thus while earlier sociological studies state that ethnic institutions serve as paths to structural and cultural assimilation the unique and significant aspect of the current research is its focus upon New York metropolitan Norwegian-American (NA) organizations, either independently, or in cooperation with other NA organizations and/or with Norwegian national organizations as sustainers of ethnic identity and purpose. The study focuses on the adjustments or adaptations which the leadership in ethnic institutions and organizations make in order to sustain their operations.

NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA: COUNTIES
In New York, New Jersey, Connecticut



The study does not focus upon the effects that organizations have on their members' values and ideas of ethnicity. It is assumed that the continued persistence of ethnic institutions is meeting felt needs on the part of their memberships. These needs may or may not be directly related to NA ethnicity. Organizations seek to persist and may adjust their goals and structures to sustain themselves. Organizations, primarily through their leadership in response to their constituencies, redefine the "needs" of their clients and memberships. Such organizational adjustments have resulted in the creation of an increasingly complex social structure network or community in an increasingly large spatial area. The "community" is comprised primarily of NA, and Norwegian national, organizations and their memberships. The spatial area is arbitrarily limited to the New York metropolitan area. The ethnic organizational network, it is hypothesized, is used to further the aims of certain organizations or groups of organizations. This study thus makes the claim that if ethnic pluralism exists in the 1970s it is as much a matter of organizational interests as it is a desire or need for ethnically and culturally unique values.

The basic intention of this study is to explain some of the factors, which have contributed to ethnic persistence among NAs in the New York metropolitan area in the 1970s by focusing on the process of interaction between persons, structures and events. The focus, restated, is upon organizational adaptations rather than on individual ethnic values and adjustments.

In order to determine the process by which the NA ethnic community, through its organizations, has persisted in a metropolitan area, this

study has sought to;

- 1) determine the past and present purposes of major institutions.
- 2) examine the network of relationships among these institutions in the NA ethnic community, specifically to examine -- a) financial inputs; b) interdependent networks of leadership; and c) common goals, projects and problems.
- 3) state the specific ways by which the institutions help to define and maintain Norwegian ethnicity, that is, Norwegian ethnic identity⁴ and affiliation.

Further, since none of the current theories of the processes of group interaction in America are adequate predictors of the persistence of America's ethnic groups, this study examines the importance of ethnic institutions in maintaining ethnic social forms. The analysis of this process provides a basis for an alternative theory explaining ethnic group behavior in metropolitan America.

A few qualifications are noted before Part I, "Setting the Stage", is presented.

There are a number of criticisms to which this study is open. Its focus is on a numerically small ethnic group and one which is not often mentioned as being a part of the ethnic composition of most cities. The generalizability of its conclusions is recognizably limited. An indepth study of one aspect, the organizational network, of a numerically small ethnic group can, however, be a strength. The researcher is familiar with the Norwegian-American community in New York, Norwegian history and had ready access through earlier studies to important resources. Further the study is based on earlier studies of

the community which indicated that there were other unknown aspects of ethnicity which needed to be explored before NA ethnic persistence could be understood (Rygg, 1941; Jonassen, 1947; Hoover 1970). This study then is seeking to explore aspects of the metropolitan NA community which have been previously neglected. In this respect this study should enable us to broaden our knowledge of the complexities of ethnic life, provide substantiation for previously stated hypothetical statements (such as the Glazer and Moynihan (1963) idea of the role of ethnic "interests" in ethnic persistence) and suggest new avenues of research to other researchers grappling with the problem of ethnic persistence in modern America. Hopefully this study will direct ethnic researchers to new considerations of ethnic life and away from the stagnating conclusions based on studies limited to ethnic ghettos and the heretofore deadend social psychological studies of the meanings and definitions of ethnic consciousness.

The decline of ethnic ghettos, particularly among the older, white ethnic groups, does not necessarily indicate the end of ethnicity. Even granting a primordial notion of longing for the homeland, there must be some social form or structure of ethnicity to provide a context for persistence of the notion of heritage among American-born generations. What replaces the ethnic ghetto as a social form to provide the proper environment for ethnic values to be maintained, renewed and even created? It is the basic argument of this thesis that organizations and organizational networks provide such a setting, recognizing that ethnicity is only one aspect of individual's life. This assumes that ethnicity is not innate or solely a matter of attitudes and therefore there must be socializing instruments which enable persons to become, or not become.

or become only in certain situations, ethnic. Ethnicity is not then, a linear progression from immigrant to assimilated individual, but rather a phenomenon linked to demographic, historic and organizational factors as well as to feelings or needs for roots. This is not to berate earlier studies, for without them this study could not have been conceived. It does suggest that earlier studies have not explored the relationships of formal institutions in furthering our understanding of ethnic persistence in American life.

A second possible criticism is the study's lack of policy considerations. This study was not produced as a policy report. Nonetheless a statement by Glazer and Moynihan should be restated and considered, viz.,

Without too much exaggeration it could be stated that the immigration process is the single most important determinant of American foreign policy (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975: 23).

If one considers such recent items in the news as the Korean lobby or the Greek lobby, then the realization of ethnic and homeland ties contributing to ethnicity does not seem remote (something which Park noted⁵ a half century ago). Further the role of foreign nationals in the U. S., such as in the case of Iranian students protesting alleged government repression in Iran, can also contribute to ethnicity. The concern here is not with the creation of policy per se, but in part with the effects of immigration policy on ethnicity.

Thirdly, limiting the methodology primarily to a study of the ethnic press is somewhat akin to focusing on the ethnic ghetto. If there is any trace of ethnicity left, one would find it in an ethnic newspaper. The aim here, is not prove the viability of Norwegian-

American ethnicity, but to describe and explain some of the forms by which ethnicity has developed and persisted through time. As noted in Chapter 5, one of the functions of an ethnic press is to define and even create an ethnic community. The press may present the illusion that an ethnic group is larger than it is. With this function of the press in mind and without intending to exaggerate NA ethnicity, it was thought that the ethnic press is the best available recorder of what NA ethnicity was and is becoming. This awareness does bring up the problem of boundaries: who is a NA ethnic?

The abbreviation NA is used throughout the text to refer to Norwegian-American. The use of NA in an ethnic organizational context can be misleading since NA can have multiple shades of meaning. Most of the organizations discussed have some non-NA membership and leadership. In only two cases, however, Scandinavian Airlines System in Chapter 7 and Scanpresence Committee, Chapter 15, are the staff and membership, respectively, not primarily NA. In other chapters, the presence and importance of non-NAs is discussed. It should also be further noted that the definition of any ethnic group is problematic because of intermarriage. In this study NA refers broadly to Norwegian-American organizations and their supporters. In other words I have defined the NA ethnic as a person active in NA ethnic activities, whether or not NA. Rather than stretching the limits of ethnicity, this definition suggests further that our traditional definitions of the term "ethnic" have to be redefined as the nature of ethnicity changes.

I have defined the NA "community" in the New York metropolitan area as the sum total of Norwegian-American and Norwegian organizations and institutions involved in NA events and referred to in the Nordisk Tidende. Based on organizational memberships I would estimate that the NA community and NA ethnicity in the New York metropolitan area is maintained by approximately 5,000 persons. This figure represents approximately 10% of the 50,000 first and second generations NAs in the metropolitan area. The NA presence also includes Norwegian nationals residing in the U. S. who participate in organizational activities. Visitors from Norway have been increasing steadily since World War II; these persons also add to an ethnic presence. The basic core of NA ethnics however is about 5,000 based on organizational memberships. Of this core there is a small nucleus of leaders and constituents who, as in any organization, provide the initiative and other resources necessary to maintain ethnic organizations. As described throughout the paper and elaborated more fully in Chapter 15, the boundaries of NA ethnicity have been fluid and may now be broadening to one of pan-Scandinavian ethnicity. The boundaries of what is ethnic therefore are nebulous, but the components of ethnicity should become clearer as the conceptual and historical backgrounds of the NA organizational network in the New York metropolitan area are elaborated below.

FOOTNOTES

1

The New York metropolitan region as used here is designated to correspond with the "region" in Raymond Vernon, Metropolis 1985 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1963), p. 140. It includes twenty-two counties in three states: New York -- Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, Bronx, Richmond (Staten Island), Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester, Rockland, Orange, Putnam and Dutchess; New Jersey -- Hudson, Bergen, Passaic, Essex, Union, Morris, Somerset, Middlesex and Monmouth; and Connecticut--Fairfield. This dissertation is arbitrarily limited to organizations and their constituents within a 50 mile radius of New York City. However, as will be obvious as the study continues, NA ethnic organization links are not limited to this area and include national as well as international ties.

2

See Table of Contents for the list of organizations discussed in this study.

3

The organizations considered here are not the only important organizations in the NA community although evidence is presented to suggest that they are among the more crucial organizations enhancing ethnic persistence. Further the organizations discussed here represent only a small number of the total NA organizations in the area; however, they represent a broad spectrum of interests and are among the largest and most active and therefore are mentioned with greater relative frequency than others in the NA press.

4

The terms Norwegian-American (NA) and Norwegian ethnic are used interchangeably here as are the terms Norwegian-national and Norway-based. NA is discussed above; Norwegian-national refers to temporary residents and visitors from Norway and to Norwegian organizations. With regard to individuals there is often no clear cut boundary between NA and Norwegian-national since permanently settled NAs have returned to Norway after decades in the U. S. Likewise many Norwegian citizens worked in the U. S. for decades before returning to live in Norway; some never returned permanently and became U. S. citizens. An organization, however, is either American (NA) or Norwegian for legal reasons.

5

Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control, Vol. 7 of Americanization Studies: The Acculturation of Immigrant Groups into American Society, ed. by William S. Bernard (10 vols.; Montclair, N. J. Patterson Smith, originally published in 1922), pp. 49-67 and 413-447.

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

Most people react with surprise when told that there is a concentration of NAs in New York City. The numbers of NAs are indeed small when compared with the larger and more visible ethnic populations such as the Italians, Irish and Russian Jews. Nonetheless the existence and perpetuation of the New York NA community has been recognized and studied historically (Qualey, 1938; Rygg, 1941; Bergmann, 1950) and sociologically (Jonassen 1947 and 1949; Kantrowitz, 1969 and 1973; Hoover 1970 and 1975). The New York NA group occupies a very low level of visibility to most New Yorkers due to their proportionately small numbers and therefore lack of city or statewide social or political importance.¹

Despite Vice President Walter Mondale's Norwegian heritage, similar comments about the low visibility of NAs can also be made of the NAs as a national group. Most NAs are located in the midwestern U. S. and at most represent four and one-half million persons at present. NAs are also generally portrayed as assimilated, middle class Americans² (Warner and Srole, 1945; Hollingshead, 1949; Gordon, 1964). When viewed as unassimilated, it had been attributed to the relative isolation of NAs in sparsely populated states (Useem and Useem, 1945). Jonassen also concluded that NAs in New York City, even first generation immigrants, were assimilated and Americanized (Jonassen, 1947). Thus urbanization, when viewed as a factor in NA ethnic group disappearance, is usually seen as contributing to assimilation.

NAs have many of the characteristics considered necessary for assimilation including the fact that they are an Anglo-like (white, Nordic),

Protestant (generally Lutheran), northern European national origin population. They are, according to most studies and theories, fully assimilated to the point of disappearance.

Approximately one-fifth of the 50,000 NAs (first and second generation) residing in the metropolitan tristate area (1970 Census) still live in the ethnic enclave in Brooklyn, New York (N = 10,000) but NAs are dispersed throughout the metropolitan area. They have settled in the metropolitan area since the 1880s with the last substantial immigration occurring in the 1920s. NAs, in addition to other assimilable characteristics, have entered the labor force leading to economic and social success and mobility (Jonassen, 1947; Hoover, 1970). NAs were quick to acquire the English language (Jonassen, 1947). Indeed, despite a population center, NAs are almost totally assimilated, at least by all conventional indices (Gordon, 1964). According to the major indices of assimilation--cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude reception, behavior receptional and civic--NAs are assimilated on all counts (Jonassen, 1947; Hoover, 1970). The key to assimilation, according to Gordon, is structural assimilation.

Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow (Gordon, 1964: 81, italics in original).

Structural assimilation, "large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of (the) host society, on (the) primary group level," is the "keystone of the arch of assimilation" (Ibid., 71 and 81).

Thus NAs are almost "the" prototypically assimilated and dispersed ethnic group, generally well-off, suburban, and intermarried with other groups. There are also no recent crises in Norway to rekindle a sense of homeland. These views of ethnic assimilation are however only accurate to a point. They ignore a major arena in which ethnicity is perpetuated, reinforced and sustained. Traditional ethnic associations have often not disappeared, but have reorganized and redefined their purposes in an effort to sustain themselves and, in the process, preserve NA ethnic interests as well. Also the traditional organizations have sought, and have been sought after by, new allies also seeking to preserve their own interests. Thus at a time when ethnicity is once again the focus of sociological investigation nationally and inter-
⁵
nationally, it is instructive to look at the organizations of the NAs, their supporters, and Norwegian citizens resident in the New York area for clues to the process of ethnic persistence in an increasingly non-ethnic, urbanizing nation.

A key question which emerges and remains unanswered is: Does assimilation mean complete disappearance of any trace of ethnic affiliation and awareness? If so, how does one account for the apparent assimilation of the NA group and at the same time explain the fact that a viable network of NA ethnic organizations still persists?

The metropolitan area still contains more than a hundred NA and Norwegian national (based in Norway) organizations with international, national, regional and local concerns. Many of these reach out to the more than 50,000 U. S. citizens of Norwegian birth or descent, and to Norwegian citizens resident in the area as well as to non-Norwegian

descent Americans including other Scandinavian-Americans. NA ethnicity in the New York metropolitan region in the 1970s suggests that the notion of structural assimilation has to be reconceptualized. As other forms of ethnic assimilation occur new structural forms emerge to prevent a complete loss of ethnic interests, forming constantly realigning⁶ coalitions, which need to be examined and evaluated.

It is not the intention to exaggerate the size and viability of the NA group and its organizations. It is difficult to determine the number of persons participating in the organizations because of overlapping memberships. It is estimated that only a small percentage (10% or less) of NA persons participate in one or another NA organization and the core of active participants is less. But the numbers vary, the Sons of Norway for example has been increasing its membership. Further business and other nontraditional ethnic organizations such as Norwegian national groups have been included because they support and are supported by NA persons and organizations and contribute to ethnic persistence in the U. S. That they are non-traditional, in terms of the types of factors previously studied as "ethnic," and are not located only in an ethnic colony has often resulted in their exclusion from studies of ethnicity in the U. S. This study seeks to explain the changing nature of NA ethnicity and has sought to be inclusive, examining the diverse sides of NA organizational and ethnic life.

Three bodies of sociological literature are helpful in understanding the sources and ideas which generated this study; ethnic and race relations, urban community, and interorganizational research.

Ethnic Studies

Until the outset of World War II immigrants to the U. S. were predominantly European. Our concern is with the influx which has been categorized as the "old" immigration (1820-1880) from north and west Europe and the "new" (1880-1945) from south and east Europe. Norwegians are classified as "old" immigrants although Norwegians settling in New York arrived predominantly in the post 1880 period. Those in the "old" category, including all Norwegians, were considered by the government to be easily assimilable because they came from North Europe, were Nordic and Protestant with customs and institutions similar to the Anglo heritage of the U. S.

The major sociological interest in ethnic groups began at the University of Chicago at the turn of the century after the beginning of the new immigration. The post 1880 immigration resulted in the settling of American cities by ethnics predominantly from south and east Europe. The context for the early Chicago School studies was the "laboratory" of the city of Chicago, Illinois. Sociologists at the University of Chicago during the first three decades of the twentieth century, guided by ecological theories, studied ethnic communities as spatially segregated social and cultural enclaves within certain districts or communities of the city. Ecological models guided the studies of many sociologists into the 1940s. When Jonassen, for example, published the results of his study of the Norwegians in Brooklyn it was titled "Cultural Variables in the Ecology of an Ethnic Group"⁷ (Jonassen, 1949).

Ethnic theories described how various ethnic groupings could become a part of the American society and culture. Some were viewed as capable of "melting" or conforming. In addition there were advocates of cultural pluralism who stated that a person could be both Americanized and ethnic. But cultural pluralists also implicitly wanted the ethnic to assimilate or at least integrate into American society, that is, participate without losing all of their ethnic identity.⁸ The perceived "assimilability" of all groups was of course related to time, place, economic, political and social conditions as well as to the immigrants place of origin. The "old" immigration groups were expected to Americanize quickly. Gordon, for example wrote

Eventually, the cultural enclaves of the Germans and the Scandinavians (which included Norwegians) declined in scope and significance as succeeding generations of their native-born attended public schools, left the farms and villages to strike out as individuals for the Americanizing city, and generally became subject to the influences of a standardizing industrial civilization (Gordon, 1964: 135; my addition in parentheses).

By World War II sociological studies spoke of the declining importance of ethnicity. Ethnics were being viewed not as national origins groups but increasingly as religious groups (Herberg, 1955). The U. S. was said to be a nation of Protestant, Catholic and Jew rather than a nation of immigrants. The ethnic melting pot was being reduced to religious differences. When national origins groups were studied they were also viewed as population elements in community studies focusing on class variables (Warner and Srole, 1945).

Ethnicity was viewed as a transitory phase which one moved beyond as soon as the opportunity to do so arose. This notion was described

as the "liberal expectancy," that is, that tribe, language, national origin and religious divisions would be replaced by class divisions. Interest not ethnic attachments should guide rational men in social action and interest is determined by economic position.

In the Post World War II period class rather than ethnicity was becoming a key factor in explaining ethnic and other group behavior (Gans, 1962). However Gordon recognized the importance of ethnic factors and united the variables of ethnicity and class into an "ethclass" concept (Gordon, 1964, 52) in which both ethnicity and class were seen as interrelated factors. The concept of ethnicity was broadening, defined as focusing upon a sense of "peoplehood." Ethnic groups were defined as including national origin, religious and racial groupings or a combination of these (Ibid., 27). Ethclass then is "the portion of social space created by the intersection of the ethnic group with the social class" (Ibid., 51) which comprises a subsociety. That is, people of a similar ethclass, e.g., "lower-middle class white Irish Catholic," tend to have values similar to, participate with, and identify with persons within the same ethclass. The term ethclass was said to have predictive value in understanding the nature of group behavior in and the composition of American society. Although Gordon did claim that "the sense of ethnicity proved hardy" (Ibid., 25), the term ethclass did not explain why ethnicity persisted. This is especially the case when reference is made to national origins groups only.

But ethnic groups, it has been suggested, can also have their own rational interests (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975: 7). The ideological aspects of ethnicity also have recently received attention under the

rubric of "new ethnicity" which has redirected the focus of social scientists back to ethnicity as a vehicle for political gain and self interest in the broader society (Wenk, Tomasi, and Baroni, eds., 1972).

Glazer and Moynihan (1963: 16) had argued that ethnicity was still an important factor; it was however taking on "new social forms." "The ethnic group in American society became not a survival from the age of mass immigration but a new social form." They never clearly elaborated the meaning of this "new social form," but stated that the content of ethnicity is recreated in the U. S. and that ethnicity in New York City (which was the focus of their book) takes on the form of "interest groups" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963: 17, italics in original). The same authors later reaffirmed the importance of the "facts" of ethnicity and race which had "surfaced everywhere by 1969" in New York City (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970, xxvi, xxvii). The term "ethnicity" however still included the factors of national origins, religious and racial groupings or a combination of these (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975). Ethnicity is ambiguous under these formulations since it is impossible to differentiate which, if any, factor -- national origin, religion or race -- is an independent variable in a particular situation. Focusing on a national origin group's organizations and institutions may clarify the ambiguity.

Although sociologists have noted the importance of social institutions as shapers of human behavior, many, if not most ethnic studies have focused upon social-psychological variables, that is, upon individuals and how they are shaped by, become accepted, or are rejected by economic and social institutions. Gordon for example refocused upon the important role of social structure defining it as

the set of crystallized social relationships which its members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of society (1964: 30).

This definition focuses upon individuals and their relationships to the structures. Both the social-psychological and structural approaches can be conceived of as separate sides of the coin, neither is sufficient by itself.

The social-psychological approaches have not, however, answered the question: what is the process by which ethnic groups change, adapt and persist? This study will focus upon ethnic organizations as integral components of and shapers of ethnic interests and forms. Several authors have clearly described the ways by which business and political institutions organize and shape the directions of communities and cities for future decades (Hunter, 1953, Osofsky, 1968; Caro, 1974). In these cases agencies and institutions as sources of power reach specific goals in certain historical situations and social environments to shape social behavior. Yet formal organizations have not, in general, been empirically studied as a part of the ethnic world, as shapers of ethnic behavior. The aspects of social structure that have been considered in ethnic studies are generally the family, local social and political clubs, and religious institutions. When organizations are studied as aspects of ethnicity they are viewed within the context of a limited spatial area, often an urban neighborhood. Gordon states that

Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members

of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships throughout all stages of the life-cycle (1964:34).

This statement implies that the world of the ethnic ends when the spatial enclave is left. This has been an assumption in many ethnic studies which take for granted that the environments of the market place, and economic and political institutions, are dominated solely by secondary rather than by ethnic relationships. Ethnicity, it has often been assumed, lead two lives, one as an ethnic in the ethnic colony and one as an "American" in the impersonal marketplace. The present research will indicate that there is an ethnic institutional realm which need not operate within a spatial enclave, but rather exists in a network of organizations and informal social relationships. It cross-cuts the two domains, drawing on parts of each. It is suggested here that ethnic interests are not only found and sustained in familial, neighborhood and local religious institutions within the ethnic enclave but also in the economic and political marketplace beyond the spatial ghetto. It is further hypothesized that there is an active search for mechanisms to maintain ethnic institutions for economic or institutional purposes. That is, there is a two way street in which ethnic organizations help sustain ethnicity and vice versa.

This study focuses upon institutional realms most often avoided, that is, those beyond the "boundary" of the ethnic enclave. This boundary, it is argued here, is not as fixed or as necessary part of ethnic persistence as most researchers have previously assumed.

The stated aims of the organizations studied here may not be to preserve immigrant culture per se. Culture however should be viewed as a process, not as a static entity (Yancey, Ericksen and Juliani,

1976). For example, the specific attitudes, values, and beliefs as to what NA culture is and is becoming vary from organization to organization, from generation to generation, not to mention from individual to individual. Exactly what any particular ethnic culture is today has not been specified and thus the concept of cultural pluralism is not operationalized. Likewise, the extent to which such "cultural" groups live socially segregated or plural lives has also been questioned (Alba, 1976). To replace the concept of cultural pluralism with social pluralism, as the "social pluralists" maintain, does not appear to be warranted by Alba's research. Neither the notion of cultural pluralism nor that of social pluralism fully explains the persistence of ethnic groupings. Nor does the ethclass concept which, while useful in explaining intragroup conflict or tension, does not explain total group persistence. Each concept represents a single dimension in the complexity of group life. Ethnic content--social organization and culture --changes through time. It is important to document these changes before we can arrive at an alternative theory of ethnicity and to assimilation. Ethnic groups persist in the present in both "community" and/or organizational forms depending on the specific group under investigation. It is contended here that the role of organizations is a most important factor to consider in any alternative theory. NA institutions both inside and outside the enclave, and their relationships with each other, are hypothesized to be creators and maintainers of ethnic persistence and identity.

Urban Community Studies

There are important connections between the research on the ethnic group and on the urban community. There was a decline of interest in the concept of community, and therefore community studies,⁹ and a similar decline in the interest of ethnic studies per se in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970, lxxxii). The two literatures were initially very interdependent although most community studies have shifted their emphasis away from ethnic considerations. This dissertation has utilized the community and power studies notions of influence and power as they are consciously used in both formal and informal networks by leaders or elites in planning contemporary social organization and change (e.g., Hunter, 1953; Mills, 1956; Domhoff, 1970). While community and power studies are often concerned with the uses of power by different groups, ethnic groups qua ethnics did not as a rule wield power. For example, the ethnic politician who provided the communication link between the non-ethnic arena and the ethnic community was no longer perceived as only an ethnic. The politician of ethnic background was an "ambassador to the outside world" and also one who was often (although not always) in the process of becoming a part of the outside world (Gans, 1962, 171). It is assumed that once an ethnic obtains power or influence, it is a class phenomenon. Thus a question which is not examined is: how is power or influence obtained and maintained by ethnics in the economic structures of the broader society and how are they used to enable ethnicity to persist? This study focuses upon the use of power and influence by ethnic institutions to sustain and manage their ethnic interests and interdependence.

A more recent community study noted the role of ethnic political and labor union organizations as important links between the outside world and the local ethnic community (Kornblum, 1974, xv, xvi). This study argued that ethnicity was a basis for coalition formation. Institutions of the outside world (political ward and union) were viewed as arenas where local ethnic concerns could be negotiated and used as bases of coalition formation for working class ends. Ethnicity was one factor which was managed by ethnic leaders for political and economic gain. The structure of the workplace did influence social life in the community and in the individual ethnic subcommunities, but the dissolution of the ethnic subcommunity (whether territorial or not) was not a result. Rather ethnic subcommunities co-existed with multi-ethnic coalitions. Kornblum notes the reciprocity between the marketplace and ethnicity which plays a dual role in ethnic life.

Thus the conflict, the violence, and the lingering hatreds which may persist after generations of ecological invasion are only one side of the picture. The negotiations of new alliances and constituencies in which ethnic and racial cleavages are played down and blended into a more unifying working-class culture is the other side (Ibid.: 215).

Ethnic communities and their organizations should be studied as more than stepping stones to class or status mobility and assimilation. One conclusion which can be drawn from Kornblum's study then, which is consistent with the view proposed here, is that the political and economic marketplace effect ethnic social change and adaptation. This dissertation suggests that the ethnic does not necessarily enter the political and economic structures of the U. S. society and disappear

or assimilate to the point of invisibility. It does not adhere to the notion that an ethnic moves in two worlds, namely, outside and inside the ethnic enclave. There are not necessarily clear cut boundaries between ethnic and non-ethnic areas. Ethnic interests can be promoted in the so-called outside world and, as is increasingly the case among NAs, there may be no inside world or ethnic enclave other than a building where ethnics meet from time to time.

This study suggests there are increasing numbers of cosmopolitan ethnics outside the "urban village." It suggests that national origins groups can and must be studied beyond the spatial communities where the studies "proving" both cultural and social pluralism have usually been conducted (Alba, 1976). These changes within individual ethnic groups, reflecting changes in the broader society, necessitate the reevaluation of a number of assumptions previously held in ethnic studies.

The notion that ethnic groups must concentrate in specific spatial communities in order for ethnicity to persist is a holdover from the days of the Chicago School studies. Certainly ethnic enclaves still exist, but studying only such areas is more of a methodological convenience than a reflection of the reality and complexity of ethnicity. The concept of ethnic community must be separated from that of territory or spatial community (natural area). Ethnics, especially white ethnics, are supposedly ethnic only on their own turf. Once an "ethnic" leaves the turf he/she can assume the role of "American," assimilated and indistinguishable. Thus there exists an implicit ethnic/American dichotomy.

Second, we must reevaluate the assumption noted above that white

ethnic groups will eventually assimilate as soon as they enter the marketplace and broader society. This is not necessarily the case. Ethnic interests and class interests can and do coexist.

Third, there is also an assumption in both ethnic and community studies that individuals and groups of individuals are the basic unit of analysis. There is a social-psychological orientation in both areas which focuses on individual attitudes, values and adjustments as the sole basis for understanding and measurement. These studies have the shortcoming of assuming that individuals are fully conscious of the institutions and factors that shape their lives. Asking people if they are ethnic may result in partial answers at best.

The present study suggests that ethnicity has many uses and forms. Ethnicity can be manipulated for organizational and/or corporate interests in the non-ethnic arena of political and economic institutions as well as in the ethnic realm. If ethnicity, or more specifically ethnic interests, power and influence, is manipulable then it can be used to maintain already established organizations and structures within the ethnic group. This suggests that, contrary to the theory that ethnic assimilation follows structural assimilation, ethnic organizations and ethnic identity also can be maintained and/or recreated by ethnic organizational success within U. S. economic and political structures. Contrary to the idea that economic mobility breeds only new class interest at the expense of ethnic interest, economic mobility, coupled with changes in technology (e.g., communications) and social organization (e.g., more leisure time), may provide impetus to engage in many interests. Ethnicity used narrowly here in the sense of national

heritage appears to be one among many such interests. It is in the ethnic institutions that one finds the basis for sustained, renewed or newly created interest in ethnicity.

Interorganizational Studies

10

Current emphasis on interorganizational analysis provides a framework for further examination of NA ethnicity. Within the New York metropolitan area there exists a NA social system consisting of NA organizations and institutions which interact and cooperate on various programs. Joint programs are therefore one indication of organizational interdependency. Interorganizational analysis is useful here because it directs attention to an environment, to organizations in an environment, to exchange among the organizations and, importantly to organizations not individuals as the unit(s) of analysis.

Environment refers essentially to social and cultural content, although Warren states that a "metropolitan community" presents one instance where interorganizational field analysis can be utilized (Warren, 1972, 308). Environment consists of, for example, other organizations, ideas and values, technology, resources, people and events. In order to analyze our specific concern here, the function of organizations in ethnic persistence, the concept of "organization set" has been used to establish boundaries of the NA social system. The term is derived by Evan (1967, 329-330) from Merton's role-set concept and is useful because it focuses upon one organization, tracing its interactions with a network of organizations in the environment. This network of organizations is an "organization set."

The starting point of the analysis is a "focal" or tracer organization. The Norwegian language paper in Brooklyn, New York, Nordisk Tidende, is the focal organization here. It was chosen as the focal organization because (1) one of its goals is to report on NA activity in the metropolitan area and is therefore one of the NA organizations with the most inclusive picture of the NA organizational network; and (2) Its leadership was closely connected to most of the NA organizational activities during the past seventy-five years.

Through the focal organizations, interorganizational relations were specified, for example, by examining:

(a) the role sets of its boundary personnel (b) the flow of information, (c) the flow of products or services, and (d) the flow of personnel (Evan, 1967: 329).

In general, exchanges between the focal organization and its organization-set as well as exchanges between and among organizations within the organization-set or network are examined to determine the nature, type and extent of interaction. "Exchange" is defined as

any voluntary activity between two organizations which has consequences, actual or anticipated, for the realization of their respective goals or objectives (Levine and White: 1972, 344; italics in original).

Levine and White note the importance of "voluntary" in the definition, whenever physical coercion occurs there is no exchange. Exchange however, can be unidirectional (Ibid., 344, 345).

There is a focus on boundary personnel, on leadership and leadership networks. Attention is also paid to other inter- and intra-

organizational concepts such as power and influence, on goals and objectives, and upon organizational structures. Although there are myriads of individual motivations for action, the focus on leaderships presumes that they act out of motivation to fulfill goals which are often set or changed by them as leaders, or by needs for organizational survival.

Further there is concern with organizational life cycles, or patterns of development (Brinkerhoff and Kunz, 1972, 121-192). The focus on life cycles is concerned with the historical development of organizations¹² which helps to determine the origins of the NA organizational network. The life cycle focus also recognizes the effect of other organizations and historical events in organizational development. The concern with historical factors should shed further light on the functions of organizations in ethnic persistence.

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation, then, is to clarify the process by which ethnicity persists in an increasingly urban, industrialized world, a process which is largely unknown or unspecified. The interest in the "new ethnicity" which has focused on the responses of white ethnic groups in the U. S. to the black movements of the 1960s has, if anything, produced clouds of enthusiastic ideology by advocates of one group or another. Two major questions, however, remain unanswered: What have ethnic groups become in the U. S. and what are the processes by which ethnic groups change and persist? Answering these questions is the task of this research.

Footnotes

1

NAs also take a back seat on the day of their annual ethnic parade. NAs have their celebration in the NA (and Scandinavian) sections of Bay Ridge and Sunset Park, Brooklyn, not down Manhattan's Fifth Avenue like most other ethnic groups. The Greek-Americans, similar in size to the NAs, usually have their ethnic parade on the same day as the NAs, but on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan; as a result the Greek-American event receives more media coverage and Greek-Americans are thereby more visible.

2

Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 60-83, states that assimilation occurs when the immigrant discards native country dress, food, behavior and language and adopts an American life style, when a person marries without respect to ethnic (including racial, religious or national origin factor) factors, when the immigrant accepts and is accepted by the U. S. and identifies only with the U. S., and when the person participates in the society's organizations. The key value is the "structural variable." Major questions arise with the term assimilation: Assimilation to what? Does assimilation mean complete disappearance of an ethnic group? Is it a one way process, that is, does a person give up heritage, never to return to it? Can a person enter into primary relations with others with different heritages and still be aware of, proud of, and active in his/her own heritage? These are a few of the questions dealt with here.

3

There are 49,700 1st and 2nd generation NAs in 15 metropolitan countries.

4

Within the area of NA concentration in the Sunset Park and Bay Ridge sections of Brooklyn, which contains 10,000 of the 14,300 NAs in the borough, NAs are no more than six percent (6%) of the combined Bay Ridge and Sunset Park populations (1970 Census).

5

Within the U. S. the writings encompassed under the "new ethnicity" rubric indicate a reemphasis on the ethnic phenomena. This literature is extensive ranging from impressionistic writing to serious scientific research. On the other hand, the works of Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Toward a Theory of Minority Relations (New York: Wiley), 1967, and R. A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research (New York: Random House) 1970, focus on international contexts and are serious theoretical discussions. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, eds., Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press) 1975, is a collection of articles also aimed at exploring "ethnicity" in a world wide context.

6

The idea of ethnic "interests" was adapted primarily from Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1963, p. 17 and from John M. Goering, "The Emergence of Ethnic Interests: A Case of Serendipity." Social Forces, 49 (March, 1971), 379-384.

7

Christen T. Jonassen, "Cultural Variables in the Ecology of an Ethnic Group," American Sociological Review, XIV (February, 1949), 32-41. Class as a variable was implicit in the Chicago School ecological models, but class did not become viewed as a major factor until the Warner and Lunt community study in 1941. Jessie Bernard, The Sociology of Community (Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman, 1973), p. 53.

8

As noted above the concept of assimilation is vague. Even NAs who are "assimilated" on the basis of the Gordon's major assimilation variables have not been absorbed to the point of invisibility because of their participation in NA organizations. Because of this vagueness of the term assimilation the word "intergration," that is, "participation in the host community without losing all of their original ethnic identity" better describes a process that enables participation in a society without suggesting a total disappearance. "Integration" most accurately defines the condition of NAs discussed here (see William S. Bernard, "Immigrants and Refugees: Their Similarities, Differences, and Needs," International Migration, XIV, No. 4, 1976), pp. 276-277.

9

Janowitz attributes recent research into community organization to "student intellectual participation and initiative abetted by faculty interest," Morris Janowitz, "Forward" in William Kornblum, Blue Collar Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. xiii.

10

The interorganizational references in this section are in Merlin B. Brinkerhoff and Phillip R. Kunz, eds., Complex Organizations and Their Environments (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1972), pp. 305-356 unless noted otherwise.

11

The use of person's names is employed in this study under two circumstances. First and primarily, names are given when they are used through the entire study recurring with some regularity. Second, names are used in quotations from other sources in addition to titles. In all cases the names listed represent leaders and/or boundary personnel. See Methodology.

12

It was for this reason that a chronological writing style was utilized within each chapter. See Methodology.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The following historical overview provides some insight into the questions: what were the forms of the NA ethnic group's social structure in earlier periods and what is the NA ethnic group's background and history. This section focuses upon organizations which were and are¹ vital parts of the present NA ethnic social structure. It is also important to become aware of significant factors in regard to the sending nation, Norway, before we can begin to understand the NA ethnic community. The significant factors include the nature of Norwegian immigration as well as selected aspects of Norwegian economic, political and social history which have contributed to the NA metropolitan community. In short, in addition to the "pushes and pulls"² of emigration from Norway and subsequent immigration to the U. S. by Norwegians, we must understand a complex of historical "givens" in the environment which have contributed to the NA community in the metropolitan area of New York.

The Creation of the NA Metropolitan Community

Norwegian group immigration to the U. S. occurred in three waves: (1) 1825 to the U. S. Civil War; (2) 1870 to 1890 (with the peak year being 1882); (3) and 1900 to 1921 and the years following when the first U. S. restrictions were placed on immigration. Numerically Norwegians were one of the smaller immigrant groups, although no nation except Ireland contributed a greater part of its population to the U. S. than Norway. The Norwegian-born population peak was reached in 1920 when 363,862 persons lived in the U. S. (Nordisk Tidende (NT))

10/29/31). In 1978 there are an estimated four million NAs, including Norwegian-born and their descendants, in the U. S. The present population of Norway is also four million suggesting the volume of Norwegian immigration.

Norway has sent immigrants to the New York metropolitan area since the mid 19th century. The beginning of a metropolitan NA ethnic community began in Manhattan around 1880. The numerical peak of Norwegian-born was reached in the New York City in 1930 when 38,130 resided in the five boroughs of the city; 26,142 (68.5%) of these in Brooklyn. The difference in numerical peaks between Norwegian-born in the U. S. and in New York City indicate the urban of later Norwegian immigration.

The creation of the NA metropolitan community began with the second wave and rapidly expanded with the third wave of Norwegian immigration to the U. S. in the 1850 to 1920 period. The total numbers of NA immigrants settling in New York was small by comparison to other groups, but it was massive compared to the size of Norway's population; there are few Norwegians without relatives in the U. S. As the New York NA population increased ethnic organizations were also formed. The greatest concentration of NAs was in New York City in Manhattan and later Brooklyn, where it remains in 1978, although NAs settled throughout the Greater New York area. In the 1970s many NAs are suburban dwellers contributing to a metropolitan NA community. Throughout the last century NA and Norwegian national organizations linked the NA population together although greater centralization of the group in fewer organizations has occurred with increased ecological dispersion in the metropolitan area.

Norwegian immigrants and their descendents have established and maintained ethnic organizations for the past century. The organizations have been the backbone of the NA "community." The population base or hub of this community, ascertained by relatively large numbers of NAs (including Norwegian-born and offspring) and a high density of both NA national organizations, has existed in Manhattan and Brooklyn. The hub is referred to by NAs as the "colony" (koloni). Reading of the Nordisk Tidende since 1926, however, has indicated that the term "colony" has been used in both the narrow sense of referring to the hub or major population base as well as to a broader geographic area called "Greater New York" and known today as metropolitan New York. Thus the broader usage, called the NA "community" in this study, refers to NA organizations and their memberships in the tri-state area including New York City and New York suburban counties and surrounding suburban counties in Northern New Jersey and southeastern Connecticut. Earlier sociological focus on the Brooklyn colony alone had led this researcher to believe that the diffusion of NAs throughout the metropolitan area was a post-World War II phenomenon. Such was not the case. Tracing organizational locations in the Nordisk Tidende indicated that the NA community is today and has been since the 1880s scattered throughout various New York and New Jersey areas, initially in the cities. Further diffusion occurred as early as the 1920s, but assumed greater dimensions particularly in the late 1940s and during the 1950s as the metropolitan area underwent suburbanization.

The metropolitan NA organizations were linked together at least by the 1920s in terms of joint activities and common communication

vehicles, such as the NA press as well as intraorganizational newsletters as will be elaborated upon later. However, during the past century, despite continually increasing population diffusion in a larger geographic area, the metropolitan area NA organizations and their members have become more closely associated as centralization among organizations has increased. Nonetheless the NA population in the metropolitan area has been linked through organizations and their events since at least the turn of the century. Further while the focus here is limited to a regional NA network, there is every reason to suggest, as will be indicated below, that technological advances during the past decades have effectively linked NA persons, groups, organizations and institutions in a national NA network. This network has also expanded to include Norway and is therefore international. Describing the nature of these interorganizational linkages by focusing on the NA community in the New York metropolitan area constitutes the bulk of this study.

The National and International Environment Influencing the NA Metropolitan Community's Development

One initial hypothesis of this paper was that Norway, whether intentionally or not, has had an continues to have an important role of play in the persistence of the NA ethnic group through the presence of Norwegian national organizations in the New York Area. There are three crucial factors to consider in relation to the role of Norway in the development of the NA metropolitan community: (1) the rate and timing of industrialization and urbanization in Norway; (2) the strategic importance of Norway's merchant marine in its economy, and (3) Norway's

relations to its immediate European neighbors in terms of its own internal development.

Norway's industrialization began approximately in the 1850s. Norway's industry was in part stimulated by the U. S. Civil War in the 1860s. Between 1870 and 1905 the Norwegian national product almost doubled (no figures noted; Skard, 1976, 79). Increasing industrialization was followed by rapid urbanization. An increased standard of living resulted in a growing population which far outpaced economic growth and the creation of new jobs. The population of Norway's capital, for example, grew eight times between 1855 and 1910. This was not atypical (Ibid., 70). One response to the rapid change was migration (the urbanization of Norway) and emigration. Prior to the time of the U. S. Civil War and therefore prior to more rapid industrialization in Norway, emigration for the sake of economic betterment in the latter part of the 19th century when many of the immigrants were settling in the metropolitan area. The immigrant to the nascent New York metropolitan NA community. Therefore was often familiar with urban life and seeking to improve individual economic conditions.

A second crucial factor linking Norway and the NA metropolitan community was Norway's shipping industry. The U. S. Civil War resulted in increased Norwegian trade with America. Following the Civil War and from sail to steam transportation, Norway continued to transport items to the U. S. By 1879, a date corresponding with the beginning of a New York NA population, 1,128 Norwegian ships had arrived in the port of New York alone. Often there were 50 to 100 Norwegian ships in the New York harbor at one time (Skard, 82-3). The U. S. - Norway trade

continued through a half century until World War I when it increased even more. The trade in relation to the total trade of both nations was of minor importance, but with crews of approximately forty persons, this resulted in 2,000 to 4,000 Norwegian sailors in the New York Harbor at any one time. World War II increased U. S.-Norway trade to new heights which climaxed during the 1950s when not only the number of Norwegian ships in the New York area decreased but also the size of the crews were halved. In addition to Norwegian sailors, many NAs were sailors or continued to work in sea-related occupations. Thus in addition to merchant marine contacts, a contact which continues to the present,⁴ the interests of seamen were integrally related to the NA settlement and to NA organizational life.

A third important factor in terms of both historical and emerging⁵ ethnicity among NAs is Norway's relations to its Scandinavian neighbors. Briefly, Denmark ruled Norway in a Danish-Norwegian union for four centuries ending in 1814. Although the interests of the business elites of the two nations merged to some extent, Danes were viewed by most Norwegians as colonizers. The rugged Norwegian geography, broken by mountains and fjords, resulted in isolation between the various areas of Norway and as a result Danish influence seldom reached the isolated areas of Norway. Norway had no university, its students were educated in the Danish capital of Copenhagen. As a geographically rugged nation its rural parts--even city from city--remained separated well into the 20th century (Popperwell, 1972). Thus while the urban areas and particularly the upper classes were influenced by Danish culture, especially in language which came to be known as Bokmal⁶ or Dano-Norwegian, the isolated rural areas had a culture and a spoken language which was indigenous to Norway. One effect was a decided social, class,

cultural and linguistic separation between the large rural and small urban populations of Norway. The common point was that the written language was Dano-Norwegian (until 1907) which literate Norwegians learned--most Norwegians immigrants were literate.

In 1814 Denmark was forced to give up Norway because the Danish-Norwegian Union had sided with the defeated Napoleon. Sweden, a victor in the Napoleonic wars, was to receive Norway according to terms in the Treaty of Kiel in return for its loss of Finland to Russia. Norwegians wanted to total freedom from foreign rule and gathered to draft a constitution in 1814. Although total independence did not result, as Sweden ruled Norway from 1814 to 1905, Sweden's king did accept the Norwegian constitution signed on May 17, 1814, which granted considerable home rule. Sweden however controlled foreign policy matters including the foreign service and its consulate offices which looked after the large Norwegian merchant marine, a factor eventually leading to Norway's demand for complete independence.

The 1814-1905 period was one of growing Norwegian nationalism, as well as industrial expansion. The culture of the rural Norwegian (bondekultur) received considerable literary attention and was extolled. The language of the rural Norwegian was put into a written form in the mid 1850s and called, ironically since it was considered the older form, New Norwegian (Ny Norsk) and was given official status beside Dano-Norwegian which gradually became more Norwegianized in the 20th century. Dano-Norwegian continued to be the spoken and written language of business, politics and of education in the Norwegian University (created in 1811). The dual official language situation is important in Norway moreso than among NAs (although this may be changing), but it is important that the reader be aware of this language division.⁶

The period of rising nationalism between 1814 and 1905 coincided

with the three major periods of Norwegian immigration; nationalism reached new heights in 1905 when the Swedish-Norwegian union was peacefully dissolved. That the emigrant left was often viewed by "official Norway"⁷ as desertion, but many immigrants apparently loved Norway and viewed their departure in terms of economic opportunity rather than turning their backs on the "motherland." For many of the emigrants to the metropolitan region, immigration was often viewed as temporary, just a few years to build up a financial reserve before returning. Also for the majority of the immigrants, their language and culture was being lauded by many Norwegian writers as being "real" Norwegian; therefore the immigrant came to the U. S. at the height of a Norwegian national revival and during a period of praise for bondekultur (literally, farmer culture). This historical situation, paralleling the peak periods of Norwegian emigration, has been held accountable for greater Norwegian (than for example Swedish) population concentration in the U. S.⁸

The 1905 Swedish-Norwegian union was dissolved in part due to the rising Norwegian nationalism and as a direct result of Norway's demand for its own consular offices and control over and support for the rapidly expanding merchant marine which was larger than the Swedish fleet.

It was in the climate of heightened nationalism and recognition of the bondekultur, which most of the NAs represented, that the New York metropolitan NA settlements were begun. The immigrants although some were from growing urban areas of Norway were often of rural background with any urban residence often having been in the same generation as immigration. U. S. farmland, which had claimed almost all of the first wave and much of the second wave of Norwegian immigration, was no longer available and urban centers of the New York metropolitan area were expanding paralleling Norway's urbanization. The early NA immigrants to the area were largely skilled laborers, working on or by the sea, a

a characteristic of NA occupational life in the late 19th and early 20th century.⁹

Jonassen was well aware of the importance of the occupational backgrounds of the immigrants as they linked together with the development of New York economy. These factors, which existed in the New York area at the turn of the 20th century, in addition to their Anglo characteristics, the expansion of the port of New York, the growth of public transportation and a desire for open spaces in the then still rural south Brooklyn were some of the crucial variables affecting the ecological patterns of NA settlement in Brooklyn (Jonassen, 1947, and 1949).

There was also a small but influential core of professionals, especially engineers and architects, coming to the New York area as well. They quickly found employment in developing the metropolitan area's mass transportation network of subways, tunnels and bridges as well as growing numbers of skyscrapers (Bjork, 1947). In addition there was a small core of increasingly wealthy NA and Norwegian business persons. These occupational differences provided the bases for organizational as well as class differentiation.

Thus the field of interacting national and international events and the heritage which Norwegian immigrants brought from Norway had an effect on the metropolitan NA community structure. Events in Norway and relations between it and its European neighbors and between the U.S. have had an impact on the community's development and change. Dominant among these factors were the push and pulls of emigration, the size of the Norwegian fleet and its use of the New York Port and Norwegian independence from all foreign powers. The emigration was primarily economic and not, in the main, a desertion of Norway although the immigrant was aware

that chances of economic mobility were greater in the U. S. than at home. Nonetheless Norway's industrial progress accompanied by the Norwegian nationalism of the 19th century swelled NA interest and pride in Norway which had an impact on N' rganizational growth. The constant link to Norway via Norwegian seamen kept ties between NAs and Norway active.

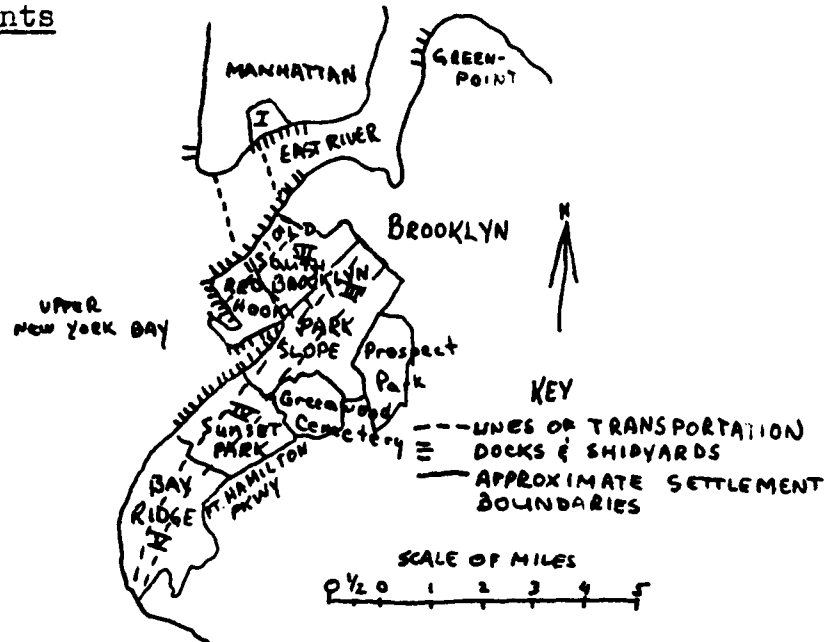
With the exception of the Norwegian Consul General's Office (discussed below), the Norwegian government had relatively little concern for its seamen prior to World War II. As a result, NAs and the Norwegian Seamen's Church (a private, Norway-based organization) provided most of the care for Norwegian sailors in New York. It was in such an environment that the NA metropolitan community developed.

The Metropolitan NA Community: Growth and Links to Norway

The above factors combined to result in a NA population base that is the largest concentration of NAs in the metropolitan area. The colony moved consecutively from lower Manhattan to downtown Brooklyn, to Park Slope and Red Hook, Sunset Park and Bay Ridge all in Brooklyn, N. Y. (See map.) By World War II the population base was almost exclusively in the sections of Sunset Park and Bay Ridge where it remains at present. Since the end of World War II, a suburban migration (which slowed in the 1960s), little immigration (approximately 15,500 between 1961 and 1970)¹⁰ and death has reduced the Brooklyn NA population base to less than 10,000 first and second generation. Concentration has dropped from approximately 25% of the total population in the 1930s to less than 6% in 1970 (a figure based on first and second generation).¹¹ The metropolitan NA population (first and second generation only) is larger than 50,000 according to the 1970 census, in a total population of approximately 20 million.

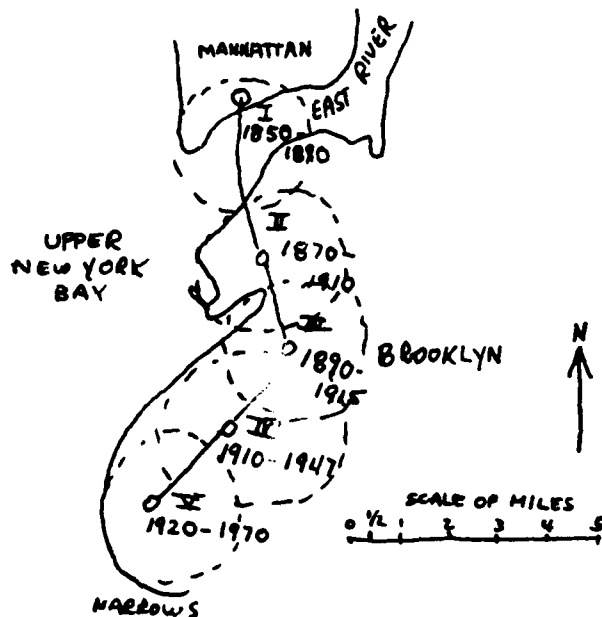
NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENTS AND
MIGRATIONS IN MANHATTAN AND
BROOKLYN: 1850 - 1978*

Settlements



*Adapted from Christen T. Jonassen, "Cultural Variables in the Ecology of an Ethnic Group," 37 and 38.

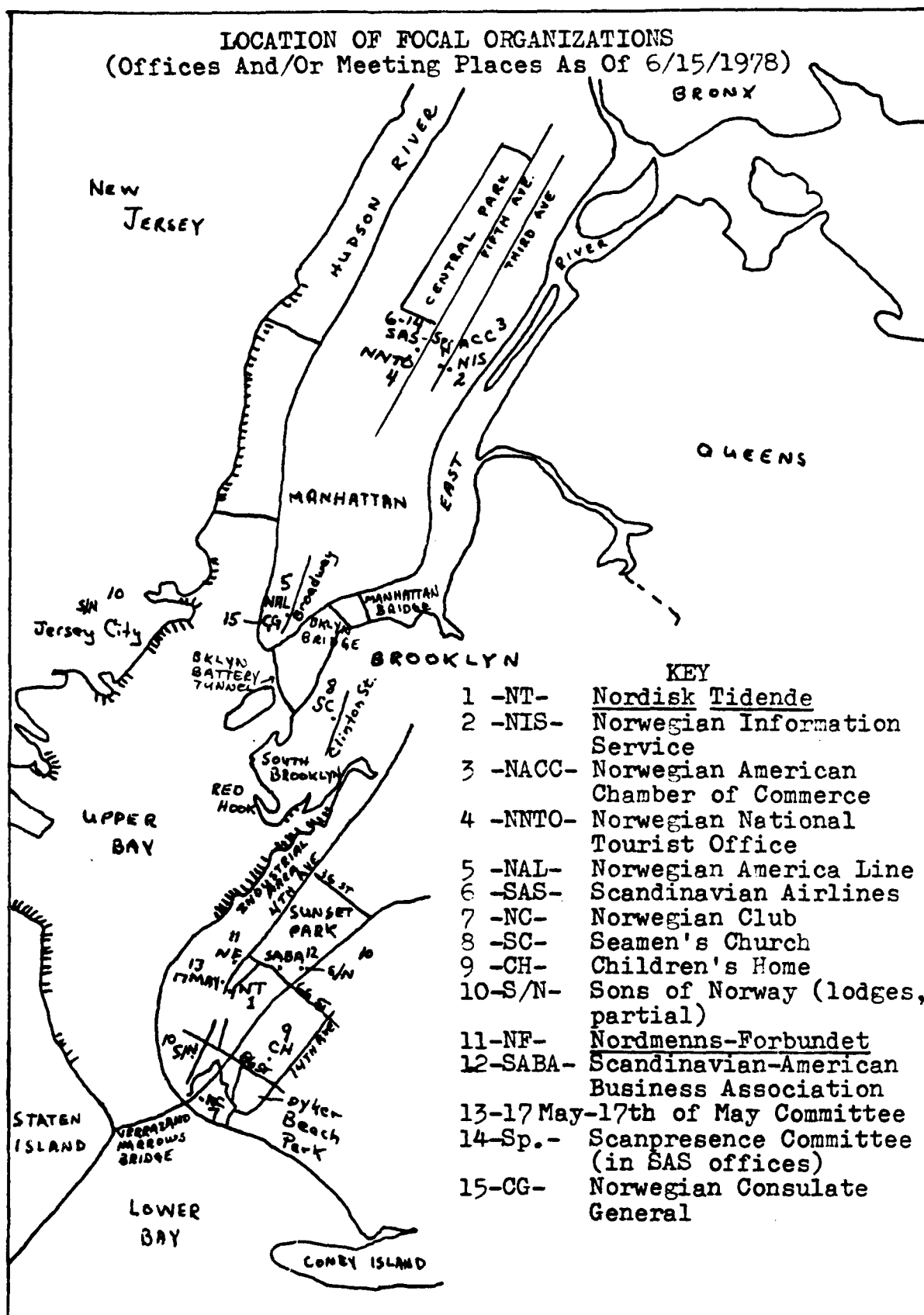
Migrations



Organizational density was and is greater in the area of population base in southwest Brooklyn. NA service oriented organizations made the move with the NA population. Such is the case with regard to the press, charitable, social and religious organizations and service oriented businesses such as food stores, restaurants, travel agencies and other smaller business which either depended on the NA population or which merely desired to be among NAs and other Scandinavians. Some organizations and businesses however have not followed the population. Organizations such as the Norwegian Seamen's Church serving the Norwegian shipping fleet remained in the area of first settlement in Old South Brooklyn. It is here that the seaman anchored and the church wished to remain near the port. Several larger travel related businesses likewise remained in Manhattan or in areas of later settlement in downtown Brooklyn and Old South Brooklyn near Red Hook. Some of these businesses were also located in the industrial sections of Sunset Park and were unable to move their businesses to non-industrial Bay Ridge. Finally official Norwegian organizations and NA organizations which were closely connected with shipping, trade and transportation industries either remained in, or if more recent in origin settled in, or near central areas of business in both lower and mid-town Manhattan. The Norway-based organizations are considered to be an integral part of the NA ethnic community network of organizational and social relations. (See map.)

The inclusion of Norwegian national organizations as an aspect to consider in ethnic persistence originally presented itself directly through observation of the activities of the Norwegian foreign service, both the Minister and later Ambassador in Washington, D. C. and more locally the Norwegian Consul General's office.

The Norwegian Consulate in New York City is an official Norwegian government representative in the metropolitan area and has been since the establishment of an independent Norwegian state in 1905. A major



function of the Consulate is caring for the Norwegian merchant fleet. This function began in New York during the Swedish-Norwegian union at the time NAs began to settle in New York. Norwegians were members of the Consulate staff during the union, although in lesser positions. The members of the Consulate therefore have a long history of contacts with NAs with regard to providing Norwegian seamen with protection as foreign citizens, with legal help when necessary, and in cooperation with NA organizations, with lodging and shelter, and even with entertainment and religious activities. The NA interest in Norwegian sailors stemmed from the fact that many seamen became immigrants active in seamen's organizations. Further NAs had many relatives among the Norwegian sailors, both groups stemming largely from rural origins. Many NA businesses were dependent upon Norwegian shipping ties to the U. S. The NA religious community also viewed the seamen as persons to be protected from the evils of the city and sought to evangelize them. Thus there was not a segment within the NA community, whether family, labor or charity, business or religious institutions without some interest in and connection to seamen. In the period prior to World War II the Consulate was the only official Norwegian agency responsible for the seaman's welfare; but the Consulate was staffed by only a few persons. In order to carry out its tasks, it is suggested here that the Consulate was forced into alliance with NAs (as well as with the Norwegian Seamen's Church, a non-governmental institution based in Norway) in order to carry out and advance the Consulate's own goals and interests. Thus the Consulate was brought into the network of NA organizations and, as will be evident in the sections which follow, into the forefront of NA organizational life. The early NA metropolitan area

settlements, not only those in Brooklyn, were closely tied to the sea. The sea provided a ready link to Norway. This relation to the Port of New York while diminished today because of changes in the shipping industry, (e.g. less than 400 Norwegian ships, with crews of approximately 20 persons, arrived in the Port of New York-New Jersey in 1977) is still observable. Of course new links have been forged since World War II, particularly with the advent of mass public air travel and other forms of communications technology. Nonetheless the Consulate remains a major link between Norway and the NA community's organizational network.

There are two aspects of the Norwegian Consulate's role which further indicate its function as a link between Norway and the NA community and ethnic persistence. In the first case official Norway's role in ethnic community life had been one of unintentional ally as NAs provided a source of support for the foreign service's duties, particularly with regard to the merchant marine. It can be assumed that the Norwegian government did not seek to keep ties with NAs alive through the merchant marine, but rather sought to advance Norway's economic and political interests. Further Norwegian shipping companies, which operated on a laissez faire basis until approximately World War II, did not direct their business toward the U. S. and New York only. Norway's fleet was and is a shipper to the world. By 1900, for example, four-fifths of all Norwegian ships operated between foreign ports (Skard, 1976, 70). Norwegian seamen, often away from Norway for long periods of time, visited and indeed helped create Norwegian settlements in many parts of the world. The growth of a large NA immigrant settlement in New York however resulted in the New York area being a home away from home. Ships docked in Manhattan (originally freighter, but later primarily passenger), Brooklyn, and Staten Island,

N. Y. and in Newark, Elizabeth, Jersey City and Bayonne, N. J., all areas which had NA populations in or close by to them. Thus links with Norway by the NA were in many cases kept alive. At the official level the Consulate spoke to organizations which sponsored programs aimed at the sailors becoming a familiar person to NAs through the NA press and being among a small leadership elite of NA organizational and business persons. With the Consulates and the Washington D. C. Legation, official Norway had a few links with NAs, but the government, prior to World War II, did not appear to make direct attempts to win over NA support. Nonetheless links did exist between the Consulate and NA and Norway based organizations.

World War II greatly altered the relations between the U. S. and Norway to a point not before witnessed in U. S. -Norwegian history. Skard divides U. S.-Norwegian relations into three periods. In the first period, between 1776 and 1825, the U. S. was a "symbol" to Norway, a symbol of freedom. In the second period, from 1825 (the date of the first group immigration from Norway to the U. S.) relations between the two nations were characterized as ones of "personal contacts," primarily familial ties to the homeland, often by mail, but they were unofficial contacts. The third period is recent, 1945 to the present, the period of "formal economic and political" ties. The war came at a time when Norwegian immigration was declining and at a time when it was thought that the NA population base in Brooklyn, and presumably NA ethnicity on the east coast, would cease to exist. It was following 1945 that official Norway became increasingly involved in U. S. relations. Further, it may not be an exaggeration to state that official Norway for the first time recognized the value of a "colony" of NAs in New York. NAs with links to shipping, banking, and numerous businesses could and did provide Norway's

industry and business with links to the American market. The idea did not suddenly occur in 1945 that NAs could be of value to Norway's interests, as will be explained below, the Consulate and voices in the Norwegian Foreign Service in the U. S. had long recognized the potential of the NA community. The visible catalyst during World War II was again the merchant marine, but less visible links were being established that have continued to the present with one effect being fortification of the NA ethnic community and its institutions.

The second case also involves the Consulate serving in the capacity of functionary for official Norway. Norway, like all nations, rewards persons acting on behalf of its interests. In Norway it is the Royal Order of St. Olav which distributes ranked awards to persons serving Norwegian interests. The award was given to at least fifty-eight persons active in NA circles during the period (1926-1960) for which Nordisk Tidende¹² was examined. Several of the fifty-eight were repeaters, that is, they were first given one rank and then given a higher rank for continued efforts. The recipients were persons, almost all men, very active in NA institutions. It is not certain to what extent Norway's government knowingly sought NA support. At one time a major leader in the NA community and Commander of St. Olav sought to form a club of NAs who were recipients of the St. Olav award. This attempt was thwarted by the Norwegian Consulate. Why it was thwarted was not ascertained.¹³

A second type of reward was founded in 1939 by the then King Haakon VII (king from 1905 to 1957) called the St. Olav Medal. It was instituted for "rewarding service for expansion of friendship to Norway abroad and for advancing relations and understanding between the emigrated Norway (a term used to describe the NA) and the homeland" (Aschehough's

Konversasjons Leksikon, Vol. 16, 866). The St. Olav Medal was received by at least 28 NA leaders of the New York Community, males and females, as recorded in Nordisk Tidende, and was an award created specifically in recognition of services performed by emigrants, not necessarily but primarily NAs since most Norwegian emigrants settled in the U. S.

Both types of awards were distributed by the Consulate General or by the Minister in Washington, D. C. The St. Olav awards were sources of positive reinforcement for activities conducted by NAs. These awards were and are not restricted to NAs, but had one consequence of spurring NAs to work for Norway's interests which had the effect of strengthening NA organizations which were often the instruments through which such recognition was earned. As noted this type of reward is by no means unique to the Norwegian government although to my knowledge its use as an instrument of ethnic persistence, intended or not, among ethnic groups in the U. S. has never been considered.

Population growth in the NA community resulted in an increase of organizational density -- not only traditional ethnic social and cultural organizations, but also NA business and Norwegian organizations as well -- adding to the density of NA events. Although the Norwegian government was not initially interested in NA activities, the Norwegian Consulate in New York found the NA population instrumental in working with seamen and in other Consular activities. A tie developed between the NA community and official Norway which was further expanded during and after World War II as U. S.-Norway relations expanded. In the meantime official Norway recognized the contributions of non-Norwegians including NAs through the bestowal of the St. Olav and other awards. At a time when the NA ethnic enclave in Brooklyn was demo-

graphically declining, as immigration dwindled and interest in NA organization life declined, events during and after World War II resulted in coalitions of ethnic and Norwegian national interests enabling ethnicity to modify and persist. Persistence and the origins of new forms of ethnic persistence however were not without conflict.

Intra-Community Conflict: Interest and Cultural Values

Most of this study focuses on cooperation rather than upon conflict between and among NA and Norwegian groups in the community. Conflict among NAs has been discussed by Jonassen. The context for conflict however was limited to the spatial enclave. He noted that the origins of NA conflict, resulting in a "well defined split in the associational structure" of the community, were not class motivated but due to different immigrant value systems (Jonassen, 1947, 510-518). While not in disagreement with Jonassen's emphasis on values, an implicit assumption throughout the present study, with its focus on "interests", suggests a view which indicates that there were and are decided interest groupings among NAs which help influence values. Whether or not there were broad class differences among NAs depends on the historical period discussed and upon the boundaries of the term "NA community." Jonassen limited his study to the Brooklyn enclave which he called "Viking Village" where class differences were muted since most residents were of similar working class status. Jonassen was aware of this situation, but stated that economic control rested outside the community (Ibid., 512). Rygg however used a broader definition of the community focusing upon the New York area. Rygg and Jonassen present different views of economic control and influence among NAs. Jonassen wrote:

In our analysis of Viking Village we found very little evidence of such a (class) grouping. Only in one club (not named- probably the Norwegian Club) was there evidence that some of the members regarded themselves as something of an upper-class, but they were so insignificant in numbers that the community as a whole is hardly aware of their existence. And they exercise no influence on the community (Jonassen, 1947: 511).

Jonassen focused only on NA ethnicity in an ethnic enclave. Rygg on the other hand very clearly suggests that there was not only an influential but also a powerful elite of NAs and Norwegians exercising control over the broader NA community. With reference to the conflict between a Norwegian shipowner, Christopher Hannevig, and his supporters and NAs and Norwegians in two NA and one "official Norway" organization, Rygg wrote that Hannevig and several

....young businessmen from Norway attempted to get control of the Norwegian Colony (NA community) by securing three strategic strongholds: the Norwegian Club, the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce and the Norwegian Consulate General. They came to dominate the Norwegian Club....

However, when this younger element came to the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in 1919, they did not succeed in electing any of their own men (Rygg, 1941: 183).

Hannevig and his supporters also failed to control the Consul General's Office (Ibid.) This passage suggests that Rygg was of the opinion that control of these three organizations constituted control of the "colony".

There is disagreement between these two views since Jonassen states that the only organizational members who "regarded themselves as something of an upper class ... exercised no influence on the community." Rygg on the other hand implies that some organizations can "control" the NA community.

Evidence presented throughout this study suggests there are "interests" which seek to control or influence certain NA groups for the benefit of certain organizations, although not necessarily broad class interests. Jonassen's focus was not on power or class, but on ecological factors; not on a broad network of NA ethnicity, but on the spatial enclave. Jonassen did not focus on interorganization links; Rygg was a part of them.

Further Jonassen claimed that NAs "come from a society which is largely classless"(Jonassen, 1947, 512; emphasis added). "Largely" does not mean absence of class. Skard noted that there was a clear distinction among the upper class of Norway (including the propertied class and "official Norway," that is the bureaucrats including the clergy of the Lutheran State Church) and the lower classes (1976: 47, 61, 78-79).¹⁴ As this study indicates (especially in the Nordisk Tidende chapter) class divisions and awareness were brought to the New York area, and were manifest in organizational structures. A broader class separation representing a historical Norwegian elite-commoner dichotomy was bitterly attacked by NAs for example in the Nordisk Tidende, under the guise of "democratic" ideology. Certainly class interests became less obvious in the NA community because immigrants often became allies of Norwegian interests and "official Norway." Nonetheless organizational interests have emerged from earlier broader class interests and remain determinants of organizational groupings and important factors in ethnic persistence, a phenomenon which is as dependent upon Norway today as it was earlier, and perhaps even moreso as will be elaborated. Thus while immigrant

values served to separate groups, these values were, at least to some extent, derived from the social and economic conditions existing in Norway. Interest and values served as bases of organizational association. In 1978, it is hypothesized, the ethnic interests tend to dominate ethnic values. The function of "interest" in NA organizational and community persistence is observed in the origins, developments and adaptations of the Nordisk Tidende, the hub of the ethnic community in the metropolitan area.

Footnotes

1

NA organizations cited in sample Nordisk Tidende issues (see Methodology) between 1926 and 1960 were recorded. Two-hundred and six (206) organizations were recorded as follows: Religious (primarily churches and missions)--46; Fraternal -(primarily Sons of Norway lodges and sick benefit organizations)--43; Social clubs--23; Women's organization--19; Cultural groups (including choral, discussion and theatre)--15; sport--11 and World War II organizations--11; Charitable (including the Norwegian Children's Home)--10; Seamen's organizations--6; Federated groups of permanent nature--5 (including the Scandinavian American Business Association; Sons of Norway Central Committees, Zones and Districts; and the 17th of May Committee of Greater New York) and Special ad hoc committees--5; American organizations with primarily NA chapters (such as the International Order of Good Templars--a temperance organization)--4 federated groups; Occupational organizations--not including unions--3; Political--2; Business --2 (including the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce). This listing does not include Scandinavian organizations or organizations with the name Scandinavian in the title, except SABA. Nor does it include a number of selected organizations discussed here which are Norway-based; thus the religious category does not include the Norwegian Seamen's Church. Other Norway-based groups not included are the Norwegian Consulate; the Welfare Council for the Merchant Marine, the Norwegian Export Council, the Norwegian National Tourist Organization; the Norwegian Information Service. The listing does not include NA businesses including the Nordisk Tidende. All of the 206 listed are in the 22 county metropolitan New York area. In 1978 there are approximately 50 NA organizations in the New York metropolitan area when one excludes 4 organizations not in the 206 listed above.

2

Ralph Thomlinson, Population Dynamics: Causes and Consequences of World Demographic Change (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 223-24. "Demographers try to determine whether people migrate because they are thrust out of former residences (push) or because they are attracted to new places (pull). It is seldom an either/or situation in voluntary migration.

3

The Norwegian national organizations include the Norwegian Seamen's Church, the Foreign Service offices, i.e., the Consulate General in Manhattan and the Embassy in Washington, D.C., the Norwegian National Tourist Organization, the Norwegian Information Service and numerous business organizations. The Scandinavian Airline System is two-sevenths (2/7) Norwegian-owned.

4

Between 1938 and 1965 the number of Norwegian ships in U.S. harbors doubled. World War II was a significant watershed in U. S.-Norway ties as the first formal political and economic ties between the two governments were established (see Skard, 1976, 180-184). The shipping ties continue today, declining in relation to the decline of the Port of New York-New Jersey relative to other U.S. harbors.

5

The term Scandinavian is not consistently used. It refers to Denmark, Norway and Sweden which is the most common usage. It can also include Iceland (a Danish possession until 1944) and Finland although the term Nordic is also used when Finland is included.

6

The language situation in Norway has been a conflictual one since the New Norwegian language became a written language in the 1850s. Most immigrants spoke what has become New Norwegian, while they read and wrote Dano-Norwegian, often finding their own language in written form--"odd." In 1971 a non-Norwegian married to a Norwegian began to publish a newspaper-journal in New Norwegian and English. Later issues have been almost exclusively in English. It is published in Wilton, Connecticut, Fairfield County. The publication Ny Verd, New World, is issued sporadically about 6 times per year. Ny Verd is affiliated with the NA organization Vinlands Mållag, "an educational society whose members are interested in Norway and its culture," which is affiliated with Noregs Mållag, Norway's national linguistic and cultural society and advocate of equal status for the New Norwegian language. More than a century after the appearance of a Dano-Norwegian NA press, the language controversy is brought to the U. S. in the appearance of Ny Verd. The potential impact of the new paper is not discussed here. It is however an example of a new form of Norwegian interest transplanted to the U.S. and maintaining or creating further interest in Norway.

7

"Official Norway," is a term used to designate elected and appointed persons in Norwegian government or service. It is a term commonly used in Norway (See Galtung, in Ramsøy, 1968). It is used here in this sense and also in conjunction with Norwegian national organizations such as the Foreign Service and other government and quasi-government organizations which are representatives of Norway in the U. S.

8

In New York City (5 boroughs) in 1930, for example there were almost twice as many Swedes as Norwegians (first and later generations, although there were more Norwegian-born-- 38,130 to 37,267 Swedish born. But where-- as almost 70% of the Norwegians born in New York City were concentrated in Brooklyn (26,142 of 38,130; 68.5%) only 43% of the Swedes were in one borough - Brooklyn (16,147 of 37,367; (43.2%) NT 10/29/31). Nonetheless Swedish ethnicity persists in the New York metropolitan area in 1978 without a spatial enclave. The Swedish group has not been studied.

9

It was not uncommon for Norwegian farmers, whose farms were often in valleys near fjords, to supplement farm production with sea-going activities. While not all farmers went to U. S. farmlands and not all sailors and seamen stayed in coastal areas, for purposes of generalization this is true. Further one common characteristic of Norwegian immigrants, whether inland or on coasts, was that they sought to settle by water if at all possible. See Theodore C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860 (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, Vol. I, 1931).

10

Migration statistics based on comparisons of the 1960 and 1970 census data. Immigration statistics from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1974 (95th edition). Washington, D. C., 1974, p. 98. This figure compares to almost 23,000 Norwegian immigrants to the U. S. between 1951 and 1960 (Ibid.). There were 9,569 NAs (1st and 2nd generation) in the area of the Colony studied by this researcher for the MA thesis according to the 1970 census. There were 10,435 NAs in the area of "Viking Village" in 1970, based on an update of figures for the area which Jonassen used in 1947. The Colony was comprised of 58 census tracts; Viking Village utilized 10 health areas.

11

Based on 1960 census tract data, the NA ethnic group ranked second in the area of the Colony in 1960 with 16,124 or 8.5% of the areas total population. According to 1970 census data, NAs ranked fourth with 9,569 or 5.29% of the areas total population. The figure of 50,000 NAs in the metropolitan area is based upon only 15 of 22 counties, viz.: Kings, New York, Queens, Richmond, Bronx, Nassau, Suffolk, Rockland and Westchester, Hudson, Bergen, Passaic, Essex, Morris and Union. There were 10,400 NAs in the 6 New Jersey counties or (59.5%) of all NAs in the state of New Jersey which has a total of 17,474 NAs according to the 1970 census.

12

The four ranks, highest to lowest, are: Commander with Stars, Commander (Cmdr.), Knight First Class, Knight Second Class. (Knight First Class is the most common and was the award bestowed unless noted otherwise). This list is not complete, includes several American-born, possibly of non Norwegian descent, linked to the NA community, and suggests the importance of organizational affiliations in receiving the award. Further, only one organizational identification, the one the person is most identified with, is mentioned). Recipients were: Ole Windingstad, musician; A. N. Rygg, Nordisk Tidende owner and editor, Comdr. with stars; August Reymert, lawyer: Rev. C. O. Pedersen, Norwegian Hospital; Morris Gintzler, NA Chamber of Commerce (NACC); Charles E. Larsen, businessman; Rev. S. O. Sigmond, Trinity Lutheran Church; Olaf Hertzwig, NACC; Lucius M. Boomer, Waldorf Astoria Corp. (American, married to a Norwegian); Christian Mohn, Norwegian American Line (NAL-shipping Co.); Hans Olav, Nordisk Tidende Editor; Rolf Westad, NACC; Johannes Westergaard, NACC; Capt. Torkild Rieber, businessman; Capt. S. C. Halvorsen, businessman; Ole Singstad, engineer (Knight 2nd class); S. A. Haram, NACC (Cmdr.); Karl Krogstad, ship owner; Capt. Marcus Hegman, NAL; Frederick Wick, musician; H. G. Leach, Scandinavian-American Foundation

(American); Knut Olsen, Norwegian State Travel Bureau; Carl Soyland, Nordisk Tidende editor (Cmdr); Juul Dieserud, Librarian; Karl Holm, charity and welfare service; A. MacClelland Barnes, NACC; Birger M. Heede, businessman; G. U. Vetlesen, Scandinavian Airlines; R. T. Michelsen, NA Chamber of Commerce; Johan Reiersen, shipping; E. A. Cappelan Smith, industrialist (Cmdr) (not always a New York area resident); Ray Morris, NACC; Christian Schiott, musician; Hallvard Hillestad, NACC; Thor Solberg, aviator; R. G. Westad (Cmdr), NAAC; Sigurd Sater, NACC; Hans Chr. Henricksen, NAL; Johs. Aardal, Seamen's Church (Norwegian citizen); Sverre Norborg, educator; Carl H. Tollefsen, musician; Just Lunning, businessman.

13

Information obtained during period of research at Nordisk Tidende offices, 1977.

14

Nicholas Tavuchis, Pastors and Immigrants: The Role of a Religious Elite in the Absorption of Norwegian Immigrants (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963) focuses on social stratification among immigrants in the U. S. in a society with an open class ideology and discusses the functions of an elite in such an environment (pp. 1 and 9). He traces the ties between the State Church of Norway and Lutheran churches in the U. S. and the conflict between those remaining loyal to the State Church and those wishing to break from its power. This conflict was one with which the NA community leadership had to cope and reconcile. How can a NA in a "democracy" remain loyal to the old world monarchical systems? The NA people strongly favored that Norway's form of government be changed to a Republic in 1905 and not a monarchy, which it became. For ethnicity to persist, different bases of loyalty had to be built. Thus, e.g. Nordisk Tidende referred to "democratic Norway" and praised King Haakon VII as the people's king.

PART II
ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORK
CHAPTER 4
THE PRESS: NORDISK TIDENDE

Introduction to the Press

A major source of ethnic group maintenance among NAs in the metropolitan area has been the ethnic press.¹ Sociological analysis of the foreign language paper, however, has not been extensive. Examination of the "immigrant press" has essentially begun and ended with Robert Park's (1971) dated but still valuable study. Park concluded that the foreign language press was an agent of "assimilation," aiding immigrants in understanding and accepting the "American culture."² One must realize however that Park was writing in a period of U. S. history characterized by anti-foreignness and "new" immigration from south and east Europe. Official views of the new immigration were not sympathetic or favorable; the new immigrants were not thought to be assimilable. Park stated a contrary view, that the new immigrants were as capable of adjusting as any immigrant. Further the foreign language press was essential in aiding the immigrant to learn about and to adapt to life in America. But Park also referred to ways in which the press maintains identity thereby hindering assimilation or complete loss of ethnic identification. Park did not stress the maintenance factors in his conclusions, but it is this factor, which is referred to by Park, which is of concern here.

Official and public attitudes toward the immigrant in America have varied through time. When Park wrote about the immigrant press the concept of ethnic pluralism, in the sense of acceptance of outward forms of diversity, was not yet commonplace. In the 1970s however the view of ethnic pluralism in the U. S. is generally accepted and even officially legitimated through U. S. government programs.³ The foreign language press remains a fact of American life and there is no need to defend justify its existence. The number of such newspapers however is far less numerous than when Park wrote although its functions in part remain the same.

The press can be an important creator of sense of peoplehood and then used as a basis for collective action (Dann, 1971).⁴ Further Janowitz, studying the role of the local, English-language community press, concluded that the press serves an important role in creating a sense of local, spatial community. The press creates and maintains a sense of community or place, with boundaries and certain characteristics. In Park's time the distribution area of the ethnic press often coincided with a large spatial ethnic enclave. But as Dann and Janowitz state, ethnic papers appeal to non-territorial constituencies. They may span entire metropolitan, regional, or even national areas.⁵ It is assumed that a foreign language, ethnic press can create and maintain a sense of ethnic identity or peoplehood and of community in a metropolitan, as well as in a local, area.

Thus an analysis of the role of the Norwegian language press becomes crucial in this study. In general, the ethnic press itself is an agent of power and control, although as Park pointed out, it can also

be controlled. The use of the terms power and control, as used here is limited to the Norwegian paper's ability to create and maintain a sense of community. In this respect the Norwegian language paper is an important mediating structure, an institution which links organizations with constituencies. One effect is the creation and even recreation of, as environment changes, and maintenance, of, a community or a network of people and structures.

The power of the ethnic press in creating, recreating and maintaining ethnicity should not be overestimated. The press occupies a key position in the organizational network of the metropolitan NA community. It does not have the power to fully control its environment, for example. Changes in ethnic demographics, newspaper technology, and historical events, and therefore is often responding to its environment. Park for example noted the increasing importance of advertising revenues in the sustenance of the foreign language press. Advertising revenue is of course based upon readership. One function of the ethnic press, as a profit-making venture, is to constantly keep abreast of new advertising potential while maintaining a readership which supports the advertisers. Since Park's time the nature of ethnic life in many cases has changed from that of enclave to metropolitan, regional and even national forms and the press must adapt if it is to survive. To sustain itself it constantly occupies a position between advertiser and reader. Its personal, as will be elaborated, seek not only to provide a market, but also to create the market--both advertiser and reader.

A natural ally of the foreign language press is the homeland. The homeland offers a key source of ethnic appeal, both for the immigrant and the native born. But interest in the homeland on the part of the

American born must be created. Thus tourism is one factor to consider in ethnicity in the U. S., both political and economic factors. These factors are no less important in the 1970s although their forms have changed. There are, then, at least two important general areas to consider in examining the role of the foreign language press and the development of ethnicity: the local, U. S. environment and the relation to the homeland.

The Nordisk Tidende (NT), the longest surviving Norwegian language paper in the U. S., becomes the focal organization for this study. The NT performs a pivotal role in the ethnic social structural network and both shapes and is shaped by the constantly changing forms of and interests of other ethnic organizations.

Nordisk Tidende: Hub of the New York Metropolitan NA Ethnic Community

The history of the Norwegian-American (NA) press in the United States began in New York City in 1847 with the publication of "Skandinavia" (Roedder, I, 1966, 9). In the third quarter of the 19th century, the population density of any single Scandinavian group in the New York area was not sufficient to support its own paper, thus the papers were named "Scandinavian." By 1875 this situation was beginning to change, but newspapers still selected names that were inclusive of the Scandinavian nations, specifically by using the term Nordic (Nordiske). In 1878 the Nordiske Blade (Nordic Press) was established. It was a Norwegian language paper supported primarily by Norwegians. It was also at this time that the Swedish paper Nordstjernan (North Star) and a Danish paper Dansk-Amerikaneren (Danish American) came into existence (Rugg, 133ff). Nordisk Tidende (Nordic Times) was a relative

latecomer to the field of the NA press when it was formed in 1891. But considering that the average life span of a NA paper was one decade (Roedder, II, 1968, 325), the Nordisk Tidende has to be considered one of the most successful ethnic papers ever founded; it is in its 88th year. The Nordisk Tidende (NT) was a Norwegian language paper, produced by Norwegians and supported by Norwegians, but which appealed, although primarily in name only, to all of the Scandinavian language groups.

Until 1927 the NT's masthead contained the shields of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, but a new masthead, appeared for the first time on May 5, 1927. The "new" masthead reveals several themes that were and are dominant in the paper's role in the Norwegian-American community. First, the center of the new masthead was dominated by the Statue of Liberty, indicating the allegiance of the paper to the United States. And second, the statue is flanked on one side by a viking ship and on the other by a steamship indicating a link to the role of shipping in the past and the present (Nordisk Tidende (NT) 4/7/27; 5/5/27). Third, the new masthead was designed by a Norwegian, characterizing the paper's links to Norway and specifically to its at least dependence on Norwegian citizens for talent. The masthead remains unchanged in 1978.

NT has been published continually from 1891 to the present. During many of those years it had no competition. Nordiske Blade closed in 1910 and Nordisk Tidende's next competitor did not appear until 1924 with Norgesposten (The Norway Post) which did not survive the Depression. Since then Nordisk Tidende has had a virtual monopoly as the only Norwegian language weekly on the east coast.

The Nordisk Tidende has mirrored and helped shape the life of

the NA community in Greater New York. Nordisk Tidende's owners and editors have worked with the leaders of economic, political, religious and sociocultural organizations as developers and maintainers of ethnic identity. The Nordisk Tidende is therefore the focal organization used to trace the extent of the NA "organizational set" in the metropolitan area.

The history of NT is important in understanding the development of the NA ethnic community in metropolitan New York because events during NT's life cycle closely parallel changes in the ethnic community itself. For our purposes the history of the paper can be divided into five rather distinct periods.

- 1) 1891 - 1911
- 2) 1912 - 1929
- 3) 1930 - 1939
- 4) 1940 - 1945
- 5) 1946 - 1978

6

PERIOD I (1891-1911): ADVOCACY AND LEGITIMATION

The 1890 U. S. Census stated that there were 8,602 Norwegians in New York, up from 2,000 in 1880, and 1,317 in New Jersey (Roedder, I, 15). NT began in 1891. Roedder titled the first period of NT's history the "subjective period" in part because its publisher a trained printer, conducted verbal warfare against its sole competitor, the Nordisk Blade.

When NT began in 1891 it was the upstart in competition with the more established, thirteen year old Nordisk Blade. NT's publisher belonged to the already established NA Sjomannsforeningen (Seamen's Society) which gave moral and "some financial support" to the new paper. Together the Seamen's Society and NT provided the Norwegian seamen, historically of lower class, rural origin, with an early proponent against the Norwegian shipping elite. One of NT's early functions then was functioning as an advocate for the protection of seamen, a position apparently not advanced by Nordisk Blade.

Another NT goal was to publish a paper "to remedy a long felt need" in the NA community. NT was to be a paper, which, "in an impartial manner, could report what occurred in the colony..."(Roedder, I, 14), that is, in the NA community. Column space was devoted to NA organizational life.

Another goal was to unite NAs to ensure the group's "honor and progress" although the specific meaning of this phrase was not discussed by Roedder. Finally NT sought to link NAs to Norway. Thus NT's early goals were to work with the Seamen's Society to advance the rights of sailors, to support and advocate an interest in NA organizational life, to stress NA unity and to serve as a link to Norway.

As a new paper its leaders apparently took the position that it had nothing to lose and immediately began a series of verbal blasts not only against its competitor, but also against religious and shipping leaders who represented an elitism which was not warranted in "democratic America." NT was quick, for example, to publish stories of poor life saving equipment aboard Norwegian ships and in this respect remained loyal to the Seamen's Society and the sailors' cause for improved working conditions and better and safer shipping. For these attacks it became known as a "scandal sheet."

NT also entered into the area of yellow journalism, printing stories of "Jack the Ripper" murders and bizarre incidents taken from American newspapers. Later NT owners were appalled by the early NT scandal stories and yellow journalism and "clouded over" its past as if it had not existed (Roedder, I, 78-79).

NT became a successful and "lively" paper. It grew from four to eight pages, containing not only personal attacks and yellow journalism, but also news from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. There was also a column on events in Europe. Everything about Europe was clipped from Norwegian newspapers (Ibid., 17), that is, relevant items were taken from the Norwegian papers and republished in NT. The publisher was not a newspaperman but a printer and his editors, of which there were a number in the early years, were often untrained as well. This characteristic lack of trained personnel was in part compensated for the "clipping" process, a not uncommon practice, (NT 1/2/41), which enabled a weekly paper to be produced despite a small staff. In addition NT printed serials, that is, novels or stories by Norwegian and sometimes NA writers which ran in weekly installments. An "Our Organizations" column discussed organizational events and called

for a common effort among NAs. It also expressed delight at the number of persons affiliating with NA organizations. Editorials called for further support of the colony's organizational life (Roedder, I, 17). Thus NT kept its readers abreast of events in Norway, Scandinavia and Europe, published Norwegian literature, praised NAs for joining ethnic organizations and advocated that its readers support NA organizations. These aspects continue to characterize the history of NT. In this period of first immigration to the New York area, NT kept its readership ever conscious of events in the homeland and was an advocate for the creation of organizational structures among NAs.

The NT's leaders were major actors in planning and in implementing NA community events, thereby continuing consciousness of Norway as well as creating a NA ethnic group. As early as 1891, for example, NT advocated for a common 17th of May festival for all NAs rather than numerous small gatherings. Nevertheless it took a half century before the May 17th common celebration occurred. Such a call to unity was based upon knowledge of the divisions among NAs which were brought from Norway and based upon geographical conditions in Norway. Although Norway had been a united kingdom since the 9th century, its people were divided by geography, a condition which existed well into the 20th century. Not only did a Norwegian come to the U. S., but also, for example, a person from the west coast city of Stavanger, from the central valley of Gulbrandsdal, or from the Northland area. Once in New York (and in the other areas of the U. S.) these local affiliations were recreated into social clubs, benefit societies and bygdelags (regional organizations). Although geography was only one basis of social organization, the local allegiances remained strong, particularly in the first

generation.¹⁰ These allegiances to specific regions indicated the limitations of NT's editorials to lead the NAs in directions they did not choose. Nonetheless the idea for future forms of ethnic organizations were present and, when conditions were more suitable, adopted.

By the death of NT's first publisher in 1907, NT was established and legitimated by its NA readership. Norwegian immigrants continued to enter and settle in the metropolitan area concentrating near the port areas, particularly in proximity to the Brooklyn piers which were extending southward toward Sunset Park by the turn of the century. NAs had money and NT was selling. NT had grown from a sporadically issued four page paper in the first year of its existence to a regularly issued eight page newspaper. Further evidence of its success is indicated by its move from cramped quarters on Columbia Street, Brooklyn in 189e to Hamilton Avenue, then the Norwegian (also Scandinavian) "Broadway" of Brooklyn (Rygg, 31).

Few ethnic press owners became wealthy, although an owner could make a profit or use the press to support other more lucrative businesses. Possibly more important than wealth was the status which accompanied the ethnic press in the emigrant community. The second NT owner was a businessman, a travel bureau owner. He established the Norwegian News Company when bought NT, although he was less involved in the paper's day to day operations than his predecessor. It was the new owner's stated duty in publishing NT "to preserve the national feeling and the traditions, in spite of all foreign (American influence." "National feeling" referred to the recent (1905) independence which Norway had achieved from Sweden, resulting in a Norway free of foreign rule for the first time since the 14th century. The new owner also vowed to

clean up the language in the paper, making it "befitting a family paper" (Roedder, I, 28).

Neither the new owner nor his editor were newspapermen. Both had come to Brooklyn as sailors, again indicating the NT's ties with the common, seafaring person. Both had gained in status in the NA community and both were active in its organizations. The editor took part in NA events and participated on NA committees (Roedder, I, 28) and the publisher by 1910, had joined the Zion NA Lutheran Church (Ibid., 33).

The paper became more neutral politically and stated that the pages of NT were open to all religious, social and political exchange, encouraging its readers to express their opinions. The editor had one assistant and together they worked at getting local NA news as well as news from Norway, much of which, as before, was clipped from the press of Norway. Approximately one-half of the paper was ads and local news, the remainder was from foreign sources. According to Roedder the paper was uneven and not ordered topically, nonetheless it continued to sell and remain "lively" (Roedder, I, 27-33). Also by 1910 NT was alone in its field as Nordisk Blade ceased publication (Rygg, 133).

Certain themes continue to characterize NT under its new owner. It continued to publish news pertaining to the local colony and its organizations, further broadening its scope to include, for example, the religious community of which the owner was a part. Further without competition NT reduced the personal attacks, seeking to become more neutral politically. Further, as more permanent NA residents settled in Brooklyn in family units, the NT shifted its content away from the earlier yellow journalism toward family news. NT was becoming the established paper, seeking to attract as many readers as possible.

During the next few years the staff underwent changes and a young Norwegian-born bookkeeper, Sigurd J. Arnesen, was hired to manage the business department in 1910. Arnesen was a temperance man and business oriented. He sought to change the lax business practices of the editor which apparently resulted in the editor's resignation within a few months. The editor however remained on the NA scene for years writing letters defending the pre-1912 NT against attacks by the incoming editor, A. N. Rygg. NT was charged with becoming a "dull" paper without a political position. A major controversy between the two editors concerned NT's circulation. Rygg maintained that it was 2,000 when he took over in 1912, but the former editor claimed it was between 6-7,000 with one-half in subscriptions and the other half in newstand sales.

Roedder described NT's first period of history the "subjective period" and by doing so incorrectly focused upon the personal attacks, "biased" writing and yellow journalism rather than on the paper's links to the present, to the NA community, to the sea and the seamen, to NT's loyalty to Norway and to the success NT had in becoming legitimized by the support of many NAs. Certainly Roedder did focus on the distinguishing characteristic of the paper at its time, its vitriolic writing. But its tactics enabled NT to establish itself as the second NA paper in Brooklyn, later to become the sole NA paper for almost two decades. But Roedder does include enough detail to suggest that the general patterns of operations included continued patriotism toward the industrializing and developing independent Norwegian, and links to the NA community and its organizations. NT's attacks against the ship owners and captains as well as against some of the colony's leaders suggest a rebelliousness against those in authority and in favor of the average person, and ideology of democracy and anti-

monarchialism which NAs and the NA press in general expressed. The rhetoric of "democracy," of the rights and values of the common person, permeated the young immigrant community. In this expression of freedom for the common man the immigrant was identifying with events which had occurred in the 18th and 19th century Norway, as foreign powers came to control less of Norway's internal and foreign affairs. In part the early NT's attacks on the clergy and the ship owners may have been directed against an authority which was identified with the official class of Norway, a class based on heredity and not upon earned achievements.

Thus in Period I Norwegian immigration to the New York area is still in progress. Ethnicity persists by virtue of the community's recently arrived Norwegian-born population. NT's leadership however is attempting to organize NAs by prompting them to celebrate, without success, their national May 17 holiday with one show of unity. Although celebrated, it was done so by individual organizations. One event, however, the anticipated war between Sweden and Norway when Norway declared itself an independent nation in 1905, did result in the formation of the Norwegian National Federation. The Federation was originally formed to assist the Norwegian war effort. When the union dissolved peacefully the Federation adapted itself to work for NA interests. It was governed by a central board consisting of representatives from each member organization, including NT.

PERIOD II (1912-1929): AN ERA OF COMMUNITY BUILDING

In Period II NT's development is characterized by rapid growth despite the emergence of a competitor, ownership shifts, added purpose, increased leadership involvement in building a NA community and establishing business links with money.

Further expansion of the Port of New York and increased Norwegian shipping stimulated by World War I are among the environmental factors which helped NT's growth. Further the 1925 Centennial celebration of Norwegian immigration to the U. S. resulted in a period of ethnic legitimation and revival, the hopes of which are quickly dashed by the first U. S. immigration restrictions.

The second stage began with a change in editors and a diversification in NT's organization as a business manager took over NT's business affairs, a function earlier performed by the publisher and/or the editor. The new editor, A. N. Rygg purchased shares in the Norwegian News Company, a condition for his acceptance of the position. The second owner, E. T. Christensen remained the largest shareholder and President. Rygg became Vice President. Business Manager Arnesen also became Treasurer and a part shareholder.

A number of characteristics from period one continued during 1912-1912 under the new business and editorial practices. One of Rygg's primary goals, which reflected his reputation as a "religious" man, was to win the support of the NA churches. Further he became very active in the NA community's charitable network, something he had done since migrating from Chicago a few years earlier. Unity among NAs continued to be expressed, although unity among NAs probably was more evident in support of the newspaper than in a unified social life of the community. Religious social and business elements seldom interacted. Aligned with the broadened religious support, Rygg sought to implement a policy designed to build a NA community structure which would provide social and charitable services for all members of the ethnic group. Further, it was deemed essential to continue to maintain links with Norway.

The biographies of Rygg and Arnesen reveal backgrounds which enabled them to unite otherwise discrete interests within the NA community--business, charitable, social and religious--behind the NT. They began to link such interests into broader geographic networks such as between Norway and between the midwest NA settlements and the east coast metropolitan NA community. This is not to say that Rygg and Arnesen were individually responsible for the changes that occurred in period two, but these two men, coupled with changes in technology such as the increasing use of the automobile, with changes in communication between Norway and the U. S. and in particular by the first official recognition by Norway of the Norwegian immigrant, and with historical events, such as World War I and the economic growth of the U.S. following that war, created a newspaper which became a pivotable boundary institution .

Arnesen and Rygg both came from the city of Stavanger on the west coast of Norway, although at different times. Rygg had spent 18 years in Chicago before coming to New York in 1905. In Chicago Rygg had been employed with 'the' Norwegian newspaper in the U. S. at the turn of the century, Skandinaven. There he had been in the advertising department and had some familiarity with the operation of the editorial staff. Later he had been employed with a Chicago trade journal.

Rygg's background, based on the social positions of his family in Norway, was urban middle class with links to official Norway. He was the only one of his family to emigrate. Ties to his family proved to be valuable in establishing links with Norway as one brother became Director of the Bank of Norway serving during the time Rygg occupied the editorship of NT. Another brother became the editor of a Stavanger, Norway newspaper. Thus Rygg had contacts with both the mid-west and with Norway.

When Rygg migrated to Brooklyn in 1905 he immediately became involved in institutional work among the NAs, particularly in two major charities, the newly created Norwegian Children's Home and the Norwegian Hospital. He led both charities as President for many years. Thus in addition to the links Rygg had with the mid west NA community and to Norway, he immediately became involved in the New York area NA organizations. These organizational affiliations and the personal relations which resulted led to further links with the economic and political life of Norway as well as with the charitable, economic and, later political life among metropolitan area NAs.

Arnesen's background was even more self-made. He came to the U. S. at age 17 and began working in a NA general store in the Brooklyn colony. He worked his way through night school studying bookkeeping and then moved on to work with a local Brooklyn clothier before coming into the contact with NT's owner Christensen. It was at the general store that Arnesen had become familiar with both NT and Skandinaven which were sold there. Of the two, Arnesen had been impressed by Scandinaven. When Arnesen came to NT as its bookkeeper he had been told that a former employee of Skandinaven was in Brooklyn and would possibly be interested in the position of NT's editor. Arnesen's contact led to Rygg becoming NT's editor.

Arnesen and Rygg were of one mind when it came to policies concerning the general operation of the NT. They were anti-alcohol, anti-yellow journalism and in favor of accountable business procedures. Both were also family men and active in local NA churches. Further both were aligned to the Republican Party. As small businessmen they were not sympathetic to monopolies or trusts and were strongly anti-Tammany Hall. In that

respect they were anti-big government and in favor of laissez faire practices in both business and charitable causes. Although the new leadership continued the policy of political neutrality which Christensen adopted in 1907 for a short time, it was not long before Rygg put the paper in support of Republican candidates. Owner Christensen soon fell into the background of the paper's operations.

Arnesen was interested in making the paper a success and himself¹² wealthy. Norwegians continued to immigrate, the vast majority settling in urban areas and many in Brooklyn. Thus the possibility of financial success was not unfounded. Rygg was said to be more concerned with altruistic endeavors linked to religious and NA charitable organizations, although he was not unattached to business interests.

Under Rygg and Arnesen the NT, as evidenced by its content, became a forum for and a voice of the business--local NA ethnic, non-NA, as well as Norway-based-- religious, charitable and cultural interests of the metropolitan area NA life. The community and the NT which exist today were shaped in the second period, when Rygg and Arnesen enlarged the goals and duties of the NT.

When Rygg assumed the editorship there were no published changes in the directions which NT was to take, but Rygg made it clear that the paper¹³ would not attack the churches. Further, "the paper's duty is to serve as a link between Norwegians (i.e., NAs) in the East and to seek to all the enterprises which earn our (NA) society's support and sympathy" (Roedder, I, 42 & 55). It was clear that there were few organizations within the NA community as instrumental as the paper in determining who would and would not be supported. Rygg had made himself clear, he was on the side of the religious and charitable impulses, but the NT also

collaborated with both Norwegian and NA business interests. NT was the established paper seeking to support and thereby maintain the support of various segments within the NA metropolitan community.

The "community" was not only a Brooklyn settlement. NT sought to appeal to a broad area along the east coast and reached urban NA populations as far west as Detroit and Chicago. This is not to deny the important role of the Brooklyn settlement. It was in Brooklyn that most of the organizations had their bases. But there was also a NA business community which had its base in Manhattan, located amid Norwegian national companies and government offices. Numerically the Manhattan business community was small; most of NA immigrants were laborers in the first quarter of the 20th century. But NT, in addition to being very involved in the activities of the local spatial community, was a NA paper and was therefore concerned and involved with events concerning Norway and Norway's reputation which often involved politics and business and affecting NAs on the entire east coast. It was the NA business community which provided considerable advertising support for the NT. There was not an area of NA activity that NT overlooked, constantly seeking to broaden its contacts and potential readership and advertising support.

NT continued to be linked to the sea because the occupational base of the community was dependent to a large extent on sea-related activities including shipping, trade and tourism. Much of the activity provided blue-collar occupations. Links with Norway, always alive because of the Norwegian merchant marine's presence, was further enhanced at the time of World War I. Forced by the war into new trade relationships, Norway sought links to the U. S. which resulted in an increasing number of Norway's ships in the port of New York (Roedder, I, 29; Skard, 148).

A small but growing trade and commerce followed. Editor Rygg and NT were active in their advocacy by increased trade relations between Norway and the U. S. NAs and NT in particular continually advocated for increased Norwegian trade with the large U. S. market. It was felt by NAs that Norway could reduce its national debt by trading with the U.S., but the suggestions went unheeded at this time. Thus when World War I resulted in increased commerce with the U. S., NT was actively involved in the ideas and plans to formalize the trading relationships between the two nations.

News of the creation of a Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce was reported in the NT as early as 1913, although the Chamber did not become a reality to 1915. The creation of this organization, which promoted Norway-U. S. trade, had important structural effects on the life of the NA community in the metropolitan area, adding a small, but wealthy support base to its activities. It resulted in increased advertising for NT as well.

For now it is important to note that editor Rygg was among the members of the first Board of Directors of the Chamber (discussed below) at the same time he was Vice President of the Norwegian News Co. Later Arnesen, NT's Business Manager and part owner, joined the Chamber's Board and was active on various of its committees. The activity of NT's leaders indicates a role in the Chamber's formation. Exactly what NT's role is not certain. It is certain however that the NT was used, through the years, as a forum for the promotion and discussion of the Chamber and its activities. The interest was a mutual one as many of the Chamber's members, including Norwegian and NA shipping companies, import-export firms and tourist-related agencies, were among the papers most active

advertisers. Thus the combination of the NT and Chamber leaders: (1) tapped already existing ethnic and created new (American) markets for Norwegian products and services through publicity and advertisement; (2) expanded trade links to Norway; and (3) created a unified revenue source for NT and the NA community.

World War I served to bring official Norway into closer contact both with the U. S. and with NAs (although it would take World War II to firmly establish the ties). At the time of World War I NT became an organ of both Norway's and the NAs defense during a period of anti-foreignness. If NT's first publisher had openly attacked the officers and owners of the Norwegian shipping industry, this was not the position taken by Rygg. When neutral Norway was being attacked by the American Press for supplying the Germans, Rygg used the NT as a defender of Norway. What effect NT had in the U. S. is unknown, although there were NA Congressmen. Nonetheless NT probably gained more recognition for its position in Norway than in the U. S. On the other hand Rygg and NT could not be legitimately attacked for anti-American sympathies. NT had sworn its allegiance to the U. S. war effort and Rygg himself was active in the U.S. war bond drives. The NT walked a tightrope between its dual allegiance to the U. S. and to Norway. As a result the years between 1915 and 1918 were described as "suspenseful" in the NA community in New York (Roedder, I, 55-56). For the NT its lines of support were clear--it could not afford nor did it wish to offend Norway, but NAs were Americans and NT did not seek to offend the American government or people.

By the end of World War I NT was beginning to formulate an ideology, arising in large part in response to international events, which would be acceptable to its various constituents and supporters. The ideology was

clearly formulated and stated in its goals printed in a NT advertisement.

The ad began: "What are the duties of a modern Norwegian-American newspaper?" They were:

- 1) "to be a link between Norwegians on both sides of the Atlantic," (indicating its link to Norway, apparently, was the foremost among its duties),
- 2) "to report everything of general interest among countrymen in America" (suggesting its links to NAs over a wide geographic area),
- 3) "to deal with all important questions which are of current interest to immigrants," (this included "regular articles which were aimed at orienting immigrants to American society and conditions," affirming its obligation to help Norwegians integrate into the U. S. society),
- 4) "to bring reliable accounts and information" (indicating its need to be a reliable paper on matters of "organization life, sports and church" among east coast NAs. This was done, in part, by a number of correspondents in east coast cities),
- 5) "to criticize and offer expert evaluation of theatre, art, and literature" (providing information regarding both the NA community and broader American society where events of interest to NAs might occur),
- 6) "to be an open forum for opinion and discussion" (developing links to the readership, a characteristic for which NT was noted.),
- 7) "to be a guide in all questions sent into the paper by its readers" (to its "Question and Answer" column which often concerned questions relating to both Americanization and Norwegian heritage), and
- 8) "to be informative, entertaining and amusing in the reader's free time" (Wong, 264; comments in parenthesis added).

These were its stated goals and they were based upon the content of the weekly NT, but the aims also indicated the bases of support which the NT drew upon and which it could not afford to offend if it was to continue.

By the end of World War I events in NT's environment were occurring which contributed to its growth. In 1910 there had been over 30,000 Norwegian born and their descents in Brooklyn alone. By 1920 a NT article noted that there were 50,000 Norwegian-born and 30,000 with Norwegian parents in the New York area (Roedder I, 79). Owner Arnesen envisioned a NT circulation of 30,000; one half of these in south Brooklyn, Bay Ridge and Staten Island. The remainder would be sold in other east coast and urban U. S. areas.¹⁴

A circulation figure of 30,000 appealed to the local advertisers in the Brooklyn communities where the NA population was concentrated. Local merchants, primarily non-NA, provided the mainstay of NTs advertising, a situation which was not uncommon with ethnic presses (Park, 367-368). The 30,000 figure was never reached; 18,000 was cited by 1929 (NT 10/31/29). But part of the success of the ethnic press's appeal to advertisers had to do with impression management, convincing the advertiser that NT's readership was greater than circulation figures suggested. Advertisers were apparently satisfied that NT was a suitable advertising medium.¹⁵ As the NT entered its 30th year (1921) Roedder noted, "... financially the paper was secure. There was an impressive amount of advertising. No other NA paper could at this time be placed in the same class" (Roedder I, 78).

The NT stood along in its field among NA papers by 1920 (Ibid.). In addition to local Brooklyn advertisers Rygg noted that NT's growth in the past years was in part attributable to the fact that NAs had founded and operated many prominent businesses, first and foremost in New York but also in other east coast cities. Rygg also elaborated the usefulness of NT to the NA in an editorial designed to inform the reader that NT was more than a newspaper:

Without going further into the paper's history we ought in all modesty note NT's development in the past years which, according to its ability, has sought to fulfill its position as the spokesman for the (NAs) social and national interests. In most cases the paper has had the joy of seeing its endeavors in these directions blessed with luck. And the paper's work has become easier than it could expect because of its interested, loyal and law abiding reading circles, among whom there was always been good and willing powers with whom it has been a joy to cooperate.... (Roedder I, 79).

Rygg went on to note that in spite of general economic and other problems with the NA press as a whole (he was probably referring to the loss of readership of midwestern NA papers in part coupled with World War I xenophobia), NT was looking forward to the future with the awareness that it had been doing its job with regard to its goals as an advocate for NAs.

Rygg did not specify who the "good and willing powers" were. In terms of its external relationships however the paper was apparently without opposition. Its links with the NA community--church, business, charitable and social-- and with the representatives from Norway in New York including the Consulate were becoming more set and stable. The NT had become the hub of the metropolitan ethnic community, a position which it claimed for itself.

NT prospered between 1912 and 1920. Norwegian immigrants continued to arrive, as high as 20,000 a year in the first decade of the 20th century (Haugen, 4) and continuing in this manner, with the exception of the World War I years, until the first immigration restrictions in 1924; 16,000 arriving in 1923 (Skard, 150). Many of these immigrants settled in the metropolitan area, NT's readership grew to more than 10,000. Advertising support continued; NT was still without competition.

NT's new editor was successful in obtaining religious support for the NT and succeeded (with the aid of many active NAs) in bringing together religious, social and business resources in support of NA charities. A network of organizations had several common enterprises which NT helped coordinate and publicize. Rygg proved to be a major mediator of NA activities by using the NT as his base of influence. As a forum for local issues, the community was united in support of paper.

Increased shipping activity between Norway and the U. S. at the time of World War I resulted in the creation of a federation of Norwegian and NA business interests in the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce. Rygg and later Arnesen were active members enlarging the NA network to include an organization of business interests which supported NT financially as well as supporting charities and events NT initiated.

World War I also brought NT to Norway's defense while at the same time Rygg headed up a NA effort to buy U. S. war bonds. NT created an ideology declaring its allegiance to America, but maintaining its position as advocate for NA interest and its important goal linking "Norwegians on both sides of the ocean." As post war economic recession hit Norway while at the same time the U. S. economy was growing by virtue of the nation's new world power status, Norwegian immigration continued, the metropolitan NA population expanded and NT prospered. The decade was also very eventful within NT, within the NA community and between Norway and the U. S. The 1920s provided, in retrospect, the basis for a changing NA ethnicity which did not fully emerge until after World War II.

The 1920 decade began with NT's leadership venturing into the political arena. It also resumed its social concern, advocacy and support

for Norway's sailors, not by verbal attacks, but through organizations. Its staff enlarged and changed resulting in philosophical rifts among its members.

After the war Editor Rygg continued to concern himself with affairs within the broader American community after having led a successful U. S. war bond campaign. It was NT's aim to serve as an advocate for NA interests on the east coast. Rygg was not content to report upon the events and began to see the paper's role as one activism.

Consolidation of the various segments of the NA community behind the NT was partially responsible for the paper's financial prosperity. Rygg and Arnesen and the bulk of the leadership in the NA business and religious circles were Republicans. Rygg was now of the opinion that it was time for NAs on the east coast to make their presence felt in local politics as he had witnessed among NAs in the midwest. Rygg was aware that in a city that was overwhelmingly Democratic in politics there were Republican sections, among these south Brooklyn, where most NAs lived, was "the strongest." The basis of the NA Republican party support was in the churches, although some union members in the churches were Democrats. Democrats and apathetic persons, according to Rygg, "weakened 'the united Norwegian Republican front'" (Roedder, I, 80). Aware of NA political diversity, Rygg nevertheless attempted to utilize ethnic awareness as a springboard for political ambition in Brooklyn. He noted that an estimated 40-50% of the NAs were not church affiliated. Church affiliation was equated with political participation to Rygg; the non-church NAs were referred to by Rygg as "politically apathetic." The politically apathetic included a few Republicans and even more Democrats. He further claimed that this group was more concerned with NA social clubs and

theatre groups than with politics. In an attempt to really the NA group Rygg wrote that both the Republican Party and the nation and its constitution were in danger should the Democrats win the Presidency. He urged the NA group to demonstrate its full strength at the polls. "The nation needs us now. Don't let it down" (Ibid).

Rygg's enthusiasm for Republican politics in which NT was the spearhead was preparing the way for a political rift which divided both the NT's staff and the NA community. While Rygg constantly and apparently very effectively praised sympathizers of the Republican party, he paternalistically reprimanded those involved in other interests which he did not share; they were labeled "politically apathetic." In this manner NT departed from its earlier history of political neutrality. Despite a national Republican victory in 1920, "... the editor's own candidate ... was totally overlooked" (Roedder I, 81-82). Rygg's choice for the position of Republican councilman was Juell Bie, a NA independent Republican and jewelry store proprietor in Brooklyn. Bie's support in the newly created Norwegian-American Republican Committee of New York consisted of NT's leadership -- Arnesen, NT's Treasurer, as Secretary, Rodney T. Martinsen, NT's Secretary as Chairman and Rygg who provided editorial support.

Although editor Rygg's candidate failed to win nomination in 1920, the NT's leadership of Rygg, Arnesen and Martinsen continued to play active roles in the Republican party. NT backed the election of Coolidge in 1924 and Hoover in 1928 through Rygg's editorials. Rygg associated Hoover's opponent, Alfred Smith, with Tammany Hall and the Roman Catholic Church and advocated Hoover's election (NT 9/6/28; 10/18/28) and later for his support (10/24/29). In Hoover NT had supported a winner although

NAs were not yet, as will be noted in period III, out of local politics.

Rygg's political attempts during the 1920s met with failure. NT as a spearhead for political success was not adequate primarily because the politically heterogeneous NAs represented at most a quarter of the Bay Ridge and Sunset Park population. Further Rygg's techniques of persuasion were at least tinged with self-righteousness and not successful in uniting NAs. The newer NT staff members, recently arrived from Norway, were a generation or more removed from Rygg, Arnesen and Martinsen (a second generation NA lawyer) and were not advocates of the Republican Party. Further the newer staff were among those NAs concerned with cultural activities which Rygg denigrated. The NT's staff therefore reflected differences in social philosophy which divided the newer from the older¹⁶ NA immigrants. These cleavages continued to develop through the 1920s and were initially represented on the NT staff by journalist Carl Soyland.

Soyland made his debut at NT soon after Rygg launched the Republican campaign effort in 1920. He wrote a series of articles about the poor living conditions of unemployed Norwegians sailors in the area of South Brooklyn which he titled "From Life's Garbage Can." They were well received by NT's readers according to Roedder. The series reiterated an earlier NT position in favor of the welfare of the Norwegian sailor. NT shifted its political, economic and social position, however, and did not criticize the shipping owners who were among NT's advertisers as it had done in the 1891 to 1912 period. Rather than chastize the shipowners or Norway's government which had not yet enacted welfare legislation for the merchant marine, Rygg joined forces with the NA religious community as well as with the Norwegian Seamen's Church and the Seamen's Home (Roedder, I, 83 & 93). Each cared for the seaman and were supported by

local NAs, although the Seamen's Church and Home were also supported by Norwegian shipping interests and Norwegian volunteer organizations. Rygg again used the NT as a spearhead, formed a committee to alleviate the conditions brought on by unemployment in the early 1920's (as a result of post war recession in Norway). Once again NT indicated to its readers the value of an ethnic community in taking care of its own people. This activity created a base of support for both the paper and for its drive to aid the sailors, many of whom had relatives among local NAs. Where Rygg had failed politically, his efforts on behalf of the sailors were met with praise and support. Through NT Rygg had united antagonistic factions within the NA community, the religious group and the ship owners as well as the supporters of a labor movement among seamen, into an uneasy alliance.¹⁷ NT stood on solid ground supporting seamen's rights among most of its readers, while at the same time its active participation in alleviating their conditions was also of benefit to ship owners. NA involvement cost Norway's shippers very little since local churches and the¹⁸ Seamen's Church were supported by voluntary contributions. Situations such as unemployment among Norwegian sailors resulted in tensions in the NA community, causing the NT to make some response, although that response did vary according to the situation and the leaders. Such conflict did enable the various factions to engage in controversy which often used NT as a forum for both sides. NT benefitted by providing reading of interest to a broad spectrum of readers. Thus NT's leadership effectively used the newspaper as a forum as well as a spearhead for advocacy. In situations where the bulk of the paper's constituency agreed with the stance taken by the leadership, NT stood only to gain, as was the case with regard to the position of Norwegian seamen. Where NT took a stance

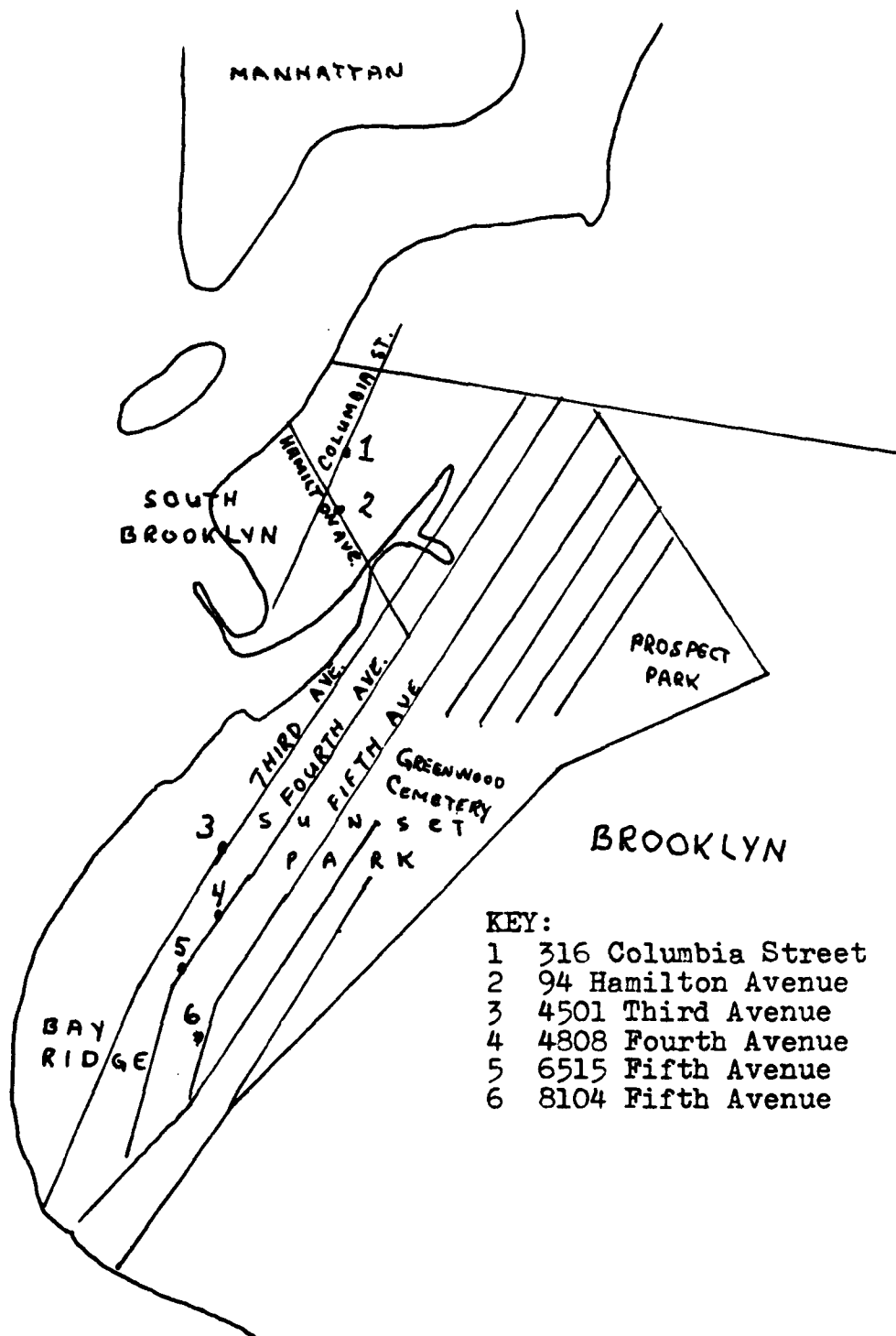
that divided the constituency, such as in Rygg's political venture, the NT was extremely careful to allow the opposing parties equal space coverage.¹⁹ The NT as a forum allowed interested parties to engage in the conflict which had a positive effect on the newspaper's reputation.

Despite the internal differences among NAs, and between NAs and, as in the above case, Norwegian shipping entrepreneurs, NT continued prospering and needed more space for its operation in 1922. It moved twice within the year, finally settling at 48th Street and 4th Avenue, sharing a building with a local, English language community press, Home Talk. NT was now situation back in the center of the NA population concentration which had continued moving steadily from old South Brooklyn to Sunset Park and Bay Ridge. (See Map).

NT had been financially independent for the past decade supported by a growing circulation, increasing volume of advertising and a growing, active NA population. Success was also indicated by an increase in the number of pages, from 12 to 16 per issue. The peak of the American economic expansion has still not been reached. At this time the leadership shifted as the Norwegian News Company's founder and President, Christensen, publisher of the NT between 1907 and 1922, sold his share in the company to Rygg and Arnesen. Christensen retired to Norway; Rygg became the President of the Norwegian News Co. and remained editor. Arnesen continued in the position of Treasurer and Business Manager in addition to being elected as Vice President. Rodney T. Martinsen, who had been affiliated with the Republican Committee noted above, continued on in the position of Secretary and in the capacity of NT's lawyer.

The 1920 decade was particularly important in terms of the paper's internal growth and development. The 1922-1927 period, the "fat years,"

NORDISK TIDENDE: OFFICE LOCATIONS
January 1891 to Present



were years of economic expansion for the nation as well as NT (Roedder, I, 101-107; and 157-170]. NT's advertising continued unabated. Large ads were coming in from local furniture stores, appealing to NAs who were increasingly building new homes as they began to accumulate savings. Norwegian bankers were also among the advertisers as NAs had between 15 and 20 million Norwegian crowns (approximately \$4-5 million) in Norwegian banks. Subscriptions were growing in part due to general economic growth in the U. S. and in part due to the paper's increasingly popularity. In 1922 NT noted that the number of subscribers had increased by 1,000 in the first eight months.²⁰ The journalistic staff consisted only of Rygg and one part-time reporter prior to the 1920s although the number of contributions from east coast NAs supplemented the small staff (Roedder, I, 97). Then in 1922 Paul Wiig, who had experience with Norway's major daily, Aftenposten, joined the paper, introducing sports to the NT for the first time.

A second new feature began in 1922 which more and more characterized NT, the travelogue, of which Soyland, who first wrote for NT in the early 1920s, was said to be a master. Norwegians traveling in the U. S. also contributed travel stories. And finally the NA Ben Blessum, hired by the Norwegian State Railroad to operate an office in Manhattan to promote Norwegian tourism, began writing a series of articles about his stay in Norway (Roedder, I, 94-96). The economic success of NAs was enabling more to travel and NT and its advertisers sought to capitalize upon this situation by selling Norway as a tourist nation. Tourism became a regular feature at this time and, in 1978, continues to represent a major source of the paper's financial base, although the period of mass tourism did not come until after World War II.

The economic prosperity of the U. S. and NAs also revealed itself in the growth of NA organizations. Wiig also wrote articles covering NA organizations and featured interviews with NA community leaders. Wiig and the diversity of new writers and travelogues enlivened NT. By August 1923 NT once again reported that its subscription list had grown by 100 a month over the last twelve months--August 1, 1922 to August 1, 1923 (NT 7/22/48).

As a post World War I recession continued in Norway, and as the U.S. economy expanded rapidly, NAs had resumed immigration to the U. S. With good times and increasing numbers of Norwegians, NT encountered a competitor. The Norgesposten (The Norway Post) was founded in 1924 by former NT President Christensen, returned from Norway, as the President. NT's development, however, was not hindered by the appearance of Norgesposten, which NT ignored, refusing to legitimate the new paper by replying to attacks. There were however sufficient numbers of NAs in the metropolitan area to support two NA papers. Further the first issue of Norgesposten appeared at a time, May, 1924, one year prior to what has been termed "the" major NA celebration to ever occur in the U. S.

In addition to NT's internal developments and growth based on a growing NA population and an expanding NA population, history was soon to be recorded in the larger "Norwegian America" which was to have a dramatic effect on NA ethnic persistence. The most important event among NAs to date was the celebration of the first Norwegian group immigration to the U. S., which is dated as 1825. This event marks a significant shift in Norway-NA relations. For the first time in history official Norway recognized the NA population in the U. S. A delegation of Norwegian officials was sent to the U. S. to participate. (Further

ethnics were granted legitimation by the U. S. government as well.) NT both covered the event and planned a celebration of its own. Roedder describes 1925 as an "initiative rich" year for NT, thanks to the continued growth of the American economy and the success of NT and the growth of its staff (Roedder I, 108).

The central focus of the immigration centennial celebrated in the summer of 1925 was in the U. S. heartland of NA settlement, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Officials from the Norwegian government, newspaper journalists and academicians were among those attending. In addition the event became general news in the American press as then U. S. President Calvin Coolidge was to be the principal speaker. NT sent several journalists to cover the Minneapolis celebration. New York NAs with NT in the forefront made their own preparations for celebrations in both May and October of 1925, capitalizing upon the presence of Norwegians as they made their way to and from Minneapolis via the New York port. NT utilized its strategic east coast location to bring the traveling Norwegians to the attention of its readers and into the NA organizations.

Hans Olav, a journalist who modernized NT's format in the 1920's, was NT's major representative in Minneapolis. This was to be Olav's last reporting for NT as he, like Soyland before him, had come to the U. S. to travel (although both eventually became integral parts of NT). The events of the celebration are illustrative of two points pertinent to the future of NA ethnicity: 1) they suggest the amount of national organization among NAs involved in "the" event and 2) they indicate the manner in which NT participated in and capitalized upon such events for the purpose of promoting, extolling and maintaining ethnicity. This of course was not necessarily NT's foremost shortrange goal, which was to report the events

and sell the paper.

Olav's writing style set the stage. Minneapolis was full of American press personnel and Norwegian born immigrants and their descendants, "from all parts of the nation" (U.S.). The Arrangement Committee had sent out lists of available hotels and other types of information to all NA newspapers. Olav's first report covered eight columns (approximately 10% of NT's text) with a page one headline, "The Tremendous Centennial Celebration." He estimated that at least 100,000 attended (although it was not stated the percentage of NAs versus non-NAs). Such reporting however suggests the way in which NT can generate enthusiasm, as Olav reported and as NT reported upon the positive press coverage being given NAs.

The large stores had all of their windows full of Norwegian items. Large and small viking ships sailing forward over white-capped waves with wind blown sails and and white shields along the bulwarks. "Welcome Norwegians!" is written in both English and Norwegian.... Welcome Vikings! (Roedder, I, 120).

NT boasted editorially of Olav's reports:

In the letter in last week's paper our correspondent described the activities of the celebration's first day; this week he relates in an interesting and lively manner what occurred on the second and third days. When one has read these two letters, one will have a living and clear picture of the memorable anniversary to the point that one will feel they were present and participating in the activities (Ibid.).

The Norwegian journalists also wrote to their papers and NT, which received major Norwegian papers, cited the positive accounts among these. From Norway's Handels og Sjøfartstidende (Trade and Shipping Times):

President Coolidge's warm recognition of our emigrated countrymen will reach one's heart and will tie Norwegians even more closely to the nation which they are now a part of. But bursts of joy and pride will also be heard in Norway.... (Quote ended by Roedder, Ibid).

And citing Norway's Aftenposten (Evening Post):

The President's speech without exaggeration can be described as an historical event of the most gratifying character for the American citizens of Norwegian descent and for every Norwegian. Mr. Coolidge has often been called 'the mute President,' therefore, when he speaks, he stands by his words. His unqualified recognition of Leiv Ericson as America's discoverer will be noted by historians in all nations. It will be a long time before Norway forgets Coolidge (Roedder, I, 120-121).

This type of reporting serves to legitimize NA activity. Not only did NT celebrate but also the Norwegian journalists spoke highly of the events. NT was saying to the skeptical reader, if you do not believe NT's accounts, then surely you will believe the Norwegian journalists
21
who seldom had positive remarks concerning the NA.

The newspaper citations indicate that NAs were experiencing an "ethnic recognition" by the American government in 1925 after ethnics had experienced a decade of anti-foreignness during and following World War I. They were also being given positive recognition by official Norway which not only sent a delegation, but whose members also praised the NA event. NT made the most of the commendations. As Roedder described it:

It was also a breakthrough year for the Norwegian America, as it was the year it (Norwegian America) won public recognition both in Norway and here in the United States (Roedder I, 108).

Seen from the perspective of overall U. S. Norway relations an almost completely different view of the year 1925 is given. Skard explains the decline of NA impact on Norway. With reference to the 1925 Celebration and the ensuing impact of the immigration restrictions and the Depression, Skard writes:

But such official arrangements (represented by the 1925 celebration) could not conceal the fact that 'Norwegian America' now was fast becoming assimilated....

...

In Norway, the feeling of fellowship (with Norwegian America) weakened correspondingly. Family ties were loosening fast. 'Norwegian America' played as less active part in the cultural life of the homeland.... The more important direct contacts increasingly were being taken over by professional and social organizations outside Norwegian America (Skard, 151-152).

NT's readership following the accounts of the 1925 might think that NA activities were on the rise. Indeed they were in the metropolitan area in terms of increasing numbers of NAs and of subsequent organizational growth. NT also reported, at the same time, the predictions of those who believed that Norwegian ethnicity would soon be dead. Immigration had already been curtailed and would be even further reduced in the coming years. NT took a positive view, most immigrants in the metropolitan area were young and one cannot be certain that the immigration restrictions would endure.

The period of mass Norwegian immigration had ceased, yet Skard's focus upon organizational links provides a key to new forms of ethnic adaptation. The decline of personal ties between immigrants and their close relatives in Norway was being replaced by an interest in the U. S.

by Norway, particularly with regard to economic developments. These relations did not begin to develop until after the Depression. Then World War II had one effect of accelerating U. S. -Norway relations. The impact of the new organizational links eventually served to strengthen both the metropolitan NA community and NA ethnicity.

The NA community in the metropolitan area also had, from its beginning in the 1880s, a distinct advantage in its location near the area's ports. While it was the situation that midwestern NAs were increasingly separated from homeland ties, such was not the case in New York. Ties to the merchant marine, a more recent arrival of immigrants as well as a steady flow of Norwegian visitors kept the links between the metropolitan area and Norway more recent. As the major U. S. seaport in the era before mass air transportation few Norwegian traveled to the U. S. without entering the New York harbor. NT of course capitalized on such visits as was the case in 1925.

The 1925 celebration, as an example of an event, indicates the ripple effect upon other activities in the NA community as well as the extent to which metropolitan area-Norway ties developed. NT's leadership spearheaded a committee to plan the pre-Minneapolis events in May as well as the major all-inclusive celebration to be held after the Minneapolis celebration. Roedder described the "eventful days" among NAs in Brooklyn on the national holiday of May 17th.

They were eventful days, and Nordisk Tidende reported and interviewed, befitting the large paper it had not become. One no longer spared the cliches. The Sunday after the arrival of (a student choir from Norway), they gave their first concert in the (Brooklyn) Academy of Music, with a full house and speeches by (Norway's) Consul

General Hans Fay and Norway's Press Attache Arne Kildal. The choir was given an American silk flag, presented by the (NA) singing society, 'The Lark.'

The banquet in the St. George Hotel (Brooklyn Heights) was arranged by the Norwegian National Federation (an organization comprised of various NA groups) and the Norwegian (American) Singing Society. Franklin Petersen (Editor of NT 1907-1912) had written a welcome poem. Between 700 and 800 guests attended the event.

'Norway's greatest living poet' was also on hand as the 17th of May speaker in the Norwegian Club.

Among the (Norwegian) church leaders who were on their way to Minneapolis, (NT) gave Bishop Johan Lunde the greatest attention. He was received by a committee consisting of the NA Church leader, H. G. Stub (from the midwest) and by pastor S. O. Sigmond (Trinity NA) Lutheran Church, Sunset Park, Brooklyn) as Chairman of the Committee.... He spent eight days in the city (New York), met with the mayor, was interviewed by the American press, and attended meetings in the (NA) youth organizations. The Bishop was on familiar ground; he had a stay in 1914 behind him, and this visit will continue to August. Sunday he preached in the (Norwegian) Seamen's Church to a full house and in the evening he was at Trinity Church.

'Stavangerfjord' (a Norwegian-American Line passenger ship) brought Norway's official representatives to New York before their attending the Centennial celebration in Minneapolis.... On board was Cabinet Minister Lars Oftedal... editor Hambro (of the Norsemen's Federation's journal), professor Fredrik Stang, Office Chief Wilhelm M. Morgenstjerne, as Norsemen's Federation's representative, together with representatives from the press, organizations and institutions (Roedder, I, 117-118).

Each person and/or organization mentioned above had links to the metropolitan NA community, some were quite extensive as later chapters will indicate. It included Norwegians as well as NAs from the midwest indicating links not only to Norway but also to NA institutions in the other NA areas of the U. S. Despite a decline in immigration and a subsequent decrease in personal ties between relatives, interest among

NAs for Norway and interest among Norwegians in NAs was rising. Norway's Cabinet Minister Oftedal stated that there was tremendous interest for the centennial in Norway: "We have never before encountered such under-²²standing of the emigrated Norway as now" (Ibid., 118).

Also while the events were being planned, NAs were attempting to have²³ a major street in Brooklyn named after the explorer Leiv Eirikssen. NT's leaders were among the committee members in the unsuccessful street naming attempt. It failed because "the Norwegian people in Brooklyn did not play any unusual political role in the metropolis" (Roedder, I, 116). NAs settled for a strip of undeveloped land between 4th and 7th Avenues and between 66th and 67th Streets in Bay Ridge which took the name "Leiv Eiriksson Square." The dedication took place during the May 17th celebration with New York City's Mayor Hyland as the main speaker. Editor Rygg and Arnesen, the ad hoc committee's Treasurer, were among those on the Arrangement Committee which included the Lutheran minister C. O. Pedersen as the Chairperson. NT's Secretary, Rodney T. Martisen was the committee's Secretary as well. Local ministers, Sons of Norway, and National Federation representatives completed the committee. Such major historical events provided stimulus to ethnic activities which further served to heighten ethnic awareness and to maintain ethnicity.

Once again NT was in the lead in planning, publicizing, promoting and implementing the events of October 9, 10, and 11 in New York (befitting the October 9, 1825 date when the ship giving rise to the celebration arrived in New York harbor). NT promised that the activities will

imprint themselves on Norwegian-American history for an indeterminate period. It is the largest enterprise ever undertaken in the Eastern States

to gather the emigrated Norway to a celebration in memory of the pioneers who organized Norwegian immigration.... All arrangements are in order. Its success now depend on the Norwegian people in Greater New York.

And as the events concluded:

'Overall,... about 12,000 persons have attended the events.' The paper was very pleased with the outcome (Roedder, I, 124-125).

The total centennial celebration indicates several major events that were to have a profound impact on NA ethnic life in the metropolitan (and throughout the U. S.). The Norwegian government and other national organizations recognized and thereby legitimated the NA people. This was not the first contact by Norwegian officials with NAs, but it was the first official Norwegian recognition of NAs as Norwegian people.²⁴ This point cannot be underestimated since it both initiated and strengthened organizational linkages between NAs and Norwegians in addition to already existing and developing--at political and economic levels--relations between the U. S. and Norwegian governments and businesses. Official Norway which had at one time sought to discourage emigration was now referring to the emigrant as remaining a part of Norway--"the emigrated Norway" as NAs had been referred to by the Nordmanns-Forbundet (discussed below).

Further, recognition of the NAs by the U. S. government is also significant. NT took the advantage to tell its readership that it was "ok" to be a Norwegian in America. It was apparent that the recognition of the ethnic had reached a new height in the U. S. and NT was unabashedly extolling Norwegian ethnicity. The events of 1925 made it seem inevitable that the NT would have a difficult time coming with news as notable as the celebration of the Centennial; nonetheless, NT's leadership, apparently

fortified by the Centennial's outcome, used in the recognition of NAs by the U. S. as a springboard for yet another celebration.

In 1926 it was time for the Americans to celebrate their Sesquicentennial--1776-1926. Once again the U. S. continued its practice of recognizing ethnic group contributions to the U. S. A major event was to be held in Philadelphia which included a "Norway Day." Editor Rygg sent out invitations to a meeting to discuss NA participation. In addition to Arnesen and Rygg of NT, the Norwegian Vice Consul from Philadelphia (also a U. S. seaport where Norwegian shipping was active) and social, religious, business and shipping leaders attended the meeting (NT 9/30/26). The decision of the ad hoc committee was to have an auto parade begin at the Norwegian Hospital in Brooklyn and proceed to Philadelphia. NA's from the entire metropolitan area were encouraged through NT to join in the parade as it proceeded by ferry to Staten Island and New Jersey and south through New Jersey. NT's Arnesen was the coordinator of the event which was to begin at 8:00 a.m. on 10/23/26 in Brooklyn, picking up new entries as it proceeded (NT 9/30/26).

There were about 100 cars expected, a large number considering that the metropolitan area's bridge and tunnel system were not yet a reality and the automobile was not more than a novelty. Editor Rygg promoted the activities in an editorial (NT 10/7/26). The parade was discussed and promoted in the following two issues (a standard operational procedure). The issue following the event then covered the activity with articles and photographs (NT 10/28/26). Rygg's editorial, "Norway Did Herself Proud!", cited a headline in the Philadelphia Ledger which stated that 350 cars crossed the bridge from Camden, N. J. to Philadelphia. The parade was said to have begun with about 100 autos in Brooklyn, decked

on either fender with the Norwegian and the U. S. flags. The parade included a car decorated by Ben Blessum of the Norwegian State Railroad office in Manhattan, advertising Norway as a tourist nation. The entire day was cited in the NT as an "advertisement for Norway" (NT 10/28/26). Roedder's account cites 264 autos under the lead of Arnesen, "the largest which had ever moved into the Quaker City decorated with Norwegian flags for the occasion." Included were 5,000 persons, primarily NAs who heard editor Rygg, in the opening speech, claim that every one should know that George Washington, "The Father of his Country," had been made an honorary member of the Scandinavian Society of Philadelphia in 1783. Rygg wrote: "... all one had hoped to achieve was to give Norway and everything Norwegian a huge advertisement, which was fulfilled to the highest extent." The entire arrangement, which was fulfilled to the highest extent." The entire arrangement from beginning to end was not only a success, but also "exceeded one's highest expectations" (Roedder, I, 127-128).

This event indicates the ability of the NT and NA leadership to arrange NA events which can garner wide support. Also, Rygg's use of George Washington's membership in the Scandinavian Society, indicates ways in which the word Scandinavian can be used for positive effect in certain situations, although the term was often openly disliked by local NAs. Further, Rygg's speech and later report of the event indicates both a strong allegiance to both Norway and to the U. S., something which the NA apparently never thought was a contradiction. NT in this case capitalized upon a change in the official U. S. attitudes toward its ethnic citizens. NT emphasized that one could be both a good American and a good Norwegian. It recalled an earlier Theodore Roosevelt statement that a man could love two women, wife and mother. An American could love

two nations in the same manner, in this case Norway and the U. S. Such was both the ideology and the practice (when conditions did not proscribe such usage) of the NT. It was not one which was anti-assimilationist, but it was not entirely pro-assimilationist either. Rather such language was used to create a sense of identity among NAs--which was crucial to the persistence of an ethnic press. The identity was further strengthened by participation in various NA events, whether celebrating their Norwegian heritage or their American citizenship, or both. Further the reason was directly tied to the metropolitan NA community in terms of institutional preservation. Later in the following year, after the financial accounts of the Sequicentennial had been settled, "Norway Day" proved to be a monetary success as the NA Committee was given a \$1,518.07 share of profits. The money was divided equally among four NA charitable institutions in the metropolitan area: The Children's Home and the Christian Home for the Aged in Brooklyn, the Eger Home for the Aged on Staten Island and the Camp Norway Summer Colony, Spring Valley, Rockland County, New York (NT 6/23/27). Such events helped to maintain as well as change, in conjunction with historical events, the nature of NA ethnicity and its community.

NT continued to prosper and grow. Hans Olav returned as did Soyland, from his travels and soon became NT's Assistant Editor while Soyland was working the NT's bookstore which was, in 1926, in its fourth year. Rygg pointed to the gains of the paper as evidence of a resurging interest in NA ethnicity. An editorial discussed NT's future citing the trust which NAs had in the NT as the major factor in the papers increased circulation. He concluded: "NT now has the pleasure of informing its readers that in the last week it set a new record as far as circulation is concerned.

It printed 14,200 copies" (NT 11/4/25).

As the NA population increased in size, as its income increased with the general American prosperity, the NT's circulation and income grew as did its staff and content. Part of the increased immigration was due to what Skard called the "Americanization" of Norway which followed World War I as American ideas, technology and culture spread to Europe (Skard, 131-134). To Skard this was not necessarily a positive development, but to NT's newest staff members, Hans Olav and Carl Soyland, America was becoming a place to be seen and, coupled with the post war recession in Norway, a place to earn a substantial income. By the mid-1920s NT was full of optimism, although events of the coming years were to alter the mood.

The notion of a "quota" to limit the number of foreign immigrants to the U. S. emerged in 1921. By 1924 the quota was to be based upon the number of a particular nationality in the U. S. at the time of the 1920 U. S. Census, although this was later changed to the 1890 Census. By 1926 the reality of the revised quota was very threatening to the NT and other NA organizations. Senator Shipstead, U. S. Senator from Minnesota, registered a protest against the restrictive immigration laws by three of the "nation's foremost Scandinavian organizations," The Danish Brotherhood, a fraternal organization, the Swedish Augustana Synod of the Lutheran Church and the Sons of Norway, a fraternal insurance organization. The Norwegian quota following World War I was over 12,000 per year, but in 1924 it was reduced to 6,400 and by 1926 to 2,200, taking effect January 1, 1927 (NT 1/6/27; 3/3/27 and 6/30/27). The protest was to no avail. NT constantly recalled the words of praise President Calvin Coolidge had had for NAs at the 1925 Centennial celebration. The President's

speech was viewed as a betrayal. The news resulted in immediate predictions of doom for the NA community in the U. S.

Rygg continued in the lead of NT at this time although his political views and philosophy of life were considered outdated by NT's newer staff members and by many of the post 1900 immigrants. Olav, Soyland and Roedder, who had begun contributing to the paper in 1925, and others who had come to the now very successful ethnic paper were not of the same philosophy as Rygg. The new staff began to divide itself from the "old guard" of both the paper and the community which Rygg represented. The old guard consisted of a group including charity minded as well as staunchly laissez-faire Republicans. This group which included Dr. Andreas Green, author of NT's "Church and School" column, believed that if a person was to be a success it took only hard work and everything else would fall in place. It was a Republicanism characterized by strong individualism. The "new guard" came from a Norway that was industrializing, urbanizing and modernizing. Its philosophy took into account the influence of social conditions in a person's life, realizing that there were forces other than "hard work" which affected one's life. Jonassen described the characteristic traits of the new guard as one of "scientific-humanistic values." The conflict in values, resulting from a focus on the power of man at the expense of the power of God, was manifest in the Brooklyn (and metropolitan) community in an antagonism between religious and secular institutions (Jonassen, 1947, 142 and 426).

Rygg had been able however to realize his goal to build a network of NA charitable institutions between 1912 and 1926 on such a philosophy. He incorporated the support of religious organizations and utilized the NT as the proponent for the various NA activities covering a broad

spectrum of interests. In spite of his unsuccessful attempts in politics and philosophy, Rygg was admired by most NAs (including the newer NT staff members) for this community building efforts and dedication. That Rygg was not able to unite all NAs did not prevent him from obtaining broad NA support for the NT. When Rygg sold his share in NT a few years later it was not because he was pushed out, as Roedder wrote:

He (Rygg) was very occupied by duties for the colony's welfare. He sat in all the committees worth sitting on; he was the President of the Board in the Norwegian Hospital (and) President of the Board of Norwegian Seamen's Church. No matter what the meeting, if important, he took his place on the scene, or on the tribune.... He was no speaker, but he did evidence a dry humor and when he stood forward, it was Nordisk Tidende which stood forward. He was fully aware of his position in the society, and he bore it with dignity (Roedder, I, 131).²⁵

Sigurd J. Arnesen, NT's Vice President and Treasurer since 1922, became the sole owner of the Norwegian News Company in 1929. Arnesen was also involved in NA as well as local community activities although not, at this time, to the extent that Rygg was. In 1927, for example, Arnesen was elected to the local YMCA Board of Directors (one of four NAs in a total of 12 members). He was leader of the YMCA's "Viking Division" and active in soliciting membership (NT 3/31/27). He was also a veteran of World War I, active in the U. S. Army Reserve, on the Board of Directors of several Brooklyn bank boards and active in business organizations in the Bay Ridge area (NT 10/31/29).

By 1929 personal relations between Rygg and Arnesen had changed and "promised to be cool." Despite the strained relations, NT entered 1929 with the greatest expectations. To Roedder "it is natural in a paper

that some cool relations exist between the editor and the business department" (Roedder, I, 160). The situation apparently was a factor in Rygg's resignation as editor of NT, which occurred in 1929 at age 60. Rygg cited poor health as the reason for selling out his share of the paper. Rygg did not however retire or even stop working. He continued to write a weekly column from NT and to pursue his work in NA philanthropic institutions.

Period II was characterized by a series of events which had a profound impact on the NT and NA community in the metropolitan area. These events took several forms ranging from international and national historical occasions, over which NT and the NA leadership had little or no control but which were used to the paper's and ethnic advantages, to changes in the NT's personnel and the paper itself. The NT staff however performed the role of reporting upon as well as interpreting the events. Further the NT leadership initiated local events planned in response to broader events. Thus NT helped create a community structure, through ad hoc committees and coordination of existing organizations, creating a group history and also maintaining, creating and recreating a group identity.

Rygg's ambition to build a NA community structure based upon charitable and religious organizations, with business support, was successful, although his efforts occurred at a time when circumstances facilitated his and the NT staff efforts. The end result was not the creation of a unified NA group, but rather the creation of a network of support for the newspaper and for NA charitable impulses and for Norwegian seamen among NAs. The NT was a mediator among the various segments within the community and between it and Norway and the remainder of Norwegian America when propitious. Although one cannot impute motivations, it is reasonable to state that many of the NT's

actions were conducted for the good of the paper. Likewise support of the paper was given by the organizational elements who also perceived their own goals being advanced by such support. Further, with the exception of Rygg's attempts at politics, the NT leadership in Period II avoided antagonizing any one element of the NA community unlike NT in its formative years. Where such antagonism did occur, as in Rygg's attempt to promote Republican party politics, NT's policy was to allow the other side equal time in presenting their arguments. Thus while it was a political paper, it also became a forum. This open policy, plus the lack of a competitor at the time, enabled NT to maintain its growth unabated. Earlier events, surrounding World War I, had opened up considerably more U.S. - Norway contacts through increased trade relations thus tying the two nations more closely together than in previous years. This close relationship between the Norwegian government and press and the NA people was further strengthened in 1925 with the Centennial celebration.

Thus most of the component parts which characterize the present day metropolitan NA community were present by 1920. Changes in external events rearranged the various elements of the NA community, losing some and adding a few more new ones, but essentially the present day network had been set in Period II.

PERIOD III (1930-1939): DEPRESSION AND RECOVERY

NA community and organizational life between 1930 and 1939 was dominated by the Depression and recovery which resulted in increased U. S. - and NA-Norway ties resuming links which had been established in the 1920s. World War II abruptly ended this period.

Normal organizational life was curtailed in the NA metropolitan community in the 1930s while interim forms of activity reached new

heights. The apparent contradiction is accounted for by the fact that many NA members of organizations could no longer afford memberships in support of regular organizational activities. On the other hand, the average person never had more free time than occurred during the Depression. This resulted in heightened social activity, a considerable part of it political. Ad hoc groups also arose. Perhaps the greatest activity occurred in support of the NT initiated NA Emergency Relief Committee, a central committee which directed, in combination with a wide spectrum of NA institutions and businesses, relief activities among NAs, Norwegian seamen, as well as Scandinavian-Americans and Lutherans. NT and former editor Rygg, who continued to write a weekly column, were in the forefront of the relief endeavors. At the same time NT itself was suffering from economic hardships and Arnesen was forced into trying new measures to survive the Depression which also heightened NA awareness in the metropolitan area.

Arnesen became sole owner, editor and publisher of NT just weeks²⁶ prior to the stockmarket crash of 1929. Hans Olav became editor in the Fall of 1930 after Arnesen had served in the position for almost a year.²⁷ Carl Soyland was Assistant Editor and Rygg began "Editor Rygg's column." But Olav and Soyland represented a new generation of leaders, sympathetic to humanistic values favoring intellectual positions rather than religious ones. The entire mood of the paper shifted in large part due to the new generation of leadership in Nordisk Tidende as well as economic conditions during the next five years.

By October, 1930, "need" had become a call word in NT. NAs and Norwegian seamen were among the masses of unemployed. NT called for an "emergency czar" to direct relief activities (NT 10/30/30). Since winter was said to be the worst period for the unemployed and their

relatives to endure, NT proposed that a committee be created to deal with the need for emergency relief. NT recommended that such a committee be led by Charles E. Larsen, the NA owner of one of the largest baking companies on the east coast (NT 5/10/51). A mass rally headed by Larsen was held and one week later NT indicated that the Norwegian American Emergency Relief Committee had been created on 11/21 with Charles E. Larsen as Chairperson (NT 11/27/30). The paper appealed to NAs to donate money and clothes which were to be sent to the offices of the Norwegian News Co. (Roedder, I, 189-190).²⁸

Membership in the NA Emergency Relief Committee reveals the interconnected network of the NA community including NT's staff, leaders of business, church and charitable organizations, as well as Norway's Consul General to New York then Wilhelm von Morgenstierne. As with the creation of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, NT took the initiative in advocating and implementing an organization with a specifically ethnic orientation. This effort suggests both a continuation and a practical use of Rygg's conscious plan to build an ethnic community network to enable NAs to meet "the great needs which exist in our Norwegian (American) society" (NT 5/10/51).

After collecting over \$2,000 in cash or pledges in the Committee's first week, NT supported the effort by publishing the names of all contributors, while Rygg wrote articles of appeal for funds and of thanks for the help of so many persons. This specific practice continued through the winter of 1935, although such appeals and reinforcement by praising NA cooperation is a trademark of the NT's organizational history at least since Rygg became editor in 1912.

The Relief Committee, in addition to monetary collections, received contributions in kind, for example, food and clothing from individuals and NA organizations. Prior to 1933 contributions were primarily from

NA persons and firms, but the effect of the Depression began to exhaust their resources. Rygg summarized the activity of 1933 in an article entitled "The Norwegian Ethnic Group in Brooklyn has been helped with \$75,000 through Emergency Relief Organizations." The amount was an estimate, of which \$50,000 was said to be in cash or in contributions in kind to the cooperating organization; \$10,000 more was an estimate of the services the various sub-committees and helping organizations-- including church and women's ad hoc groups--rendered. The other \$15,000 was accounted for by "some good friends." These "friends" included Norway's Consul General Morgenstierne and baker Larsen who had given 150-200 loaves of bread and other baked goods daily. The Olaf Hertzwig Co., the Westergaard-Berg-Johnsen Co. (NA companies) and the Bjelland Co. (A Norway-based industry) and other members of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce also contributed food to the distributing organizations (NT 3/14/34).

At the Depression's outset, the NA community structure had been effectively activated to aid the NA community. The Depression however resulted in a major shift in the NA network's ability to take care of its own. The "help your own group" philosophy espoused and acted upon by Rygg and others in building a network of parallel structures within the NA community was no longer adequate to meet existing need by 1934. The effects of the sustained Depression blatantly exhibited that economic conditions were beyond the individual's ability to cope, even the entire NA community organizational network was unable to meet the existing needs. Thus the Relief Committee was forced to rely on non-ethnic outside resources. During the winter of 1934 a total of \$90,000 in aid was received by the NA Relief Committee (NT 3/7/35).

Despite the increase of \$15,000 in one year, it was noted that individual givers had dropped sharply, a trend evidenced already in 1933. Rygg did not blame the person for lack of support, instead he attributed this to the length of the Depression. The funds were now coming from the Relief Committee's member organization's links to the broader American society, for example, from the Protestant Fund and the Association for the Improvement of the Poor and from the U. S. Government's relief programs. Reliance on outside organization resulted in an enlarged constituency of needy. Relief was extended to other Scandinavians, many of whom were sailors being aided through the Norwegian Seamen's Church and the Seamen's Home, for example. Others being assisted were Scandinavian-Americans who lived in the Brooklyn communities and who supported the Norwegian Hospital and Lutheran and other churches. Thus the Depression served to reduce the self-sufficiency creed and the isolation of the NA community which was now forced to depend on broader coalitions. On the other hand, the Depression, because it reduced normal organizational operations, resulted in NT turning most of its coverage to the local scene, primarily to the Brooklyn NA community.

By the spring of 1935 the period of extreme economic hardship had passed and the activities of the Relief Committee ceased. NT concluded its account of the Depression and the relief activity by praising the persons and organizations which had contributed to the charity work. On the other hand it was critical of the lack of aid for seamen from both the Norwegian government and the Norwegian Shipowner's Association. NT was of the opinion that Norway could not afford to become known for its lack of care for its sailors (Roedder, I, 236-237). Thus the NT

continued its advocacy for the welfare of Norwegian seafarers. Further it continued to build a sense of community among NAs in the metropolitan area by praising their support of the activities of the Relief Committee and its supporters. NT's role as positive reinforcer, rewarding persons for behavior which NT's leadership wished repeated, must be considered one of the primary factors contributing to the persistence of NA ethnicity.

The Relief Committee's operations represented one of the major activities within the NA community, particularly within Brooklyn, between 1930 and 1935.²⁹ But there was considerable activity among NAs in other areas. NT's owner, Arnesen, sought to assert his and the paper's leadership in the broader as well as in the local Brooklyn NA community in at least three major ways. He continued to support and assist in the implementation of NA events, such as the Bjornsen Festival. He reorganized NT's operations and in the process, despite some failures, bolstered the paper's sagging finances. He also ran, unsuccessfully, for political office although unlike Rygg he united a substantial part of the NA community behind his campaign. Each activity indicates the nature and types of links within the NA community as well as outside the NA group which helped buttress NA ethnicity, paving the way for future coalitions.

In the winter of 1932 the NT staff was in the lead in planning a special event celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the birth of one of³⁰ Norway's greatest national poets, Bjornestjerne Bjornson (1832-1932). The Bjornsen Festival was planned for the benefit of the Relief Committee (typical of NT's initiating programs about Norway for NA charities). The Festival was to feature a combined chorus of several

NA choirs led by a NA conductor who participated in major colony events for decades, Ole Windingstad. The program also included readings of Bjornsen's poetry and speeches, and speeches by H. G. Leach,³¹ President of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, in English and by NT's editor, Hans Olav in Norwegian. In order to accomodate the expected large crowds which attended such events, the Brooklyn Academy of Music in downtown Brooklyn was rented.

The program was underwritten by local NA organizations, business and institutional leaders as well as the Consul General of Norway in New York (NT 11/10/32). Attendance warranted the trust of the NA leaders as 1,800 attended resulting in a \$300 profit for the Relief Committee (NT 12/15/32). The Festival is one example of the support NA organizational and business leaders and Norwegian government officials as well as non-NA ethnics for ethnic events which served to support the ethnic community. Further the content of the program served to familiarize NAs, both Norwegian-born and increasing number of American-born, with the poetry in part responsible for the national romantic movement in 19th century Norway which extolled the beauty of Norway and the value of the common person. The Festival's content also reflected one of the principal goals of the NT, maintaining links³² with Norway and its heritage.

A second major event occurred in the NA community during the Depression when Arnesen took an ambitious step in early 1932. A local community newspaper, Home Talk, from which NT had rented space since 1922, was sold and Arnesen purchased its building and equipment. Arnesen then altered the company's organizational structure, by establishing the Arnesen Newsprint Publishing Company. The new company

printed booklets, pamphlets and other material for NA, Norwegian and American organizations (NT 2/4/32). This expansion enabled the paper to survive the financial strain due to a decline in paid readership and advertisers at the time. Ownership of the building was shortlived. Arnesen then moved the printing equipment and the NT and the Newsprint Co. to rented headquarters on 5th Avenue and 66th Street on Leiv Eiricksson Square in February, 1938 (NT 2/10/39; Roedder, I, 238).

Arnesen publicized the move as indicating faith in the future and despite brief ownership of a building Arnesen kept attempting methods to increase sales. During the 1920s NT had become a member of the National Audit Bureau of Circulation which issued reports on the paid circulation of publications for use by advertisers. Arnesen boasted that NT was the only paper in Bay Ridge to belong to ABC (NT 8/21/30). Declining sales would be public knowledge. NT responded by initiating a series of articles on NA organizations and what could be done to improve them (initiated 4/2/31). Then in an attempt to obtain the growing number of American born, an English page, the "Viking Ship," was introduced to appeal to the young English reader (NT 11/26/31). Just after purchasing the new building Arnesen recommended a May 17 parade in which all NAs would participate, again to no avail (NT 4/7/32). Competitions offering cash awards were initiated, articles discussing the advertisers, a new classified page and even a new paper designated for the Brooklyn NA community only were initiated but the results were not rewarding as the number of pages in NT began to drop from an average of 16 to 12 pages per issue and the new paper, "Kolonien" was discontinued. Despite declining sales, reader partici-

pation was at an all time high. Letters poured into the editor, presumably because people had more time to devote to newspaper reading. (It was at this time that NT began to be aware that many more people actually read the paper than bought it as it was passed from relative to relative, household to household.) Finally Arnesen initiated a radio program, the first of its kind in the NA east coast community, which had the advertising support of NA businesses. Radio news became a part of the NT's weekly issues, but the radio program also failed (NT 9/21/32; 12/29/32) although later programs were resumed and continue to the present. The above represents only a few of the ventures NT undertook to combat the Depression, most failed in the economic sense and in terms of longevity, but the total effect was a period of NA participation at the broad base level as well as at leadership levels representing efforts to combat the effects of the Depression. Finally NA political activity reached new heights in the early 1930s.

After editorially advocating Herbert Hoover's election in 1928, NT remained Republican in its editorial support in 1932. However, the editorials did not say to vote for Hoover, but rather "when voting to not consider the person, but the party" (NT 11/3/32). When F. D. Roosevelt won in 1932 NT published his photo labeled "Our New President" (NT 11/17/32). Despite strong Republican partisanship among many NA leaders, 1932 was the last year NT editorially supported a party candidate, although NA efforts in local politics continued through the 1930s. The shift was gradual, but when Rygg resigned in 1929 and Olav became editor one year later, the shift had begun to occur. Olav and his new Assistant, Soyland, were Democratic in their sympathies although they were not politically active in the party. It was in the 1930s that

Soyland began writing about the squalor that many NAs and Norwegian sailors were living in on a city dump which had been turned into a tramp city near the Brooklyn Bridge. These articles were also used to encourage support of the NA Emergency Relief Committee, but Soyland, who had lost his home because of the Depression, was not pro-Republican. Only Arnesen remained in the Republican camp.

In 1934 Arnesen ran for Congress on the Republican ticket. He was defeated by the Democratic candidate who received 109,967 votes compared to Arnesen's 44,594. The loss was attributed to a statewide (New York) Democratic landslide, although Arnesen had improved the Republican Party's vote in his district by 10% compared to the 1932 Congressional returns (NT 11/8/34). Even though Arnesen owned NT, it was not solidly behind his candidacy. The rift between the "old guard Republicans" and the "new guard liberals" was even more pronounced (Roedder, I, 221).

As noted the NA people in the metropolitan area were not politically homogeneous, although the Republican element was the most organized and active. The Depression changed the situation as NA's became more active in the Democratic Party, in labor organizations and in the socialist movement.³³ The split noted within NT reflected the broader community. Some of the "new guard" on the staff were active in the Democratic Party, but such activities were conducted by individuals, not on behalf of NT, and little about such activities was ever reported in NT. Olav, Soyland and Roedder were sympathetic to liberal politics in the 1930s, these men closely followed political changes in Norway and favored poli-³⁴cies supporting the masses. Even though Arnesen had run on the Republican ticket in 1934, the Depression, he had mellowed his politics as well.

Arnesen ran again in 1937 for the New York City Council on the Fusion Party ticket. Again he was unsuccessful, although he had been a supporter of the LaGuardia (Fusion) mayoralty which was successful, suggesting that a NA political base was fruitless. Thus the Depression, political changes in Norway and a new generation of NT leadership, openly apolitical in U. S. politics but sympathetic to the liberal politics of the 1930s in both the U. S. and Norway resulted in a politically neutral NT. It was no longer possible for the sole NA newspaper to be partisan and maintain the unified support of NAs.

NT declared political neutrality in the 1936 Presidential elections returning to a policy that had characterized most of its history. This position was maintained and has been to the present despite the fact that Arnesen's 1937 candidacy united some of the NAs which had been on both sides of the "old guard"- "new guard" split (NT 9/16/37). But by this time an active NA Democratic constituency still kept NAs divided. It became apparent that the NT's readership and NA ethnicity was an ineffectual base on which to develop a political campaign because NAs, at their numerical peak in the 1930 census in the sections in which Arnesen was running, never constituted more than a quarter of the total population. The paper's leadership realized that to maintain popularity with its readership and especially its advertisers it had to remain politically neutral (Roedder, I, 263).

Perhaps in an attempt to reconcile the political factions, the NT reported that not everything during the 1930-1935 period had been a disaster. The increased interest of NAs in political activity marked new highs and this was viewed as a positive outcome of the

Depression (Roedder, I, 248). NAs were not only active politically but also in NA ad hoc and later non-ethnic, permanent organizations. Roedder therefore called the 1930-1940 period the "lean, lively years" (Roedder, I, 171). NT's sales and advertising revenue decreased, as did organizational incomes, but at the same time activity among NAs increased. The unemployed did not have money, but they did have time. In addition to relief efforts and political activity, NA theatre, social clubs and conversation groups abounded. NT covered this activity.

NT also became concerned with old and new causes relating to Norway. It sided with the seamen against both ship owners and the Norwegian government which NT stated were not supporting the merchant marine's labor force, a major source of the nation's revenue. Editor Olav was less conciliatory toward the Norwegian shipping elite than editor Rygg. However changes in economic circumstances had altered. It was apparent to most NAs regardless of political position that the Norwegian government and shipping entrepreneurs were the only sources of needed support in an economic collapse of such magnitude.

NT called for a centralization of Norway's tourist and also business offices under one roof (NT 11/24/32). It also recommended the creation of a Norwegian Information Service in New York City, a position NT had previously taken (NT 8/9/34).

In spite of hardships, 1932 was a year of Winter Olympics to be held in Lake Placid, New York and this led to increased ties between NAs and Norway. Norway participated and a NA Olympic Committee was established with NT's support and under Arnesen's leadership to raise funds for the participating athletes. Such an event resulted in NA committees or organizations with the effect that the NA social structure

was broadened and changed.

Within NT, Arnesen experimented organizing the first Norwegian radio program in New York, issued a second newspaper, "The Colony," and also introduced a weekly magazine supplement. Each was short-lived, but provided a flurry of activity. NT also became, once again, the only weekly Norwegian language paper in the metropolitan area as Norgesposten folded in 1933.

After the Depression NA activity slowly returned to normal levels with one major event culminating the decade and preparing the way for future U. S.-Norway and NA-Norway ties. Norway's Crown Prince couple, Olav and Martha, were to tour the U. S. beginning with an appearance at the Norway Pavillion in the 1939 New York World's Fair. This was to be the first visit of the Norwegian royal family to the U. S. and specifically to Norwegian and NA institutions in the New York area. The visit activated Norwegian and NA organizations more than a year prior to the royal visit. The network of links called upon during the Depression were reactivated for an ethnic event. The recognition given NAs and their institutions by Norway Crown Prince couple served to further legitimate and strengthen the existence of NA ethnicity and the NA community. The Crown Prince couple was also well-received by the U. S. government, helping to reaffirm Norwegian-U. S. friendship. The visit as other visits by Norwegian officials created interest in Norway among NAs. To what degree the visit rekindled interest in Norway among individual NAs cannot be definitively stated, but within one year organizational relations resulted in the closer links between the NA social structure in metropolitan area and official Norway than had ever before existed, as discussed in Period IV.

The Depression accounted for one half of the decade. For the first time in NA ethnic circles individuals had free time as unemployment mounted. For some of these interest and activity in NA groups and organizations filled their free time. After World War II the question of the relationship between leisure and ethnicity reemerged as the worker's occupations shifted and as recreation time increased releasing individual's to develop more interests than heretofore possible. The Depression had been the first example of free time being devoted to NA activity. Travel between Norway and the U. S. by the NAs and Norwegians had existed since the latter 19th century, but without disposable incomes by the masses, travel was limited to relatively few. Most free time activity among NAs, if there was an interest in ethnic origins, concentrated upon local programs, events and organizations.

The Depression decade witnessed the last attempts at NA political activity on an ethnic group basis. Future political activity among NAs occurred in organizations outside the NA group.

Nonetheless NA social networks of businesses, charities, religious and social institutions remained, some enlarged, others changed although the Depression had revealed the NA groups inability to rely entirely on itself. The ethnic structure had become linked to the larger American society, a phenomenon which altered the nature of NA ethnicity in the next decades. Following the Depression the various elements rebuilt their own organizations and resumed their annual schedule of events. The NA network remained and was available for mobilization on a group encompassing scale for special events. One such event involved the

planning for the Norwegian Crown Prince couple's U. S. visit in 1939. And, again, in 1940, the NA ethnic network not only remobilized but was enlarged and given cause to express a solidarity never before witnessed among NAs. As in decades past, NT was a crucial mediating structure in the NA community, actively leading NAs to support NA and Norwegian causes.

PERIOD IV (1940-1945): WORLD WAR II AND ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS

The NA ethnic community was entering a period of transition when World War II occurred. The center of concentration in the metropolitan area in Bay Ridge and Sunset Park, Brooklyn was dispersing. The birth of second and third generation NAs would soon result in more American born than Norwegian born persons and, based on the majority of organizational memberships which were Norwegian born, suggested a demise of NA ethnicity. The war halted the dispersion. Just as in the Depression years when most efforts were devoted to coping with economic need, the war converted most efforts toward national preservation. Unlike the Depression years which resulted in NAs turning inward, taking care of their own, the war turned NA thought and energy toward Norway, the motherland, which was hit by war months before U. S. involvement. One effect of the war and the Nazi invasion of Norway in particular was a revived ethnic consciousness which reached heights comparable to NA enthusiasm over Norway's freedom in 1905 and to the 1925 Norwegian immigration centennial. After the war, NA population dispersion, suburbanization was resumed further stimulated by the economic boom generated during the war. Suburbanization and the tendency to equate ethnicity with ethnic enclaves gave the impression that NA ethnicity in

the east, like that of the midwest, would soon be history. The war however, as had the Depression, brought about new ties, new organizations and a different organizational structure which enabled ethnicity to persist in spite of NA population dispersion and increasing numbers of American born. A major addition to the NA ethnic network was the increasing presence of Norwegian national organizations in the New York area. The Norwegian organizations were linked to professional and social organizations concerned with advancing their own as well as Norway's economic and political interests in the U. S. and in the world. However they also provided NA ethnic organizations with new supports, enlarging the network of NA and Norwegian organizations, which along with changes in technology and bureaucratic organization, contributed to NA ethnic persistence. Simultaneously the forms of ethnicity were changing as many ethnic organizations disbanded or merged. In those which remained the constituencies in most cases were smaller. Nonetheless interest in heritage continued, but NA ethnicity was becoming less bound to the past and more concerned with contemporary Norway.

NT had long been an advocate of a central office for Norwegian information distribution in New York. NT stated that Norway, as a small nation, must maintain active contacts with other nations (NT 8/29/34). By 1939 the Norwegian government, concerned about the advance of Nazis through Europe, and at the urging of Norway's Minister to the U. S., Wilhelm von Morgenstierne,³⁵ planned to open an information service. Norway, as a neutral nation, did not want to undergo attacks in the American press as it had during World War I if the U. S. entered the war against Germany, historically a major trading partner of Norway. The Norwegian government therefore established an

office of information as an adjunct to the Norwegian legation in Washington, D. C. The man selected by the Norwegian government for the position of press attache in the newly created information office was NT's editor Hans Olav. Olav left the editorship of NT to depart for Washington just at the time when Carl Soyland, who became NT's new editor, learned of the Nazi occupation of Norway in April, 1940.

NT was immediately solicited by the American press for information about Norway. It became "the" source of information until the Washington office, and later the New York subsidiary office, of the Royal Norwegian Information Service was established. Not only did NT become a source of information, it literally became the "free press" of Norway. Other NA presses also put themselves at the disposal of the Norwegian government in exile in London, but once again, NT's position on the east coast of the U. S. made it the nearest Norwegian language paper to Norway. With Norway's press under Nazi control, NT and the Norwegian government in exile established ties. NT became a basis for the development of NA support on the east coast of the U. S. for Norway's war effort. The paper's long held goal, as a link to Norway, now came to the forefront in a way never imagined. The relations developed at this time paved the way for a network which continued long past the war and continuing to operate in the NA metropolitan community today.

NT had become the major NA press in the U. S. in the 1920s on the basis of circulation, enduring the Depression despite considerable circulation losses. With the advent of World War II, circulation increased 100% between April, 1940 and the summer of 1941 although no base figure was noted (Roedder, II, 63).³⁶

The Arnesen Publishing Co. also prospered. It printed numerous publicity brochures pertaining to Norway, many of these at the request of and paid for by the Norwegian government in exile. It printed for example the "Nordisk Tidende Songbook," edited by Carl Soyland, which was supplemented by Karsten Roedder's "Norwegian Readings," an anthology³⁷ of prose and poetry from Norwegian and NA writers. These books were also sold by NT to NAs.

The NT's position with regard to the Norwegian government in exile was made clear in the first days after the Nazi invasion of Norway. It set a message to Norway's Prime Minister in London indicating that "all³⁸ NAs are with you" (NT 5/10/51). By April 18, 1940, 9 days after the Nazi invasion of Norway, NT had organized a Help Norway Committee which moved into the NT offices, remaining there beyond the war for a total of seven years. NT's Arnesen was one of sixteen members on the committee which included Rygg as its Treasurer (NT 4/25/40). NT appealed to all NA organizations to give money for the relief of Norway. When NAs gathered for their national holiday on May 17, 1941, NT asked that the proceeds of their organizational events be donated to the Help Norway Committee. Also NT took advantage of the crisis to insert a plea so often made in the NT, it noted that as usual there will be one common, mass, 17th of May celebration. "We are certainly old fashioned in this respect." For this year NT appealed that even if there is not one common celebration, perhaps all will work for one cause--Norway. The³⁹ editorial set a goal of \$1 million by June 1 (NT 5/3/41).

Not unlike the Relief Committee during the Depression, a number of existing and newly created organizations worked for the war effort. The NT set up a book collection drive to provide the Norwegian merchant marine.

with reading material, women's organizations knitted and sewed with the intention of either selling their products or donating them to a Norwegian air force base which had been established in Canada. New York had become the "Norwegian center of the U. S." (Roedder, II, 35).

Aid for the Norwegian war cause came from NA individuals and NA organizations, established and newly created. Numerous NA persons, persons who were assimilated in the sense that they were not, until the war, involved in any type of NA activity, came forward to assist the NA fund raising effort. These persons were then incorporated into the organizational network which spearheaded the fund raising effort. NT wrote biographies of the more famous of the persons, including university professors and business executives, immediately casting them into leadership positions in the war effort.

In addition to individual and single organization efforts, a federation of NA organizations was established to plan events to raise funds for Norway. Once again the NT and its staff were in the forefront in this effort. It was called "The Norwegian Phlanx," becoming permanent in the summer of 1942. The first president of the Phlanx was NT's owner Arnesen who was elected at a meeting of 80 persons in February, 1942. Among others attending were Hans Olav, former NT editor and his new boss, Minister Morgenstierne, as well as NT's editor, Soyland. These conveners planned an April 9 "gathering" at Carnegie Hall in Manhattan to show support for the Norwegian government in exile after one full year of Norway's Nazi occupation. The proceeds from the event were to be divided between the Norwegian Relief Committee, "Little Norway" (the Norwegian air force base located in Canada) and a Norwegian Seamen's Welfare Fund, the first Norwegian government backed effort for

the Norwegian seamen (NT 4/2/42) which provided the government in exile with a loyal merchant marine constituting Norway's fighting force. 3,000 persons attended the "monumental NA gathering" including Norway's Crown Prince Olav as a speaker (NT 4/16/42).

The death of NA ethnicity now seemed remote and NT took the occasion to remind its readers that a decade earlier, during the Depression, prophets of doom within the NA community, claimed that Norwegianness in the U. S. would soon be dead. The predictions were based on the sharp decline in immigration. At the time, then editor Olav expressed confidence that the immigration would resume, but even if it did not the youth among the immigrants would be sufficient to ensure the continuation of a Norwegian ethnic presence in the New York area for a long time to come (NT 5/12/36). Although immigration never again reached the pre-quota levels, World War II had become an impetus to increased ethnic persistence among NAs.

The NT purposefully sought to utilize the war situation to arouse NAs, including those born in America, to a higher level of ethnic consciousness. As Roedder noted:

the great, dramatic and unpleasant headlines in the paper shook up the (NA) public and brought money into the Help Norway treasury. Editor Soyland as well as well as Dr. Rygg were aware of this; the editor had nothing against exaggerating things (in the headlines), but he insisted upon integrity in the reports.... Help Norway had a strong supporter in (NT's) editorials (Roedder, II, 26).

During the war NT was able to capitalize upon one of its earliest major goals, that of maintaining links to Norway, which at this time

meant with the government in exile. NT utilized the circumstances to develop its unwritten goal of maintaining and creating ethnic consciousness among NAs. Among the Norwegian born in the metropolitan area, most of whom had relatives in occupied Norway, this was not difficult. The paper encouraged the participation of the Norwegian born by soliciting any letter or piece of information which its readers received from Norway. For the American born NA the NT was increasingly using the English language. The paper's "English Column" became "Our American Column" (NT 7/25/40). NT also began printing more feature articles in English. Ethnicity was no longer dwelling on the past; it had unwittingly been cast into modern Norwegian history. NT recognized the war's positive economic and social impact for the paper and for NA ethnicity. NT had taken over the motto of King Haakon VII of Norway as one of its major goals: "Alt for Norge" (Everything for Norway).

The invasion of Nazi forces into Norway in April, 1940 had the effect of generating a new interest among NAs in Norway. The NT capitalized upon the European situation. It wrote features of Norway, focusing weekly on a particular town or village. It sought to freshen old memories and/or create new interest with pictures of quaint villages and scenic landscapes. It explained the devastation and tyranny which Nazi control would mean to a heretofore "free Norway." The NT stirred up the NA to come to the aid of the motherland. And NT's leaders took an active role in the NA organizational network directing efforts to create a federation of NA organizations in the metropolitan area and serving as the base of an east coast fund raising drive.

NT's columns were opened to numerous Norwegian government officials in exile who traveled to the U. S. (including the Crown Prince couple and their family which resided in the U. S. during much of the war), soliciting support for Norway. Sigrid Undset, the Nobel prize winning Norwegian authoress, also made her way to Brooklyn and became a regular contributor to NT and a participant in the NA war effort.

NT had a mass of events to report upon pertaining to the war and NA organizational and individual responses to it. These included programs for the merchant marine, which de facto became the Norwegian Navy, and for other fund raising. In late 1941 the U. S. entered the war making the U. S. and Norway allies for the first time in history. U. S. entrance into the war necessitated a shift in the NA fund raising structure, which became incorporated, as one of many, U. S. ethnic sub-units in the larger U. S. war effort.

The war quickly changed U. S. -Norwegian relations and had a profound effect upon NA community. NT had close links to the Norwegian foreign service through former NT editor Hans Olav, serving under Minister Morgenstierne in Washington, D. C. Government officials from Norway soon became aware of the value of NT, the NA press in general, and the NA population's contribution to the Norwegian war effort. For the first time in the history of Norwegian settlements in the U. S. the NA community and the Norwegian state were linked, not only on a familial basis between relatives which had once been the only tie between the U. S. and Norway, but also at official organizational levels. For the first time in history the immigrants and their organizations were recognized as having a value for the interests of the Norwegian state. As editor Soyland noted, the war had the effect of

preserving the NA "colony" for decades.

PERIOD V (1946-1978): TRAVEL AND ETHNICITY

NT and Arnesen Press entered the post World War II period strengthened financially and spiritually by the effects of the war. In addition many new organizational contacts had been forged between Norway and the Norwegian America. NT's location near the port of New York enabled it to take advantage of the political, economic and social exchange which followed. The paper's long held goal, to serve as a link between the U. S. and Norway, now was more permanent than ever before.

NT's efforts during the war did not go unrecognized in Norway. In the fall of 1945 the Norwegian paper, Verdens Gang, praised the role of the NA press during the war and recommended that NA journalists be given a trip to Norway by the Norwegian State Department (Roedder, II, 170-171). The idea was realized in the summer of 1947 when NT's editor Soyland and 12 other NA editors, took a one month tour (Ibid., 191). Soyland was further honored by being given the medal of St. Olav immediately following World War II. Then in March 1950 he was made Knight First Class of the Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olav for his "outstanding services for the Norwegian cause" (NT 3/30/50).⁴¹

Soyland's 1947 trip resulted in 23 travel articles for NT's readers. He had long been an advocate of tourism to Norway. During the war he had written a long series of articles, with photos, of many of Norway's towns and villages, attempting to inspire an interest for the war effort and for post war travel to Norway by NAs. Prior to the war the attitude of travel to Norway among NAs was described as "ambivalent." But the war and the accompanying changes in travel technology soon changed this. NT's own poll of its readership stated that "80% had

dreamed of traveling 'home' to Norway; (N=1,000; Roedder, II, 49 and 181.

The travel articles continued as editor Soyland made history by returning from Norway to the U. S. aboard the first regularly scheduled Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS) airplane to New York. One result was that NT devoted considerable space to the newly created SAS in its issues (NT 9/19/46; 9/26/46). SAS in turn became and remains one of the bulwarks of NT's advertising.

In 1954 Soyland took a tour aboard a Norwegian sailing vessel (a training ship for future sailors) from Baltimore to Norway. He then proceeded to travel through Norway by Auto. The tour resulted in 45 six to eight column travel articles which ran in his editorial column through the fall of 1954 and into 1955. In addition Soyland, who was skilled photographer and film maker, produced a film of his voyage on the sailing ship (Roedder, II, 270-273). This film subsequently toured NA churches and organizations on the entire east coast, accompanied by Soyland as the narrator. The film, set to the music of Norwegian composers, stressed the role of the seafaring Norwegian. It blended the heroism of sailing (as the ship encountered a hurricane) with wind blown white sails and furled Norwegian flag with a visit to the docked ship by then U. S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower; that is, it blended Norwegianness and American patriotism. The film's tour of NA organizations represents only one example of the NT's staff ability to bring out a Norwegian consciousness among NAs including the American born.

Editor Soyland was not always sympathetic toward transatlantic shipping companies in the days when shipping represented the only means

of travel. He felt their prices were too high (Roedder, II, 181). But when the Norwegian-America Line's (NAL) new passengership, "Bergensfjord," was to make its maiden voyage in 1956 Soyland was an invited guest by the company's new director. The result was another series of articles, including vivid descriptions of the new ship and its facilities. This ship was due in New York on June 7, 1956. An elaborate welcoming celebration was planned by an ad hoc committee consisting of NA organizations which greeted the ship on its maiden voyage. NT publicized the entire event and dedicated its June 7 issue to the new ship and the Norwegian-America Line (NT 6/7/51; (Roedder, II, 280). Since 1913 when NAL was formed, it had been among NT's major advertisers. Despite expanding use of the airplane, NT paid homage to the shipping company which continues to advertise in the paper in 1978 although vacation cruises have replaced the trans-atlantic passenger service.

A major change occurred in the NT in 1958 when Sigurd Arnesen, sole owner of NT since 1929, sold the paper to its staff. By 1958 NT's sales, after reaching a zenith during World War II of an estimated 18,000-20,000 circulation weekly, had declined below 10,000.⁴² The number of average pages per issue had declined from 16 to 12 in 1954, returning to Depression and pre-1920 growth levels. In October, 1958 just after Arnesen sold, NT published an annual statement of ownership. The report indicated a circulation of 9,448 copies per issue. No such circulation figure has been published since. In 1978 NT continues to print weekly 12 page issues, except for special issues.⁴³ Its circulation is about 7,600 issues per week.

NT sought new sources of revenue and turned to Norway's industry including, but not entirely focused upon, tourism. In 1962, NT expanded its travel promotion by issuing an additional special issue publicizing travel to Norway. The idea was pursued by one of NT's then new (and present) owners, Gunnar Bjorkman. The special travel issue, in contrast to the regular weekly paper and other special issues which appeared later, is printed primarily in English. Although the venture began with a Scandinavian focus, supported by a group of Scandinavian-American papers, it became solely NT's, with a focus on Norway alone, in 1964 (Roedder, II, 307-308). The travel editions are many times larger, up to 80 pages, than regular issues. They cost \$1.00 for individual copies but are mailed to subscribers without additional cost.

Emphasis on travel to Norway remains one of the paper's major focuses in part because travel bureaus and transportation companies are among the most regular NT advertisers. Soyland, Editor Emeritus, had stated that NT's focus on travel is "natural" considering its link to Norway. Again the NT goal of bringing NAs into closer contact with Norway is evident. However the paper's use of travel articles is a good business policy in view of the fact that NT is partially supported by travel related businesses.

In addition to travel other exchanges between Norway and the U. S. have been added to the paper's post war operations. Immediately following the war a number of student exchange programs, in part the work of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, were established between Norway and the U. S. NT also benefitted from these programs. Each year it received the services of a "real Norwegian journalist" (Roedder,

II, 186 and 226]. This program not only provided the NT with journalistic talent from Norway's major newspapers, but also had resulted in valuable contacts through the years. For example, the first of the exchange journalists was Ragnar Busch who eventually became NT's editor between 1967-1970 (Ibid., 226). Not unlike the World War II era, many of the exchange visitors from Norway were prominent persons who provided either content for NT's staff to work with or contributed articles. Many also became in NA organizations, adding new blood to aging organizations.

But the link between NT and the Norwegian government was not one of blind admiration. The paper's constituency was, first and foremost, its prime concern and it was NA. NT would not hesitate to attack a position which it thought would harm or was not beneficial to NAs or the NA community. One example concerned the issue of post World War II tariffs placed by the Norwegian government on gift-packages sent by NAs.

Following the war NAs mailed individual gift items to friends and relatives in Norway. Often the tariff was higher than the cost of the items sent. Frustrated NAs, either involved in the exchange personally through travel or via letter from Norway, wrote to NT which took up their cause and sought to mediate the issue. The tariff was lifted during the Christmas season of 1947 but the Norwegian government later reinstated it. In 1949 CARE packages were admitted toll free if less than \$10 in value (Roedder, II, 193, 197-198). NT commented somewhat tongue in cheek:

Things are looking up. The impersonal, standard CARE packages are sent toll free, while all the personal, loving gifts are taxed.... It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good (Ibid., 198).

While relations between the U. S. and Norway, following World War II, became closer, NA ethnicity began to modify. NAs were now in contact at two levels: organizational and personal. Organizational links often involved business and government organizations (both of which are detailed in later chapters). Personal relations which Skard had stated were ceasing in the 1920s were being increased and, due to modern travel, were becoming renewed with more opportunity for personal contact than ever before. NT wanted to maintain the new links, but it also sought to conserve and support older ethnic institutions which displayed a NA identity or an interest in Norway. Thus when a nationwide or local NA institution sought to alter its identity, NT discouraged it.⁴⁴ In general though the NT was powerless to alter situations pertaining to NA national or even local organizations. When the Norwegian-Lutheran Church in America, for example, dropped the word Norwegian from its name it had no discernible impact on the paper. There were still Norwegian Lutheran congregations and the metropolitan area's Lutheran churches continued to advertise in NT. Likewise when the Norwegian Hospital in Sunset Park, Brooklyn became Lutheran Hospital because of a merger with another Manhattan Lutheran Hospital, NT continued to write about it as a Norwegian institution.

In the metropolitan area NT continued to capitalize upon anniversaries and events relating to the NA community, its persons and organizations and to Norway including famous historical dates and national heroes. One of its stated duties, as before, was to bring

news from Norway and to be a voice of NA life and activity in the U. S. (Roedder, II, 319). One of the first major events after the war concerned the NT itself. Its 60th anniversary came in 1951.

NT 50th anniversary came in 1941, during the war, and it was stated that NT had neither the time nor the inclination to celebrate. Its 60th anniversary occurred in 1951. Although the date of the anniversary was in January, Soyland decided to bring an anniversary issue⁴⁵ out in May in connection with the 17th of May celebrations. A 68 page anniversary special issue, the largest in its history to that date was one result. Secondly a large "people's party," was planned by Soyland in the Brooklyn Academy of Music. To plan and implement the event Soyland revived the leadership of the World War II Phlanx organization. The sequence of events suggests the nature of contacts within the NA community and between it and Norway:

The plans were drafted and accepted in the proper circles. The paper contacted the (Norwegian) Embassy, which contacted the Norwegian Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen and, as a trip to America could be arranged exactly at that time, he happily accepted Nordisk Tidende's and the Phlanx's invitation. The departure from Norway was set for May 14 via SAS airplane. He will be accompanied by his wife and Press Attache Hans Olav (NT's former editor) from the State Department's Press Bureau. He will visit the U. N., travel to Washington (D.C.) and before returning to Norway on May 27, he indicated his desire to fly to Minneapolis via Chicago where he would greet relatives. It was his first America tour. 'Enthusiasm and greatest expectation in anticipation of Gerhardsen's visit in Brooklyn May 17,' stated a four column headline in the April 12 issue. 'Delegates from the Norwegian Phlanx and other organizations gathered to meet in the Nordisk Tidende.' A three column picture of the meeting was printed (Roedder, II, 222).

The program featured some of the principal leaders in various circles of the NA community, NA organizational participation and included music, song and speeches. Ole Windingstad conducted a symphony orchestra featuring the music of Norway which the Norwegian Information Service had been promoting since the war. Two local NAs who were members of the newly created Nordmanns-Forbundet Greater New York Chapter sang. The Norwegian Singing Society, a male chorus begun in the 19th century in Manhattan, also performed. NT's owner, Sigurd Arnesen, served as master of ceremonies. The two main speakers, carrying on the tradition of speeches in both national languages, were Norwegian Ambassador Morgenstierne and Prime Minister Gerhardsen, in English and Norwegian respectively. NT's present and past editors, Soyland, Olav, now serving in the Norwegian State Department, and Rygg attended as did 2,200 others. The New York Times wrote in an editorial:

...The reputation of the paper is reflected in its ability to bring Norway's popular Premier, Einar Gerhardsen, as the principal speaker at the sixtieth anniversary of the Nordisk Tidende. This is the first peacetime visit by a Norwegian governmental leader. President Truman has congratulated Nordisk Tidende for 'helping those Americans who have come to us from Norway fit themselves more easily into the American scene.' We join in offering our congratulations and best wishes (from The New York Times, May 17, 1951, as quoted in Roedder, II, 230).

As was usual practice, American politicians generally referred to the important role of ethnic organization within the context of assisting immigrants to assimilate and integrate into the American society. However, as the anniversary event itself indicates, the paper, in this case, also served its own interests by perpetuating ethnic identity and

capitalizing upon links established between NA organization and the
Norwegian government during World War II.⁴⁶

The NT also continued to utilize American events, as it had in the 1926 U. S. Sesquicentennial celebration in Philadelphia. In 1964 the leadership of the New York World's Fair held an "Operation Sail," with all of the world's sailing ships invited. NT billed the event as "the greatest display of sailing ships in our time...." Norway's three training ships participated. A full series of events planned within the NA community from July 16 through July 20, 1964, including parades, training crew visits to the World's Fair and NA community, soccer matches between crews of the Norwegian merchant marine, church services at the Norwegian Seamen's Church and at luncheon at the Norwegian Seamen's House (Roedder, II, 312-313). The NA community capitalized upon the World's Fair event by recognizing Norway's role as one of the world's major seafaring nations. Norway's merchant marine ranked among the top five with a heritage linked to the sea since at least the viking period dating back to the 9th century.

Gains made by NT during World War II continued into the 1950s. New developments in travel, particularly the introduction of the airplane and its subsequent use for mass tourism, were major topics in the NT at the time. But changes were evident in the NA community in Brooklyn which served as a base for NT and many of the NA organizations. The 1950 Census bore out Jonassen's prediction that suburbanization was depleting the Brooklyn colony as the NA population decreased by one-⁴⁷ half from approximately 60,000 in 1940 to approximately 30,000 in 1950. The decline reflected a decrease in the Norwegian-speaking population. Although the NT was mailed, interest among many of the migrants was not

sustained. Attempts by NT to introduce English pages to appeal to American-born children originated during the Depression although they proved unsuccessful and were soon eliminated. Attempts to appeal to non-Norwegian readers were adopted at the time of World War II when more English was incorporated. Today NT is printed in both Norwegian and English in approximately equal amounts.

The decline in the paper's circulation has been consistent since wartime highs, dropping from an estimated peak of 20,000 to about 10,000 at the time of its sale in 1948 suggests NT's readership declined at a pace slower than the population loss of the Brooklyn NA colony. While there is a positive relationship between circulation and advertising revenues, advertising provides the financial basis of the newspaper industry, and financially NT has been able to maintain its advertising base. Although it has changed, the advertising base is apparently sufficient to sustain publication as NT seeks new income sources, for example, among tourist enterprises and among business concerns in Norway. Local Brooklyn merchants still support the paper. A half dozen air and shipping companies, Scandinavian, Norwegian and American advertise regularly. NT has been able to take advantage of Norwegian laws which prohibit newspapers to print feature articles promoting Norwegian businesses. As a result NT has established contact with a Norwegian advertising. These ads and articles are not part of NT's regular issues. NT's subscribers receive the special "industrial" issues, but additional copies are also distributed back to the advertisers in Norway which can then use them for publicity purposes among potential customers. The special editions initially appeared on an average of two and three times a year when then began in 1972 (10 years after the special travel

editions were introduced), but recently have been issued about a half-dozen times per year. The 1978 Travel Issue, for example, was a combination "Industrial Travel Issue, February 1978." The aim of that extra edition was

...to give an inclusive picture of the development which has occurred in Norway in past years. Because life in Norway has developed in a quite different manner than it did in the so-called 'old days.' At the same time it is hoped that Nordisk Tidende in this manner, perhaps especially through the many different announcements (advertisements), can contribute to an increased interest in Norwegian tourism (and) Norwegian goods and services in America and among people living here (NT, February, 1978).

Thus suggests that the paper's special editions are to inform NAs about recent developments in Norway, clearly in accordance with the paper's goal to bring news from Norway, and at the same time suggest to Norwegian advertisers that their advertising in NT will increase their sales in the U. S. Thus the links to Norwegian business continue in the 1970s, supplying the NT with advertising revenue and enabling the NA community's vital source of communication to be sustained.

Finally, as was the case in New York a century ago, the press has once again become Scandinavian. Northway Printers, the name adopted by the new owners to replace Norwegian News-Arnesen Press in 1958, publishes three of the four Scandinavian language papers in Brooklyn. In addition to NT there is Nordstjernan-Svea, a Swedish language paper serving the Swedish American Ethnic community and Norden, a Swedish language paper for Swedish-speaking Finns in the same offices. Each

paper has its own editor, but the journalistic staffs assist one another in the make up and content of the papers. This centralization has enabled the papers to consolidate expenses. Once "made up," a process of pasting pre-typed articles on master sheets, the papers are printed at an offset publishing company in Brooklyn and distributed.

The staff of Northway Printers consists of members of the former Norwegian News Co, consisting of Norwegian-born and Americans of Norwegian descent. Ownership consists of NAs and Swedish-born Gunnar Bjorkman and American-born John Yauchstetter. NT's editors since Soyland (1940-1962) have all been Norwegian more so than NAs. Roedder (1963-1967) had been a NA, spending five decades of his life in the U. S., but he has since retired to Norway. Ragnar Busch (1967-1970) and the present editor, Sigurd Daasvand (1970-present), were brought from Norway to assume the editorship of NT. As editors they were and still remain involved in the NA community's activities and organizations. But changing conditions within the ethnic community has altered their roles. A shrinking population based in Brooklyn has changed the role of editor from community leader at a local level to community coordinator at a broader metropolitan level including contacts with Norwegians and NAs throughout the U. S. They have served as vital links, as NT has continued to do, between the NA organizations and the Norwegian private and public organizations established in the New York area prior to and especially following World War II, including the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, the Sons of Norway, the Norwegian Information Service, the Norwegian Seamen's Church, the

Norwegian Export Council, the Norwegian National Tourist Office, Norwegian and Scandinavian transportation companies, and most recently the Norwegian Immigration Sesquicentennial Commission, Inc. (The later organization sprang from activities surrounding the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Norwegian immigration to the U. S. in 1975.)

The NT's ability to adapt to changing circumstances has been more a matter of necessity than conscious plan. Since the company could not find qualified NA editors, it was forced to seek out Norwegian citizens. There is now some question at NT as to whether or not a replacement for Daasvand will be available when the present editor's scheduled return to Norway takes effect in 1980. Not only does NT receive Norwegian journalists as it has since the commencement of the post World War II journalist exchange, but it also receives its editors from Norway. The essential link to NAs and the NA community remains Editor Emeritus Soyland who remains, in 1978, a vital part of the paper's staff. The paper continues to stress its links to Norway as the "Travel Industrial Issue" excerpt above indicates. It continues to maintain a NA consciousness, for example, by reporting on NA community events including the May 17th Parade, the highlight of the NA annual calendar, and also keeps abreast of recent joint-Scandinavian efforts to sustain Scandinavian-American ethnicity (see Scanpresence Chapter). In addition, as NT has done since at least the 1920s, items pertaining to Norwegians visiting the U.S. or NA and Norwegian events in the U. S. are reported. As the density of NA activity declines, NT focuses more upon Norway. Nonetheless NT remains a major, possibly "the" major, communications link between Norway and NAs in the U.S. and among Norwegians, and NAs (including a declining Norwegian language group)

in the metropolitan area.

Thus it is accurate to state that NT has not only reflected the NA community as Roedder stated, but has helped create and maintain NA ethnicity in the metropolitan area. It has often been and is today the only NA weekly newspaper on the east coast of the U. S. It is in 1978 one of four NA weeklies in the U. S. ⁴⁸ If it survives thirteen more years it will be the first NA press to reach a century mark. Even if it does not, NA ethnicity may persist as new communications vehicles exist which could focus on broader NA national ethnicity. NT represents but one organization in a network that has been changing since NAs first began settling in large numbers in the New York area. Another of these organizations is the Norwegian Information Service.

Footnotes

1

The role of the Norwegian ethnic press in the U. S. has recently been given considerable attention by the historian Odd Lovoll, see e.g., "The Norwegian Press in North Dakota," Norwegian-American Studies (Vol. 24, 1970) pp. 78-101 and "Decorah-Posten: The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper," Norwegian-American Studies (Vol. 27, 1977) pp. 77-100. One function of the Decorah-Posten writes Lovoll: (It) "served as a clearinghouse for immigrant thought, giving opportunity for countrymen to find each other to refresh common memories, and to experience a sense of community" p. 95.

2

The term "assimilation" was used throughout The Immigrant Press and Its Control, but was never defined. It implicitly meant acceptance of American life and culture by the immigrant although these terms were never adequately defined either. Park's material covered the 1800-1920 period, with emphasis on 1880 to 1920; Park was apparently defending the non-Anglo European immigrant's ability to accept Anglo institutions and culture. Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control, Americanization Studies, Vol. 7, William S. Bernard, ed., republished edition (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1971, originally published, Harper and Brothers, 1922), see especially Chapter III, "The Immigrant Press and Assimilation," pp. 49-88.

3

Richard S. Schweiker, "Ethnic Studies: Toward a New Pluralism in America," in Pieces of a Dream, ed. by Michael Wenk, S. M. Tomasi, and Geno Baroni (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972), pp. 65-71.

4

Dann studied the role of the Black, English Language press in creating an identity among Black citizens of the U. S. Martin Dann, ed., The Black Press, 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity (New York: Putnam, 1971), see Introduction.

5

Janowitz specifically excluded the ethnic press, including the "Negro press," from his study since his focus was exclusively upon "community" presses in local, geographic spaces or communities. Janowitz stated: "The foreign-language paper becomes oriented to all the members of the ethnic minority who reside in the metropolis and eventually it assumes the character of a regional and a national ethnic paper. As its ecological base is altered, its content seems to shift from local news and gossip to national ethnic politics." Morris Janowitz, The Community Press (2nd ed.; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 22.

6

The account of Period I and a part of Period II is taken primarily from Karsten Roedder, Av en Utvandreravis' Saga (Brooklyn, New York: Norwegian News - Northway Printers, Inc., 1966) Vol. I, pp. 9-170. Since early issues of NT are not available in eastern U. S. , Roedder provides the only account of NT's first decades. However he devoted only 24 pages to the first two decades, whereas he presents the 1912-1929 period in 131 pages. Roedder apparently accented the position held by post-1912 editors that the early two decades were not important. Thus the early NT history still remains to be researched to clarify issues relevant to its goals, links to NA community and financial support.

7

The Seamen's Society formally began on April 6, 1889. It was incorporated in the State of New York as the Norwegian-American Seamen's Association. Its main goals pertained to "social, political and economic benefits, as well as the moral welfare of seafaring men" (NT 6/11/1936).

8

Nordisk Blade archives are not available in New York. Rygg (1941, 134) states that copies from January, 1901 to February 13, 1902 are at the NA Luther College in Decorah, Iowa.

9

May 17 is the date of the signing of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814 and is comparable to July 4 in the U. S.

10

For a discussion of the geographic divisions in Norway see Ronald G. Popperwell, Norway (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1964). For a discussion of the impact of geographic separation on social organization among the immigrants to the U. S. see Odd Sverre Lovoll, A Folk Epic: The 'Bygdelag' in America (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975).

11

Norway had been the subordinate partner in a Swedish-Norwegian union under Swedish kings from 1814 to 1905. During this period a heightened national romanticism, stemming from the enlightenment, extolled the virtues of the Norwegian peasant class and paved the way for total Norwegian independence in 1905.

12

Information obtained during the period of research at Nordisk Tidende's offices in Brooklyn, New York, 1977.

13

If Rygg succeeded in changing NT's format, it was in making it more "boring". Rygg was not a writer. Petersen, who preceded Rygg as editor, took NT to task for its dullness. Rygg replied in Nordisk Tidende set matters "straight." Some readers like to read personal

attacks, but only as long as they are not the objects of such tactics. NT has no intention of satisfying the reader who wants slander, Rygg wrote (Roedder, I, 55).

14

During the 1920s NT had correspondents and contributors in the state of Maine, and the cities of Boston, Baltimore, Detroit and north New Jersey such as Jersey City, Bayonne, Roselle Park, West Orange, Hoboken and in Bergen County, New Jersey. There were items about each place almost weekly in NT at this time.

15

Following World War I, the tempo of the paper slowed compared to the amount of information contained in the war time issues. 1919 was a quiet year, but financially it was "apparently good" deduced Roedder from a NT notice "To Our Readers," which indicated that the shortage of news material in recent NT issues was due to a shortage of paper and an usually strong demand from advertisers. The paper shortage made it impossible to increase the number of pages per issue. NT apologized to its readers for this situation and promised to correct it as soon as possible (Roedder, I, 76).

16

Jonassen attributed the differences between older NA immigrants (approximately pre-1900) and newer immigrants (post 1900) a central place in accounting for divisions within the NA community in Brooklyn. The new value system of later immigrants reflected a "New Norway," an industrialized, more secure nation by 1925 than it had been in the 19th century. New Norway values stressed social solidarity among Norwegians, an ethos which encouraged everyone, regardless of social position to enjoy life more. This was in start contrast to the earlier ethnic, spurred by mid-19th century religious revivals, which stressed rigorous asceticism still a hallmark of many NA churches. The New Norway stressed political and economic democracy. The notion of free enterprise, a standard of the U. S. Republican party, was viewed as a "...euphemism for selfish irresponsibility" (Jonassen, 1947, 1975-179). Skard also discussed the disillusionment among many in Norway with the United States' socio-economic system, particularly between World War I and the Depression (Skard, 146).

17

Norwegian ship owners represented one segment of the NA community. As entrepreneurs involved in world-wide shipping ventures, they often visited or even lived in New York. However they supported the NT and other NA organizations as will be discussed in later chapters. They comprised one element in the NA business circles, a small but powerful group in the NA community when it was in their interest to be. Shipowners were proponents of laissez-faire policies and remain so, to some extent today particularly concerning unrestricted

access to the world's oceans. In the 1920s ship owners and NA businesspersons shared common ground on these issues.

18

Shipowners did contribute substantially to the Seamen's Church and other seamen's organizations, but such contributions were probably less costly than labor strife.

19

During the political controversy which surrounded Rygg's Republican advocacy NT indicated, to the exactness of column inches, that both parties were given equal space to expound their views and positions.

20

The total subscription number was not published, a usual practice among ethnic newspapers, and characteristic of the NT.

21

In general, official Norwegian representatives looked down their noses at NAs. Skard makes the point that the elites of Norway seldom had use for the average Norwegian, not to mention the emigrant (Skard, p. 78). Earlier in 1925 a Norwegian writer was asked whether or not the Norwegian emigrant was destined to be a failure because of his roots in the soil of Norway as a farm laborer. The Norwegian concluded, "yes, unfortunately," this seemed to be the case. The NT carried this debate as well as rejoinders. The NT often found itself in the position of defending NAs against attacks by visiting Norwegians including writers, intellectuals and other middle and upper class individuals. These attacks were often printed in NT; apparently providing interesting dialogues and enabling the paper to carry out its role as defender of the NA. One Norwegian traveler attacked the NA church as being 50 years behind Norway and the NA press as "giving the people what they want." Reference was being made to the large amount of "small talk" about people, social activities and organizations which the Norwegian viewed as devoid of intellectual merit. Rygg countered the defamers as being "idealistic," as not understanding the NA. This was one example among many in which NT advocated for the position of its constituency--NAs.

22

Roedder further noted that the Norwegian visitors were impressed. "Everything had exceeded what had been expected. Deeply and greatly impressed." (Roedder, I, 122). This interest in Norway for NAs apparently came in part due to the number of Norwegian journalists sending reports back to Norway. NAs were praised in the Norwegian press and a new consciousness among those in Norway for their "emigrated brethern" was realized. The University of Oslo Library had an exhibition of NA literature. The head librarian announced that all types of printed material from the Norwegian America would be gratefully accepted. "Consider nothing meaningless, it can be extremely valuable material in the future, in the history of the emigrated Norway" (*Ibid.*, 123). Skard also noted the important role of historical research and creative writing as "(t)he most lasting contribution of the emigrant groups in

the interwar period...." (Skard, 152). Skard however noted the focus upon "homesickness of the emigrant" in the creative writing, reflecting upon the past more so than upon contemporary life. Yet this overlooks the development of a period of historical research ushered in in 1925 the year the Norwegian American Historical Association was created in Minnesota. Also, from our vantage point, it overlooks the impact of Norwegian and Scandinavian Departments in various U. S. colleges and universities, which have studied, and, in their own way, contributed to maintaining a focus upon the Norwegian and European homelands. Today the Scandinavian Study Departments are not necessarily comprised of ethnics, but their efforts represent another segment of ethnic life adaptation. Finally one cannot overlook the role of the American Scandinavian Foundation in maintaining contemporary ties to Norway and other Scandinavian nations.

23

The spelling of Leiv Eirikssen varies. It was not standardized here in order to maintain the spelling as used in sources cited.

24

As noted below, the 1905 dissolution of the Norwegian-Swedish union resulted in semi-official recognition of all emigrated Norwegians when the Nordmanns-Forbundet was created in 1907. Further NAs had been given recognition by Norwegians, particularly by the Consulate in New York, since the 1880s was noted above, but official Norway's recognition did not occur until 1925.

25

Rygg was also recognized in Norwegian and broader NA circles. In 1927 while Rygg was visiting Norway, Aftenposten wrote: "In spite of the intense Americanization process, which is the city's (New York) own, our countrymen on America's east coast have to a surprising degree continued to assert their Norwegianness-such that they have awakened interest among those visiting from Norway as well as others. One of the primary reasons for this condition is the work of 'Nordisk Tidende' in New York, now in its 37th year of operation. This paper's influence has been especially decisive since editor Rygg assumed its leadership in 1912. With sure hand and a distinctive sense for the essential in a foreign language paper's operation among emigrated countrymen, editor Rygg has built up a Norwegian newspaper enterprise which takes advantage of unqualified respect beyond its important readership circles.... When editor Rygg was asked to take over the position in 'Nordisk Tidende' there was reason to reorganize the paper's politics of Norwegianness. And that was done with a style and perserverance which contributed to the Nordisk Tidende's present position as a well edited, modern paper which the Norwegians in America are proud to refer to, when it is asked which position the Norwegian enterprise occupies in America today. Editor Rygg, in spite of his busy newspaper work, has found time to take part in a number of humanitarian ventures. Thus his work has ensured him his countrymen's respect and thanks" (Roedder, I, 139-140). In NA circles in the U. S., Julius E. Olsen (then professor of Scandinavian Literature and Languages, University of Wisconsin) wrote: "After many

vicissitudes, it (NT) finally came under the capable editorial management of A. N. Rygg, who made it the spokesman of the large Norwegian population of New York and Brooklyn, in close touch with the varied industrial and artistic activities of the seaboard (in Sundby-Hansen, 1921, 132).

26

Hans Olav was unlike previous NT leaders in that he seldom participated in the events of the NA community outside his role as editor. He lived in New Jersey removed from the paper's Brooklyn offices. Further Olav and Arnesen did not get along and for this reason Arnesen became editor in 1929 rather than appoint Olav. Olav however had been particularly valuable in revamping NT's style and format and was to a large extent responsible for its continued successes in the mid 1920s (Roedder, I, 103). Finally, at Soyland's urging, Olav was appointed editor, a position he held for a decade. Olav, undecided between an acting or literary career, traveled to the U. S. despite his acceptance into the Norwegian University. His interests were among those disparaged by Rygg and the old guard Norwegian. With Olav, NT was no longer only an old-fashioned ethnic paper reflecting values of 19th century immigrants, but reflected values stressing contemporary Norway.

27

Carl Soyland had been in Brooklyn prior to Olav, having lived among the unemployed Norwegian sailors in the shipping recession of 1920-21. Like Olav, Soyland was of the growing Norwegian middle class. He had been trained in business which his family was engaged in, but moved to Oslo. He served as a bank teller and continued to study music. He was active in the Norwegian Boy Scout movement as a writer for its magazine. He traveled to the U. S. eventually writing a book of his cross-country "tramping," Along the Road (Langs Landeveien), and returned from California, where he had edited a small NA newspaper, to take a position in the NT's book store. During his worldwide travels he submitted articles to NT which were very popular. Arnesen liked Soyland and hired him to work in the bookstore. Among Soyland's duties was the task of cataloguing the books and promoting Norwegian heritage, particularly among the growing numbers of second generation who were not in general active in non-church NA organizations. Like Olav, Soyland possessed values of the new Norway and was not sympathetic to the laissez faire philosophy held by older Norwegian immigrants.

28

Shortly after the creation of the Norwegian American Emergency Relief Committee its administration was assumed by the Norwegian Hospital and Deaconess Home's Welfare Office. Rygg, former NT owner and editor, was President of the Hospital. Lutheran religious leaders were also supporters of the relief effort which subsequently focused upon all Scandinavians and Lutherans in the area.

29

The operations of the Relief Committee were extensive and merits a study in its own right. It is in the Depression the roots of the emerging triple melting pot thesis may be found. Religious organizations were

becoming pan-ethnic as ethnic enclaves began to decline in size and disperse, especially among the older immigrant groups. The dispersion of the NAs began in the late 1930s but was halted by war. It resumed in the late 1940s when the triple melting pot idea emerged. Rather than a merging of ethnicity into religious organization however, each organizational form continued to develop although religious denominations were increasingly comprised of formerly independent ethnic churches.

30

The celebrations of events related to Norwegian national heroes constitutes another form of ethnic activity which dots the annual ethnic calendar. An event such as a centennial, of course, results in a major celebration.

31

Names are used only when they represent NA leadership and recur throughout the study. For example, Ole Windingstad not only led the United Norwegian Choral Society in the Bjornsen Festival, but was also on the working Committee as well as an underwriter of the event. As a professional, he was a leader of the community although at times he lived in areas outside the metropolitan area. He had been organist at the Norwegian Seamen's Church between 1907-1924, also directing the choir. He had led a combined United Scandinavian New York Singers on an Oslo, Norway tour in 1926, directed choirs at numerous NA events and in 1929 was awarded the St. Olav, Knight First Class, honor by the Norwegian government, which in itself resulted in a NA event. As a professional and NA community leader he was also familiar with those in broader Scandinavian circles, e.g. with the American Scandinavian Foundation, an organization created to develop good will between the U. S. and Scandinavia by educational and cultural programs (Friis, 16) but not in general supported by the average NA. Re Windingstad, cf., NT 7/15/26; 3/3/27; 3/31/27; 10/17/29; 11/10/32.

32

The presence of the American Scandinavian Foundation's President indicates how non-ethnic organizations, enhancing its own goals, can complement ethnicity. Briefly, ASF was not an immigrant organization and with the exception of some NA leaders, was not supported by the masses of NAs, in part because the notion of Scandinavian was opposed by NAs who viewed the 1905 independence of Norway as freedom from 500 years of domination in Scandinavian political unions and also the ASF was an upper class to middle class organization. These NA leadership linkages, however, coupled with changing conditions in the NA ethnic group--more income, more professional middle class persons-- in the U. S. and in Norway have combined to bring ASF and ethnic affairs into cooperative efforts by the 1970s. ASF is referred to in the Scandinavian presence chapter below.

33

The role of the Democratic party and socialist and communist movements is not well understood primarily because the major source employed here was the Nordisk Tidende. Arnesen and NT came under attack by Ny Dag (New Day), a socialist paper, but there are no archives of this source.

34

The Norwegian Labor Party (Det Norsk Arbeiderparti) was founded in 1887 and remained a minor party until it came to power in 1935 controlling Norwegian politics uninterruptedly to 1965 (Aschehoug, Vol. 14, 819-820). Such a development was seen by many NAs as "socialistic" and "communistic" and was decried. In 1928 Rygg and NT attacked the Norwegian Labor Party for its socialism and communism (Roedder I, 158).

35

Morgenstjerne had been an assistant to the Norwegian delegation presenting Norway's neutrality statement to the U. S. in World War I. He later was appointed Consul General in New York, a constant advocate of the value of ties to NAs and their organizations, although his arguments apparently had little influence in Norway. Nonetheless Morgenstjerne was a capable foreign diplomat and was appointed Minister of Norway to the U. S. and eventually Ambassador, when the Norwegian legation was elevated to Embassy status during World War II.

36

Newstand sales reached 5,200 copies by mid April, 1940. This represented less than one-half of the papers total circulation. (Based on NT figures for newstand sales in 1940). Thus it is estimated that by summer, 1941, total sales were approximately 20,000. During the same period a few NA papers were forced to close down because of circulation problems. These were located in the states of North Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin and Illinois (NT 5/8/41).

37

Both books were printed in Norwegian. The "Songbook" was planned to promote kinship with Norway. The Forward states: " (the Songbook) was begun in the spring of 1941, after ties with Norway were broken by the war.... During the war years the book was widely distributed among Norwegian sailors, Norwegian military forces and Norwegians in exile." It had four printings during the war. The songbook was to be a cultural treasure chest, where one can find many of youths' beloved songs and the power of poetry which ties one to the old fatherland."

38

The paper's 60th anniversary issue on 5/10/51 reviewed the NT's position during World War II accounting for the 1951 reference.

39

The \$1 million goal was a national one as Help Norway, by 1941, had become national in scope, encompassing NAs throughout the three main regions of settlement, east coast, mid-west, and west coast. By mid June a half million dollars had been received, of which the east had contributed \$158,380; New York-\$152,603.77; New Jersey (part)-\$2,368.50; Maryland-\$3,087.23; and Washington, D. C. \$320.50 (NT 6/12/41).

40

A. N. Rygg, the chronicler of the New York Norwegian-American community wrote the history of the Help Norway Committee, indicating the

extent to which the war united the entire Norwegian America with Norway. See A. N. Rygg, American Relief for Norway; En oversikt over Amerikas hjelpearbeid for Norge under og etter den annen verdenskrig (Brooklyn, N. Y.: Arnesen Press, 1947). The 320 page book is primarily in Norwegian despite the English main title; the subtitle is: A Review of American Support for Norway During and Following World War II.

41

The St. Olav's medal was founded in Norway in 1939 "in recognition of service broadening familiarity with Norway abroad and for promotion of relations and solidarity between the emigrated Norway and the homeland," Aschehough Konversasjons Leksikon, Vol. 16, p. 866. The Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olav was founded in 1847 given "as reward for outstanding service for the fatherland and humanity," Norges Statskalender: 1975, Thorleif Gundem, editor, (Oslo: Aschehoug and Co., 1975) p. 492.

42

NT had become a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) in the 1920s (Roedder, I, 213). The ABC organization kept counts of a paper's sales in order to inform potential advertisers of the papers circulation (NT 10/16/41). This membership was noted on NT's page one and/or on the editorial page of each issue. By 1954 NT no longer indicated its ABC membership. Soyland noted that the NT discontinued its ABC membership when its circulation dropped below 10,000.

43

Circulation figure is based on U. S. Postal Service "Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation," filed at Main Post Office, Brooklyn, N. Y., 9/23/77.

44

Such was the case for example with the Norwegian Lutheran Church founded by Norwegian immigrants in the U. S. The Lutheran Church has been called the major institution maintaining Norwegian identity in the U. S. But by the 1930s the use of the Norwegian language at services was beginning to dwindle. The Norwegian-Lutheran Church in America, seeking to attract a more diverse membership, wished to drop the descriptive "Norwegian" from its name. The issue had appeared in the 1930s and 1940s. During the war it was agreed within the NA community and within the church itself to keep the name until after the war to show solidarity with Norway. NT sided with those who argued that the church had been built by the Norwegian people on the basis of their Norwegian heritage. "The Dutch had a church (The Dutch Reformed Church), why not the Norwegians?", it was argued. A name change would result in a colorless name with the church losing its identity among other Lutheran Congregations in the U. S. (Roedder, II, 177-178). The name was changed. Soyland editorialized, "A Page Has Been Turned in the Saga of the Norwegian Immigrant" (NT 6/27/46).

45

It was not unusual for dates of celebrations to be changed in order to schedule events at more opportune times. Summer anniversaries, for example, were often moved to the fall because the summer was a very slack period for NA organizational life and such events would not be well attended in comparison with fall dates. A May celebration would offer greater possibility of participation and not be close to the Christmas holidays.

46

The reason for this recognition in the New York Times is not certain. Norway, breaking its historical position of neutrality joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with the U. S., et.al., in 1948-1949; Norway was also a major recipient of Marshall Fund Aid. Personal ties between NT and the New York Times existed in the person of Frank Elkins, a Times sports editor who often contributed to NT, visited Norway and in 1948 was awarded a St. Olav Medal by the Norwegian government (NT 3/11/48).

47

15,927 Norwegians (foreign born heads of family) resided in 10 Health Areas in southwest Brooklyn in 1940 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 16th Census of the U. S., 1940, Population and Housing, Statistics for Health Areas, Table 3). 13,347 Norwegians (Norwegian-born) resided in approximately the same area in 1950. The 15,927 multiplied by 2 (for spouse) equals almost 32,000 Norwegian-born for the 10 Health Areas in 1940. Double this figure to include 2nd and 3rd generation and the total is approximately 60,000. 1950 data, doubled, totals about 30,000 NAs (Norwegian and American born of Norwegian descent). The study stated that there are more second and third generation than Norwegian born. Based on these calculations the decrease between 1940 and 1950 in the Bay Ridge and Sunset Park sections of Brooklyn is approximately 50%. The Community Council of Greater New York. Brooklyn Communities; Characteristics and Neighborhood Social Resources, Vol. II, 1959.

48

The NA press is regional in nature in 1978. The NT is the sole east coast weekly. Western Viking, serving the west coast, is printed in Seattle, Washington. Vinland, according to its motto serves "Scandinavians" in the Midwest, and is printed in Evanston, Illinois. Minnesota Posten, the smallest of the four, is printed in Minneapolis Minnesota. NT receives these papers weekly, in addition to numerous Norwegian newspapers.

CHAPTER 5

NORWEGIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

The Norwegian Information Service is an arm of the Norwegian State Department from which it receives its annual budget. Its immediate supervision in the U. S. comes from the Norwegian Embassy in Washington, D. C. (NT 7/4/46). It is not therefore a NA organization. Its primary function is to disseminate news and information about Norway through publications, news releases, newsletters, exhibitions, music, films, slides¹ and photographs. Although it is not an ethnic organization and catering to NAs is not one of its stated purposes, its programs and products are² utilized by NA ethnic organizations. The Information Service is, it is suggested here, a link in the entire Norwegian-NA network which supports ethnic awareness within the NA community. The history of the Information Service's development indicates the links between it and the local NA ethnic community.

Prior to World War I, the Nordisk Tidende was one of the few sources of information pertaining to Norway (NT 3/23/61). When the American press accused neutral Norway of providing supplies to Germany during World War I, it was the Nordisk Tidende which defended Norway's position (Roedder, I, 60-62). After World War I Norwegian officials and businessmen expected the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce to include a Norwegian bureau of information or press bureau in its apparatus (NT 3/11/26). However information provided by the Chamber was primarily business related.

The need for a separate information bureau was apparently not considered essential by the Norwegian Parliament despite claims to the

contrary by the Norwegian Minister to the U. S., Morgenstierne, and Nordisk Tidende (NT 4/30/31). However the visit of Norway's Crown Prince couple to the New York World's Fair in 1939 laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Norwegian Information Service.

The editor of Nordisk Tidende, Hans Olav, was selected by Minister Morgenstierne to serve as the American press attache during the couple's visit. It was also at this time that it became more apparent that there would be war in Europe. Norway, not wishing to repeat its World War I experience of bad American press, established the Royal Norwegian Information Service in Washington, D. C. in early 1940.

Minister Morgenstierne selected Hans Olav, the Nordisk Tidende editor, to direct the information office. Olav was selected because of his American editorial experience and because he had "hundreds of acquired connections throughout the (U.S.)". Olav was said to be a "contact man par excellence." (NT 7/4/48).

The Norwegian Information Service created a New York office later in 1940 with a staff of approximately twelve persons. The purpose of the office was to use American and NA media to present the Norwegian government-in-exile's position. Compared to World War I, Norway was viewed favorably by the American government as a quote from President Franklin D. Roosevelt indicates:

If there is anyone who still wonders why this war is being fought, let him look to Norway. If there is anyone who believes that this war could have been avoided, let him look to Norway. And if there is anyone who doubts in the democratic will to win, then I repeat again: let him look to Norway (Roedder, II, 103).

A number of factors were responsible for the favorable attitude toward Norway in the U. S. The Labor Party in power in Norway in 1940, before Norway was occupied by the Nazis, viewed Roosevelt's domestic policies with favor. The Crown Prince couple visited Roosevelt in 1939. And Norway, forced out of neutrality by the Nazi occupation in 1940, became an ally of the U. S. The Norwegian merchant marine, for the most part, remained loyal to the government-in-exile which used it, in cooperation with the shipowners, as a shipper for the Allies. The merchant marine was equivalent to a fighting force. Further NAs, like most ethnic groups in the U. S., were organized into ethnic war bond drives. The Norwegian Information Service utilized these facts, in addition to information received from numerous Norwegian government officials who travelled to New York from London, to present an effective information campaign for Norway.

The Information Service utilized the NA ethnic press and especially New York's Nordisk Tidende as one means of disseminating pro-Norway propaganda.³ As Thorolv Kandahl, Director of the Information Service during most of World War II, recalled in the 75th anniversary issue of Nordisk Tidende, 10/6/66:

It was the Information Service's duty to obtain news material from the occupied Norway for 'Nordisk Tidende,' and the paper became the permanent, living and active connecting link between the homeland (Norway) and our countrymen and their offspring in Greater New York. We owe a great and priceless debt of gratitude to the paper for its contributions in this period.....We would have been in a bad way without this symbol of unity (Roedder, II, 342).

The NA people, through the activities of the Norwegian Information Service and the Nordisk Tidende were made increasingly conscious of their identification with Norway.

The Information Service's Director Kandahl, had also been active in the Brooklyn NA community during the war. For example, he was a featured speaker, along with the former American Ambassador to Norway, Mrs. Borden Harriman, at a Brooklyn Academy of Music May 17, 1942 celebration. The program arranged by the Sons of Norway stressed the theme of Norwegian heritage (Roedder, II, 84).

The Information Service also organized a program held at Manhattan's Carnegie Hall, featuring the works of the Norwegian composer, Grieg. Kandahl referred to it as "propaganda for Norwegian culture...."(NT 6/17/43). The program was intended to appeal to NAs and the broader American society since its supporters included NA, Norwegian government and American organizations (NT 6/10/43).

Kandahl was among the speakers at a program in the NA area of Brooklyn in 1944. This event, arranged by Soyland's Intime Forum (Intimate Forum) discussion group and a local Sons of Norway lodge, focused upon post war U. S.-Norway relations. It had become apparent by this time that the Allies would be victorious in Europe. Kandahl discussed his views of future cultural and commercial relationships between the two nations. These relations, Kandahl noted:

will strengthen Norway's economic interests and our good name and reputation, to the advantage and joy of us (in Norway) and you of Norwegian descent on this side of the ocean (Roedder, II, 128).

The multiple functions of the Information Service, including its links to the Norwegian government-in-exile, the American and NA media, and the local NA community were not only a source of favorable propaganda for Norway, but also served to develop a network of Norwegian and NA relationships. This network, in addition to realizing the goal of publicizing Norway, provided a basis for the persistence of the metropolitan NA community.

By the end of World War II the Norwegian Information Service's operations had been established. The role of the post-war Information Service was to keep America "advised that Norway exists" (NT 7/4/46). Its function was to spread news and information about Norway. A post-war reorganization resulted in the New York office assuming the distribution of culturally related information, while the Washington office reported political news (NT 3/7/46).

The Information Service continued to remain a part of the Norwegian presence in New York although its budget was said to be "scanty" and its staff was decreased from twelve to "six or seven persons", four of whom were full time (NT 7/4/46). The Information Service, however, continued its relations with the NA press and community (Roedder, II, 337). The Service's staff continued to participate in NA organizational activities. Jonassen (1947, 503) cites an Information Service employee speaking at the May 17, 1946 celebrations of the NA Farmer's Youth Organization in Lake Telemark, N. J. The speaker, introduced by Nordisk Tidende's editor, emphasized Norway's gratitude for NA aid during the war.

The Information Service's operations were not, as noted, directed at NAs. Nonetheless the Norwegian paper solicited the aid of the Information Service's staff, for example, as speakers such as noted above.

The New York office of the Information Services now began to develop its cultural materials for distribution. Arnulf Olsen a radio electrician who had supplied Nordisk Tidende with news from Norway since the 1920s, set up his radio equipment at the Information Service's Rockefeller Center offices. The Service's news bulletins, printed in English and Norwegian, were sent to NA and American magazines and papers as well as to an increasing number of Norwegian exchange students and to Norwegian seamen.

Radio programs were also recorded by the Information Services staff and sent to American radio stations (NT 3/23/61). A New York program, over radio station WNYC, was called the "Spirit of the Vikings," It included, for example, programs in both languages, of Norwegian music, news and discussion, including news of interest to NAs in the New York area (NT 4/28/49). Among the performers on the program was editor Soyland, also a pianist, who often accompanied NA singers. Nordisk Tidende's publisher and owner, Arnesen, was among the speakers (NT 5/13/54). The program included tourist information, which was also one of the Information Service's functions at this time because the Norwegian government had not yet reestablished its own New York tourist office (NT 7/4/46).
4
The 'Spirit of the Vikings' radio program continued into the 1960s, supported by NA and American companies appealing to NA customers in the New York area.

Thus the Information Service and the local NA community, particularly the Nordisk Tidende cooperated in areas where their goals overlapped. It is possible that spreading news of and from Norway served to heighten the awareness of Norway among NAs in the metropolitan area. The radio program was one which appealed to NAs perhaps more than others although it can only

be conjectured as to its success based on its length of operation. The radio program's originator and staff member of the Information Service's radio division, Gladys Petch, was awarded the Norwegian Freedom Cross by the Norwegian Consul General of New York for her work advertising Norway, especially during the war (NT 9/9/48).

Part of the Information Service's purposes expanded to include the introduction of Norwegian composers to America. This work was undertaken by the Information Service's Director, Jon Embretsen, who was also active in the NA community, particularly in the New York Nordmanns Forbundet Chapter. In 1953 when the first Grieg music festivals were arranged in Bergen, Norway, Embretsen traveled to Norway to participate. On his return he presented a program of this music, to a full house, primarily NAs, at the Norwegian Seamen's Church (NT 10/1/53). Thus it is certain that the Information Service and the NA community cooperated to add to the Norwegian presence and persistence in the New York metropolitan area.

The Information Service and NA community leaders also cooperated to present programs at New York's symphony halls both during and after the war for example, NT 6/10/43; 3/1/51; 3/11/54 .

A Nordisk Tidende editorial publicized the Norwegian Information Service as a good way for NAs to keep abreast of developments in Norway (NT 3/23/61).

The Information Service remains a part of the NA network in 1978. It supports the maintenance of a Norwegian ethnic identity through support of NA functions and activities such as the May 17 Parade in Brooklyn. In addition NA clubs such as the Sons of Norway, the Nordmanns Forbundet, ski clubs and churches utilize the Service's films, speaker service, and art,

photo and arts and crafts exhibitions (Interview, 7/5/77). In addition the Information Service participated in "special assignments" such as the NA sesquicentennial celebrations in New York in 1975, and the "Operation Sail" activities in 1976 in which a Norwegian training ship participated in the U. S. Bi-Centennial exposition in New York harbor.

The Norwegian Information Service has been situated in Manhattan since 1941 and was and is an integral part of the NA organization set, although it is a semi-official arm of the Norwegian government, responsible to the Embassy in Washington, D. C. When created Morgenstierne's network of relations with NA leaders resulted in Nordisk Tidende's editor becoming first Director of the Information Service. Not only did NA personnel exchange occur but also information flowed between the newspaper and service. Together, the two organizations enabled Norwegian identity to persist.

A further indication of the network is the number of joint programs in which the NA community and the Information Service participated. Thus the Information Service is an active component of the NA organization set.

Footnotes

1

"Norway: The Little Country That Works" information brochure, not dated, available from the Norwegian Information Service, 825 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022.

2

In addition to World War II and Norway's subsequent membership in the NATO alliance, it was stated that "there is the special cultural tie that Norwegian governments have felt with Norwegian-Americans, and the institution they have built here" (Ny Verd, No. 2, 1978).

3

The history of the Norwegian people and their relation to the Nazi occupiers is still being examined and written. It was from Norway that the word "quisling," meaning traitor, was coined. Vidkun Quisling was a member of the Norwegian government who became the Prime Minister of the occupied Norway. The number of quislings in Norway has never been determined. Roedder noted that the Nordisk Tidende, as most NA ethnic organizations, staunchly supported the government-in-exile in London and was considered to be a voice of the Norwegian government in London (Roedder, II, 133).

4

The "Spirit of the Vikings" produced by the Norwegian Information Service in English was not the only Norwegian radio program in the New York area, but it was the only one produced by the Norwegian Government. When the program began in 1940 it was led by Gladys Petch and included as guests Norway's Crown Prince Olav, Norway's Ambassador to the U.S., Morgenstjerne, and other Norwegian government representatives who travelled to the U. S. from London during World War II (NT 8/17/44). Nordisk Tidende initiated a Norwegian language NA radio program in 1932 (NT 9/1/32), but it broadcast only to 1933. The program was resumed for several years in 1936 (NT 4/9/36). Religious programs in Norwegian were broadcast in the 1930s (NT 5/9/33) and continue in 1978. The Norwegian language "Scandinavian Echoes" began in 1937, as one of several Scandinavian language programs. It celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1977. It is a weekly, 45 minute program ("Scandinavian American Bulletin," Vol. 22, # 11, p. 10).

CHAPTER 6

NORWEGIAN AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce (the Chamber) is not an ethnic organization per se. In outward appearance it is difficult to make the connection between a business organization and the phenomenon of ethnic persistence. This neglect is obvious in sociological literature as few researchers have considered the role of the business community beyond the confines of the ethnic enclave. Yet by extension, one must ask how "ethnic" products and/or services reach the ethnic enclave or market. Within the NA community, so closely related to shipping and therefore to industry and trade, it became apparent that NAs themselves were active users and promoters of Norwegian products. It will be recalled that one hypothesis of this study was that business organizations have played an instrumental role in maintaining ethnicity and even, in part, in changing the substance of ethnicity. Business is involved in the larger NA community network. In this respect and in the activities of the Chamber and its members, business organizations assist in the persistence of ethnic awareness.

The Chamber is a corporation comprised of Norwegian and American-based (including NA) business organizations, including agencies, brokerages, distribution companies, export and import firms, manufacturing plants, and wholesale companies, and individuals, for example, architects, attorneys and engineers. Its objectives include fostering "trade, business, financial or professional interests of those having common trade, business or professional interests" It seeks to implement these interests by acting as a watchdog on government legislation or

practices detrimental to its aims. It seeks to promote "an enlarged and friendly intercourse between businessmen." Its activities are concerned primarily with commerce between Norway and the United States¹ of America.

It is supported by its membership, which pays dues. In 1975 the organization had 893 members: 483 located in Norway and 410 in the United States, 126 of the 410 were located in the metropolitan area.²

The Chamber came into existence in June 1915. World War I had increased U. S.-Norway commerce at the time (Roedder, I, 55), and changes in Norwegian foreign policy in 1912-1913 resulted in direct attempts to capture the American market, thus paving the way for the Chamber's realization (Ibid., 48).

The Nordisk Tidende had advocated for the Chamber's creation as early as 1913 (Rygg, 180). NA businessmen and Norway's Consul General in New York, Christopher Ravn, also cooperated with interested parties in Norway to bring about the Chamber.

The Chamber began operations in October, 1915 with its offices in lower Manhattan in the same building where the Norwegian Consul General's office was located. Consul General Ravn became a member of the Chamber's first board of directors. Norway's Minister to the U. S. in Washington, D. C. became the first honorary president of the Chamber. The Chamber was located in the midst of a number of Norwegian firms (both Norway-based and NA) in lower Manhattan during World War I. These firms included security brokerages, banks, shipping offices, purchasing agencies and insurance companies.

Although Rygg considered the Chamber to be of strategic importance to the NA community (Rygg, 193) the Chamber ceased operations after World

War I. The Chamber's collapse in the early 1920s occurred during a period of economic expansion in the U. S., but in a time of post war recession in Norway. The Chamber was revived in 1932, a time of relative economic progress in Norway but economic depression in the U. S. With the exception of the World War II years the Chamber has functioned from 1932 to the present.

Resumption discussions began in early 1926 when the Oslo Chamber of Commerce wrote to a Chamber's New York representative. The Chamber's board, which had not closed the organization's financial accounts, met in March, 1926 to discuss the stated interest within Norwegian business circles to resume the organization. The reply of the American directors stated that it was

the unanimous opinion...that the future of the Chamber will primarily depend upon the degree of interest displayed by business firms and associations in Norway...

As to the means necessary to carry on the work of the Chamber, it is the opinion of the Directors that a guaranteed yearly subsidy of \$6,000 from the Norwegian Government will be required as well as pledges from at least 250 firms or organizations in Norway to become and remain members for five years or longer (NT 3/11/26).

The letter further stated that annual dues were to be \$15 for Norwegian Companies. American firms were to pay \$25 annually. The letter continued:

...it may be said that past experience has shown that American firms are apt to look upon their membership in the Chamber more as expressing a friendly interest in Norwegian affairs in general than as a member of promoting their own business interests (Ibid.).

The Chamber's resumption was still in doubt by early 1931. Rygg, referring to a discussion with the Chamber's acting Treasurer, Morris Gintzler, noted that the Chamber's account had grown to \$6,000 from \$4,000 at the time of the 1926 letter from Oslo. But the terms had not changed according to Gintzler:

...without considerable support from Norway, which is the most interested party, there will be no attempt to blow wind into the sails of the Chamber from this side at least not in the near future (NT 1/1/31).

The Chamber's reactivation began receiving support from Norwegians and NAs. An Oslo based trade newspaper, "Shipping and Trade Times" (Norges Handels og Sjøfartstidende) stated that Norway has a great interest in the New York metropolis particularly because of the important role of Norwegian shipping in the New York harbor. It did suggest caution with regard to the U. S. policies of isolation stemming from U. S. import tariffs (NT 4/6/31).

In New York the new Norwegian Consul General, Wilhelm Morgenstierne, foresaw the potential in the American market. The Chamber would be a "tremendous way to advance Norwegian interests." A Nordisk Tidende editorial also supported a revived Chamber (NT 4/30/31).

Morgenstierne took the initiative and called a meeting in the Norwegian Club, a NA social club whose membership consisted of NAs and Norwegians, in April, 1931. Norwegian delegates attending an International Congress in Washington, D. C. participated. Norwegian consuls in the U. S., the Norwegian Stock Exchange Commissioner, a Director from the Bank of Norway, and several Norwegian industrial magnates took part in the meeting. Former Chamber members from the U. S. attended to represent American firms. A committee was set up to study the issue

further and both sides "warmly endorsed" the Chamber's reactivation.

The committee to investigate the Chamber's reorganization was led by Arne Kildal, Secretary General of the Nordmanns-Forbundet, an organization which sought to unite Norwegians and those of Norwegian descent throughout the world, and also former Norwegian Press Attache in New York. Kildal had links to the Nordisk Tidende and the NA community in both positions. Kildal and the Committee apparently had success. A Nordisk Tidende article stated that the Chamber was to resume soon (NT 10/20/1932). The following week a page one headline stated that "The Chamber of Commerce will be Very Businesslike" and not merely a one-sided information office (NT 10/27/32).

Norwegian support of the Chamber began in 1933 when the Norwegian Parliament approved a State Department budget: "To the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce in New York a contribution in Norwegian crowns to the equivalent of \$3,000.... " (NT 1/24/33).

NAs had not received the \$6,000 and pledges from 250 Norwegian firms to be members of the Chamber as requested. Nonetheless sufficient support had been received to ignite what was more than just "friendly interest" on the part of NA firms. The Chamber was reactivated, led by men who were to be in the forefront of NA business and organizational life for the next thirty years. They included Rolf G. Westad, active in the Norwegian Seamen's Church and the Norwegian Club (NT 1/31/35; "Sjomannskirken in Brooklyn, N. Y., 1878-1953," 30); Olaf N. Hertzwig, a food wholesaler, one of five directors on the Steering Committee of the Norwegian American Relief Committee during the Depression (11/27/30); A. N. Rygg, President of Norwegian Hospital and the President of the Norwegian American Relief Committee (NT 6/10/32; 4/18/33); and Borge

Westergaard, food importer, and Steering Committee member of Norwegian American Relief Committee and later active in the Norwegian Children's Home (NT 4/18/44 and the Norwegian Children's Home: 1909-1949, 36, 38, 40 and 41)

These and other Chamber firms were consistent advertisers in the Nordisk Tidende and they supported NA events and charities. They were not members of social clubs within the NA enclave, but they served as underwriters of special events originated within the NA community that served to maintain an ethnic awareness among the NA masses. They were among the NA elite in the metropolitan area.

It was the Chamber which played the vital role in coordinating the arrangements for Norway's World's Fair Pavillion. The January, 1939 annual meeting of the Chamber was devoted to the World's Fair. The Pavillion was to feature a restaurant and Norwegian food products. The idea of a restaurant however was not supported by the Norwegian government and a snack bar was substituted in spite of protests by the Chamber's import firms, which maintained that a restaurant would perform "an important work in familiarizing Americans with Norwegian products" (NT 1/12/39).³

The leaders of the Chamber in coordinating Norway's participation in the New York World's Fair served to publicize Norwegian products and to enliven an interest in Norway among Americans and especially NAs.

The Chamber's U.S. members, leading NA businessmen, were among the NA community's most consistently active leaders between 1932 and 1940. This was the case when NAs were organized to cope with crises, for example, the opening of Norway's Pavillion and a visit by Norway's Crown Prince couple in 1939. Chamber members continued their leader-

ship during World War II.

The normal activities of the Chamber were suspended with the Nazi⁴ occupation of Norway in April, 1940 suspending trade between the U. S. and Norway. During the war Chamber members became active leaders of the NA effort to aid Norway. Johannes Westergaard was elected Chairperson of the New York metropolitan Help Norway Committee from 150 persons from the metropolitan area who attended the meeting to form the organization. In all, four of the 16 members on the Hlep Norway Steering Committee elected were active Chambers (NT 4/25/40) suggesting the power and leadership of the Chamber in the metropolitan NA community.

Within weeks a nationwide Help Norway Committee in the U. S. had been organized. Here again Westergaard was elected as Acting Chairman of a nine man committee. The mobilization of an ethnic group for the support of its homeland had commenced with a Chamber member in its lead (NT 5/2/40).

The Chamber resumed its activities in 1944 prior to the end of the war in Norway in anticipation of an allied victory in Europe. Part of the decision to commence was in awareness of the demands that would be made upon its American members by Norway for supplies and products of every kind as soon as Norway was "free). The optimism expressed here was also apparent at the dinner celebrating this event. "Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce in New York Resumes Work After War Pause" stated the headline in Nordisk Tidende (NT 2/24/44). Crown Prince Olav, who spent a considerable part of the war in the U.S., was the honored guest at a Waldorf Astoria dinner, 2/16/44. In a speech to 270 persons including American, Norwegian and NA Businesspersons, Norway's Crown Prince promised that the Norwegian economy would recover if given a

fair chance. This speech was made with the assumption that the Nazis would be defeated. Norway was still occupied at the time.

The dinner also marked the announcement of an aggressive Chamber in world business. It was said to be emerging from "hibernation." The Chamber was to be an important trade link between the two nations. One of its main tasks stated toastmaster Asche, President of the Chamber, was to establish normal business relations and to restore free international trade. Olav noted that it would take time. The Nazis were still in Norway and he anticipated that considerable rebuilding would be necessary after the war. Olav concluded his speech with a wish that the Chamber would be a link between the two nations (NT 2/24/44).

Speeches made by the Crown Prince Olav as well as by Norway's Ambassador Morgenstierne revealed a marked change in the Norwegian government's attitudes toward both the U. S. and NAs. Increased trade relations which had begun in the 1930s were propelled by the war resulting in U. S. -Norway ties that had not previously existed. While it is almost certain that such economic relations would have developed between the two nations without the presence of a metropolitan area NA community, the change in Norway's position did involve the Chamber which was a joint Norwegian-NA organization. Thus while business supported cultural and charitable activities which promote ethnic awareness, the ethnic community itself provided a basis upon which business was built.

The new links with Norway which resulted from World War II were reflected in the Chamber's expanding goals and activities, its relationship to the metropolitan NA community and its important role in the NA

community's ability to maintain ethnic awareness and to persist, as elaborated below.

After World War II the Chamber received indirect financial support through a newly created Branch of the Norwegian government, the Norwegian Export Council.⁵ Together, their staffs overlapping and in a shared New York office, the two organizations successfully expanded trade and commerce between the two nations. The Chamber developed from a 300 member organization in the late 1930s (NT 1/13/39) to an 880 member organization by 1948 (NT 3/11/48). Within three years it had grown to an 1,100 member organization⁶ (NT 10/4/51). By 1975 it had declined to 893 members.

Through the Norwegian government's appropriation to its Export Council which integrated its operations with the Chamber's, the links between the Norwegian government and a NA agency were strengthened. Norway's links to the broader NA community are evidenced in the Chamber's activities.

The Chamber's activities in addition to its day to day operations, included luncheons and dinners. For the most part they were not of direct concern to the NA community because the average NA did not participate. However the events were considered by Nordisk Tidende to be a part of NA community affairs because they were published, often in considerable detail, even to the point of listing the names of those present.

One such event was a dinner honoring Wilhelm Morgenstierne who became Norway's first Ambassador to the U. S. during the war when the

Norwegian legation in Washington, D. C. was elevated to the status of Embassy. Nordisk Tidende called it "...an elegant tribute to Ambassador and Mrs. Morgenstierne" (NT 3/21/46). The guest list of 321 persons included diplomats, academicians and businesspersons.

The dinner was not, in general attended by persons from the broader metropolitan NA community. Those attending represented leaders of NA organizations and were liaison persons to the Chamber.⁷ The organizations represented included the Norwegian Hospital, the Sons of Norway, the Scandinavian American Business Association, the Norwegian Children's Home, Nordisk Tidende, the Norwegian Seamen's Church, the Norwegian Engineer's Society and Norwegian and Scandinavian sailors' organizations.

Persons active in Chamber affairs did not generally move in the same social circles as the people in the wider NA community. Nonetheless NA community leaders who were liaisons to the Chamber were the links between business interests and the local charitable, religious and social activities of the community which sustain ethnic awareness.

The 1950 decade resulted in increased trade between Norway and the United States. This had several effects upon the Norwegian presence in New York. It increased the number of Norwegians traveling to and living in the U. S. on assignment. The Chamber continued to grow and by 1953 had 1,300 members, a new high (NT 4/30/53). The Chamber's 40th anniversary, celebrated in 1955 despite years of inactivity in the 1920s and during World War II, was a time of increased cooperation, not only between it and Norway, but also between it and the broader NA community (NT 9/22/55).

The importance of the trade links were cited at the Chamber's 40th anniversary celebration in a Carl Soyland editorial. The Chamber was described as operating "with more energy than ever in its history." Soyland, who was concerned with history, recounted the Chamber's development. He noted the lack of understanding and support from Norway in the years prior to World War I. After periods of ups and downs, the Norwegian government in exile in London during World War II sent a representative to America to plan for the future. The Chamber was to have "important duties" in the post war years according to the Norwegian government spokesman. Since then the Chamber had had its most active years. With its experience and contacts, the Chamber contributed to the fruitful work of developing trade relations. Soyland concluded the editorial:

Viewed culturally, certainly trade in itself is culture, the Chamber has had a large influence. Its story tells of a sector of the emigrated Norway, which in its own way has consciously sought to preserve "Norwegianness" in America. Many of the members have attained leading positions in American industry and business. The Norwegians and their descendants who are today members of the Chamber preserved the contact with the homeland with a practical, realistic sense of the needs which the American economic structure provided to those who found themselves a place in the hard-boiled business milieu (NT 9/29/55).

"Norwegian American Commerce," the Chamber's journal, published a 112 page anniversary issue under the editorship of Bent Vanberg (who became very active in the NA community, eventually buying shares in the Nordisk Tidende). The issue noted the Chamber's role in advancing cooperation between the U. S. and Norway in industry and in other areas.

Likewise the Chamber had had increasing memberships in both Norway and the United States, in part due to its cooperation with the Norwegian Export Council.

The Export Council was not directly linked to the NA community, but it contributed to a Norwegian presence in the New York area. Its activities were printed in Nordisk Tidende. Its employees represented some of the Norwegians coming to the U. S. although they were not immigrants and they did not as a rule live in the Colony area. Nonetheless the connection with the Chamber tied the Export Council into a total network of support for continued Norwegian and ethnic presence in the New York area.

Leaders of the Export Council and the Chamber participated in the programs of NA community organizations. For example, the newly created New York Chapter of the Nordmanns-Forbundet, a cultural organization with Nordisk Tidende's editor Soyland among its leaders, held programs involving Chamber and Export Council leaders. These activities then became part of the newspaper's content informing its readership of the activities of these organizations (NT 3/17/52; 4/24/52). Another example involved the Director of the Export Council, also a Trade Adviser of the Norwegian government who spoke at a Leif Ericson festival of the Sons of Norway (NT 10/8/53). These appearances by Export Council and Chamber members served to link the business organization with the broader NA community.

A second effect of the increased trade and Chamber and Export Council cooperation resulted in establishing a Norway House in New York. In addition to two wars, Norway House represented a third important

event in developing U. S. Norway trade relations, one which the Chamber had much more control over. Editor Soyland saw this as an important step in getting the official offices of Norway under one roof with the Chamber (NT 9/29/55), which it succeeded in doing. Norway House represented a new height of cooperation between NAs and Norway. It was located in mid-Manhattan and designated as a piece of Norway in the U.S. Building centers of Norwegianness in the U. S. was a goal of many NA organizations, but one reached by few. Nordisk Tidende had encouraged the building of a meeting place for NAs since the paper came into existence. Most of the plans came to an end during the Depression. Thus in 1948 when "Norwegian American Commerce," the journal of the Chamber, reported that Finland was building a "Finland House" in mid-Manhattan, Editor Soyland wrote an editorial strongly supporting a Norway House. A Norway House would centralize the mid-Manhattan Norwegian and NA offices. These included not only business firms but also the Norwegian Information Service and the Norwegian National Tourist Office (NT 7/8/48).

Norway House was realized in 1951. It was built to order on Madison Avenue at 40th Street, but was rented and not owned by the organization created to operate the building, Norway Center, Inc., Norway Center was a joint venture of the Chamber and the Export Council. Shares for the building were sold both in Norway and the U. S. The newly created Norway Center's Board was composed of 20 persons including the Chamber's S. A. Haram as President and Nordisk Tidende's publisher, Sigurd J. Arnesen, who had been active on the Chamber's Board since the late 1930s (NT 1/14/37; 1/12/39). Other Norway Center Board members

included 8 NAs active in the Chamber, for example, the directors of the Norwegian-America shipping line, Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS) and Bennett's Travel Bureau. Norwegians rounded out Norway Center's Board including the Ambassador to the U. S., Morgenstierne, the New York Consul General, the Director of the National Tourist Office and "Aftenposten's," an Oslo daily newspaper, representative in New York (NT 11/22/51). The Board indicates the links between the wider NA community, the Chamber and Norway.

Editor Soyland had envisioned Norway House as a cultural center, a meeting place for visiting Norwegians and NAs. But a restaurant planned for the building did not materialize. It became just "an office building" which had little appeal to the average NA. Soyland had attempted to have NA clubs meet there, but soon gave up these efforts. Whether or not Norway House might have become a central meeting place became a moot point. S.A. Haram, one of the driving forces behind the Norway House, became involved in creating a Sons of Norway Center which opened in 1955 in the heart of the NA community in Brooklyn.

Norway House proved to be a success as a business venture. The initial ten year contract was expanded to 15 at the Chamber's annual meeting (NT 3/5/53). It was renewed for another five years, but in 1971 the building was purchased by an American firm. The organizations scattered throughout mid-Manhattan. Changes in shipping technology and the decline of the Port of New York were among the reasons for reduced support for the venture, although the Chamber itself was strong.

The ties between the Chamber and the Nordisk Tidende continued to be important in the 1960s and in the 1970s. It was Chamber members who continued to support the paper and NA community events when the

support of the declining NA population began to slacken. Thus the 1950s were an important period because of the strengthening of the Chamber through increased trade links between Norway and the U. S. This trade strengthened the NA business community and, as a structural support of the NA community, NA ethnic persistence in the metropolitan area.

The Chamber's Norwegian, NA, and American members continue to support the NA community's institutions, organizations, events, and the Nordisk Tidende. S. A. Haram, who became Chairman of the Chamber's Board in 1955 and became its fifth President in 1959, provided a major link between the Chamber and the NA community (NT 9/22/55; 3/12/59). He became active on the May 17 Parade Committee in 1953, one year after its creation, and remained active into the 1960s serving as its Treasurer between 1957 and 1960. As discussed below, the May 17 Parade is the major NA community-wide activity in the 1970s. Furthermore, Chamber members continue to support the Nordisk Tidende and the May 17 Parade Journal through ads. These two enterprises are among the most important elements in the metropolitan NA community which support Norwegian ethnic identity in 1978. Both Nordisk Tidende and the May 17 Parade are in turn partly supported by the Chamber's business firms.

Editor Soyland wrote in 1955 that the Chamber "in its own way has consciously sought to preserve 'Norwegianness' in America" (NT 9/29/55). The Chamber has facilitated ethnic persistence in two major ways (1) by keeping in touch with contemporary Norway and (2) by comprising one element, an important one, in the NA metropolitan ethnic community.

The concept of a Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce implies ties to Norway. Throughout the Chamber's history, beginning with

links to the Norwegian Consulate, the NA members of the Chamber have interacted with and have been supported by Norwegian institutions, governmental (e.g. Bank of Norway), stock exchange and private firms as well as cultural (e.g. Nordmanns-Forbundet).

In the metropolitan area the Chamber's NA companies have been linked with the Nordisk Tidende, charitable and social organizations.

Thus the Chamber's organization-set includes both NA and Norwegian as well as American (other than NA) organizations. Its member's role-sets indicate the Chamber's leadership in NA activities linked to international (e.g. World War II Help Norway Committee) national (e.g. World's Fair 1939) and local (e.g. dinner for Morgenstjerne and the Chamber's anniversaries) events.

Further the Chamber's members (including Export Council personnel following World War II) have been participants in the regular of events within the NA philanthropic and social networks. Chamber members have been leaders and participants in the Greater New York area chapter of Nordmanns-Forbundet, Sons of Norway and May 17 Committee. That is, exchange occurs at international, national and metropolitan network levels. The Chamber's personnel are active in a broad variety of organizations and activities, information flows between and among NA and Norway-based organizations and joint programs are common. As Soyland stated "trade in itself is culture" (NT 9/29/55). Although each firm in the Chamber is working for its own interests, none of which is specifically the preservation of NA ethnic identity, trade and the networks of organizations and people which are created have the effect of preserving ethnic heritage and identity and a network

of ethnic organizations despite the individual assimilation of the persons involved. The NA businesses provide important resources, money, leadership and power, for ethnic organization persistence although the focus is becoming less oriented toward a 19th century ethnic heritage and more focused on 20th century Norway.

Footnotes

1

"By-Laws of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, Inc.," Membership Directory: 1974-1975, Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, Inc., U. S. Headquarters, 290 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017, p. 25

2

Ibid., pp. 43-141.

3

Among the Chamber's members who served on a liaison committee, under Norwegian Minister Morgenstierne, to arrange for Norway's Pavillion were the Chamber's Manager, its President, a member of its Executive Committee and a member of its Board of Directors. Two others, a NA artist and Rygg were also members of the committee. Three sub-committees -- Opening Ceremony, Banquet and Concert -- had been appointed. Here too, Chamber members were prominent in addition to persons from the Nordisk Tidende, the Norwegian Seamen's Church and Norwegian ship-ping companies (NT 1/12/39).

4

The Chamber became a semi-official Norwegian government agency in 1940. It was called a Norwegian Merchandise Protective Agency at the urging of Minister Morgenstierne. Its function was to handle Norwegian merchandise on Norwegian ships calling into the New York Port, a "home port" since the ships were cut off from Norway. The Chamber received goods in transit to Norway and also merchandise already paid for, but which couldn't be delivered (NT 5/16/40). Thus the Chamber continued to operate, but with entirely different goals. This duty paved the way for further Norway-Chamber activities following the war.

5

The Norwegian Export Council is a semi-official Norwegian organization based in Oslo, Norway. It is comprised of both private Norwegian exporters and members of official Norway, operating with representatives from and in cooperation with the Norwegian Industrial Society, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Finance and with the Foreign Service (e.g. Embassy and Consulates). It is financed by some government support and a levy on all items exported. A primary goal after its creation after World War II was to reach the American market in order to earn American dollars to aid Norway's post war economic recovery.

6

Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce Membership Directory, 1974-1975, pp. 43-141.

7

Publication of the guest list at various NA events was not an unusual practice in the Nordisk Tidende. This practice enabled the researcher to cross reference names which proved valuable in determining interorganizational networks. The organizational affiliations listed here have been added by the researcher and were taken from other Nordisk Tidende articles. The persons listed often represented more than one organization. They were Mr. and Mrs. Peter Berge, Norwegian Hospital; Mr. and Mrs. Edward Halvorsen, Sons of Norway and Scandinavian-American Business Association; Mr. and Mrs. Sevrin A Haram, Norwegian Children's Home and Scandinavian-American Business Association; the Norwegian Children's Home and the Sons of Norway; Mr. and Mrs. Sigurd J. Arnesen, publishers of Nordisk Tidende--Mrs. Arnesen replaced her husband as publisher of NT during World War II--both were active in many NA organizations including Trinity Lutheran Church; Major Hans Rude Jacobsen, Norwegian Seamen's Church and the Norwegian Engineer's Society; Reverend and Mrs. C. O. Pedersen, Norwegian Hospital and Lutheran Church and religious circles, the Norwegian Hospital, and Nordisk Tidende columnist; Mr. and Mrs. B. Westergaard, the Norwegian Hospital, the Norwegian Children's Home and Camp Norge, a summer camp for Norwegian children in upstate New York; and Mr. Harry Nilsson, Norwegian and Scandinavian sailors' organizations (NT 3/21/46).

8

Despite the physical dispersion of the semi-official Norwegian agencies in Manhattan, they are all still located in midtown, including a 1978 move of the Norwegian Consulate's Office from lower Manhattan to mid-town. The activity of the agencies--Norwegian Embassy, Consulate Export Council, Tourist Office and Information Service -- is coordinated by the Information Coordinating Committee for Norwegian Information Work in the U. S. It is a standing committee chaired by the Norwegian Ambassador (Washington, D. C.) The Vice-Chairman is the Director of the Norwegian Information Service (Ny Verd, #2, 1978). Access to the Committee's files was denied this researcher.

CHAPTER 7

SELECTED TOURIST ORGANIZATIONS: NORWEGIAN NATIONAL
TOURIST OFFICE, NORWEGIAN AMERICA LINE, SCANDINAVIAN
AIRLINES SYSTEM

The business of tourism to Norway has played an important part in the development of the Norwegian-NA network of ethnic persistence. That network has been supported by Norwegian government as well as private corporate interests which have appealed to the NAs as a market for tourism to Norway. The Norwegian government's role in promoting tourism has been in part through the work of the Norway Travel Association.

The main goal of the Norway Travel Association (Landslaget for Reiselivet i Norge) is to develop tourism in Norway "for the benefit of the society, the business community and other interests " (By Laws, Norway Travel Association, Article 1).¹ The Norwegian National Tourist Office (Tourist Office) is the New York office of the Norwegian organization. The goal of the Tourist Office is: "Simply to get Americans to Visit Norway and Scandinavia. Period."²

The Tourist Office is funded in part by the Norwegian government and in part by Norwegian member organizations of the Norway Travel Association, an independent federation of tourist interests. The administrative staff of the Tourist Office, like the Information Service, consists of Norwegian citizens. The Tourist Office, also like the Information Service is not an NA organization. Further of the Norwegian offices in New York including the Export Council, the Information Service and the Consul General's Office, the Tourist Office is the least directly involved in NA activities at the present.

However this has not always been the case.

The Tourist Office's predecessor, the Travel Bureau of the Norwegian Government Railway (Railway Bureau), began in New York in 1923 (NT 3/29/28).³ The Railway Bureau Manager, Ben Blessum, a mid-western NA, was very active in promoting tourism to Norway among NAs as well as Americans. Blessum toured U. S. cities, visiting American and NA organizations and travel bureaus with illustrated travelogues. He wrote articles for magazines and papers and he spoke over the radio. For fiscal year 7/1/26-6/30/27, for example, he was quoted as having sent out 97,600 brochures, 2,400 posters, 2,900 maps and 720 photos. He traveled over a thousand miles per year to create new ties and maintain old ones (NT 3/29/28). Blessum was also active in the metropolitan NA community. He wrote a series of travelogues for the Nordisk Tidende based on his 1922 trip to Norway (Roedder, I, 96). Blessum⁴ used celebrations in the New York area to publicize Norway.

In the fall of 1934, the Railway Bureau Office was taken over by the Norway Travel Association in Norway and in New York. Ben Blessum retired one year later (NT 8/6/36). He was replaced with Knut Olsen who led the Tourist Office until after World War II. Blessum's retirement apparently resulted in the end of the Tourist Office's practice of appealing to the ethnic community as tourists. Advertising campaigns were directed at the American audience and not specifically at the NA. Although there is no direct evidence for the apparent policy change, the virtual absence of Nordisk Tidende references to Knut Olsen's participation at NA organizational meetings suggests that this was the case. When Olsen was referred to in the newspaper, it was in

the context of seeking American tourists for Norway (NT 4/8/37; 3/30/39). The Tourist Office's practice continued after the war when Olsen became active in American travel associations, such as the American Society for Travel Agents (NT 11/18/48), and was not a participant in the NA community.

Despite Olsen's and the Tourist Office's lack of focus on the NA, the NA was being appealed to by other sources. These included shipping and later airplane ads in the Nordisk Tidende, local NA travel agents and Nordisk Tidende's own promotion of tourism through feature articles. The Tourist Office, as explicitly stated after World War II, took the NA tourist for granted. It assumed that NAs would automatically travel to Norway. And when they did, Norwegian officials contended, they stayed only with relatives, did not travel, and did not spend money. The Nordisk Tidende said this was due to the fact that they were not encouraged to travel once in Norway (NT 4/24/52).

Although the Norwegian government, as represented by the Tourist Office was no longer seeking NAs as a major source of tourism, transportation corporations were.

The Norwegian America Line, a private shipping corporation, was created in the Oslo, Norway Stock Exchange in 1910.⁵ Not only was the Norwegian America Line (NAL) organized to appeal to emigrants, but it was begun with their encouragement and financial support (NT 9/22/60). When the sale of stock began in 1909 NAs in the cities of Chicago, Minneapolis and New York were among the shareholders. E. T. Christensen, then President of the Nordisk Tidende, was active in New York selling and buying shares (Rygg, 109). By 1915, about 40% of the stock was owned by non-Norwegians, primarily NAs. This was taken as a sign by

the Norwegian government that NAs continued to have a "strong feeling" in favor of Norway (NT 9/22/60). From this point on the NAL occupied a prominent place in the NA community in metropolitan New York. The sailings of its ships constituted "events" in the NA community, its activities occupied a prominent place in the pages of Nordisk Tidende from 1910 to 1978, and its leadership was among the active leadership in NA organizational affairs.

Three NAL passenger ships were in service between Norway and the U. S. by 1918 (Rygg, 177). The First World War curtailed passenger operations. NAL transported 25,042 persons in 1920 (NT 2/21/46)⁶. Although figures vary NAL carried about 152,000 persons between 1913 and 1935 (Rygg, 171) representing between 50% (NT 9/20/28) and 80% (NT 1/2/30)⁷ of all passengers traveling to Norway.

The NAL's first president was also the first president of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce (Rygg, 22, 180). The NAL was among the supporters of one of the first Norwegian travel bureaus in New York, although this did not appeal only to NAs (Rygg, 22). In 1925 the President of NAL, Peter Berge, was one of the representatives on a NA Committee to have a plot of ground in Brooklyn designated as Leiv Eiriksson Square. Also on the Committee were Nordisk Tidende's owners and editor, and members of social and religious organizations (Roedder, I, 116). The NAL also supported what became an annual event in New York harbor and the NA community from the late 1920s through to the 1950s. The International Life Boat Races, featuring crews of ships in New York harbor, were held each September. Norwegian crews including NAL were consistently among the winners (Rygg, 246). Reports

of these competitions constituted page one material in Nordisk Tidende. When the economic depression resulted in the unemployment of NAs and Norwegian sailors, NAL's President Berge assisted in the fund raising effort of Rygg's Norwegian American Relief Committee (NT 12/11/30). On one occasion Berge held an open house aboard a NAL ship which netted \$1,200 for the Relief Committee (Rygg, 274).

Berge's affiliations indicate his leadership role in the broader NA community. He was a member of the Norwegian Hospital's Board of Directors (NT 11/27/30). He continued in this position serving as Secretary, Treasurer and, in 1939, as President of the Hospital (Rygg, 171-172). Berge was also an active member of the NA Chamber of Commerce, serving on several of its committees in the late 1930s (NT 1/14/37; 1/12/39) and a member of the Norwegian Seamen's Church Board of Directors (NT 10/3/46). Berge's affiliations indicate the flow of leaders among various NA organizations and institutions, suggesting the types and degrees of exchange which occurred forming a network of community leadership.

The Depression resulted in a passenger decline, despite 20% reduction in fares in 1932 (NT 4/7/32), with 1934 representing the worst year. The company was able to offset these reductions by freight hauling (NT 4/4/34). By 1936 the effects of the Depression were waning and passenger traffic increased (NT 4/23/36).

In addition to carrying people, NAL carried money sent from the NAs to relatives, friends and institutions in Norway. It had been estimated that NAL carried nearly 200 million Norwegian crowns (approximately \$40 million) to Norway between 1915 and 1935 (Rygg, 225).

This exchange of people and money enabled NAL to consistently record annual profits and suggests the lively interaction between the two nations. This contact helped to preserve the NA community in the New York area. World War II once again resulted in another cessation of transatlantic passenger crossings. The post war period however was one of the most active in NAL's history when ties between it, the NA community and Nordisk Tidende were renewed.

After World War II, a new President, Christian Mohn, joined NAL. He had been active in passenger shipping and tourism since the mid 1920s before joining NAL in 1947. He was also active in NA circles serving on the boards of the Norway Center, Inc., which administered Norway House, and the Norwegian Seamen's Church (NT 9/22/60). He was also a member of the Norwegian Club (Friis, 1964, 48). Further Mohn was a member of the Boards of Directors of Norwegian government supported organizations including the Norwegian Seamen's House (NT 9/22/40), a residence for off-duty Norwegian sailors located in downtown Brooklyn, and the Norwegian National Tourist Office (NT 8/6/53).

In addition to Mohn, Georg Vetlesen, joined the NAL as Chairman of the Board of Directors in 1947. Vetlesen, who was also among the Directors of Scandinavian Airlines System, was active in NA business circles, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Norwegian Seamen's Church where he was a trustee. He was also the Vice President and a trustee in the American Scandinavian Foundation in 1941 (NT 5/10/51). Here again, the network of leadership indicates the types and extent of ties between the NA leaders of the business community and ethnic institutions. These ties further resulted in "events" which, in part,

produced the content of ethnic activities, further stimulating tourism to Norway.

World War II cost NAL its passenger ship, "Oslofjord," which was wrecked in 1940 in the service of Great Britain (Rygg, 171). New ships had to be built; old ones were overhauled (NT 12/27/45; 3/28/46; 4/4/46).⁹ One result was new maiden voyages and more "events" in the NA community. When the new "Oslofjord" arrived in New York, Nordisk Tidende published a special issue with the headline, "The entire Norwegian-America greets the 'Oslofjord'" (NT 12/1/49). Editor Soyland, as a guest of NAL, was aboard the vessel's maiden voyage from Norway to New York in 1950 (Roedder, I, 212). NAs continued to represent the majority of the company's passengers. A conference in Oslo indicated that 75% of NAL's passengers were NAs (NT 12/18/52). According to Nordisk Tidende NAs wanted "to go home to Norway". NAs were said to be "their own chapter in the line's daily history, and an important one...." NAL encouraged this by operating offices throughout the U.S. with its headquarters in New York. Advertising included about 300 films per year which were distributed to NAs, a "natural market," and to non-NAs, the "new market." In addition to films, tapes and lectures were presented to NA and American clubs, churches, student groups, women's organizations and Sons of Norway lodges (NT 12/18/52). New NAL ships were built and continued to arrive in New York, the "Bergensfjord" in 1956 (NT 11/17/55; 6/7/56), and the "Sagafjord" in 1966 (Roedder, II, 324). Editor Soyland, reflecting on the ties of NAL and the immigrant, indicated that thousands of NAs had come to America on the NAL ships. In 1958 the NAL initiated its first non-transatlantic cruise line which, by the mid 1960s, had

become the regular sailings as airplanes replaced the transatlantic
¹⁰
 passenger crossings.

Thus the NAL continued to appeal to the NAs as tourists to Norway, as do the Norwegian cruise lines, by advertising in, for example, the Nordisk Tidende, particularly in the special travel edition(s) and by advertising in the annual May 17 Parade journal and other special event
¹¹
 journals. These companies continue to add to the presence of the NA community despite dispersion of both the companies (Norwegian cruise ship lines are Florida-based) and NAs throughout the metropolitan area as well as to Florida.

As indicated above, the NAL received considerable coverage in the Nordisk Tidende between 1913 and 1960. To the paper the NAL constituted one of the major links in its "bridgebuilding" between Norway and the U. S. The company was an active link in the 1920s when it introduced a program to send young NAs and Norwegian-Canadians to Norway for up to two months, free stay, with Norwegian families
¹²
 (NT 12/9/26). Then in cooperation with the Nordmanns-Forbundet and the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, it instituted a student exchange between Norway and the U. S. for up to 6 months (NT 3/31/27). These programs were terminated by the Depression. The idea of group tours for adults, in cooperation with the Nordmanns-Forbundet and other
¹³
 NA organizations resumed in 1932 (NT 6/2/32).

The Nordisk Tidende's reporters covered every arrival of NAL ships to New York. Prominent passengers were interviewed and their "stories" became NT news. Often the entire First Class passenger list was printed. In addition, the average traveler was often a featured speaker at his

or her local organization. In 1951 the NAL was termed a "strong link" between Norway and the U. S. (NT 5/10/51).

NAL also encouraged members of nationwide organizations to meet each other during transatlantic crossing. The Sons of Norway, for example, created the "Atlantic Lodge," in 1935. Since then Sons of Norway members from various lodges throughout the U. S. and Canada were enabled to meet each other aboard NAL ships through the "wholehearted cooperation" of the officers and staffs (NT 9/22/60). Similarly the "Square and Compass Club," was organized by NA Masons in 1947 for the purpose of social and fraternal gatherings (NT 9/22/60).

The NAL therefore provided a direct appeal to NAs that the Norwegian National Tourist Office avoided. Nonetheless the Tourist Office and NAL were in contact with each other, for example, NAL's President Mohn, served on both organizations' Boards of Directors, and it is quite possible that a cooperative division of labor and resources planned. NAL provided a direct link between the NA, Norway, and the NA community. In addition NAL ships hauled cargo between the two nations including the wares of NA importers (NT 9/22/60). It was understandable then that NAL was and remains a member of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce. NAL provided considerable input, through its leadership and advertisements, to the NA community. The effect was reciprocal as Nordisk Tidende made NAL one of its prime sources of news and feature articles. This practice continues to the present in newspaper and, of course, NAL represents only one of the several shipping companies, including passenger cruises and freight companies, which support the paper and the activities of the metropolitan NA community. Since the 1960s when airlines became the major source of transatlantic

travel, they have received a larger share of the Nordisk Tidende's column space, although the links between NAL and Nordisk Tidende remain. For example, in 1966 the NAL Vice President, who was also President of the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce's Norwegian division, was among twenty participants at a conference in Norway seeking to promote the NA presses' interest in Norway (Roedder, II, 337-339).

These leaders represent only a few of the Norwegian America Line Directors through the years who have been active in promoting and supporting the activities and interest of the metropolitan NA community. Their support has, to some extent, enabled the various organizations cited above to continue and therefore to enable a NA ethnic presence to persist in the New York area.

The introduction of air travel between Norway and the U. S. had a considerable impact upon the development and persistence of Norwegian ethnicity in the metropolitan area. Air travel led to the creation of the Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS). SAS heightened awareness among NAs of the concept of "Scandinavian" corporation, primarily through the media including Nordisk Tidende. And, by the 1960s, jet air travel and reduced fares, coupled with increased NA earning power, enabled the Norwegian-born American as well as second and later generations of NAs to travel to the "old country." The increased communication, even if the NA did not travel to Norway, broke down older notions of what Norway was and introduced knowledge of the "new Norway," that is, modern industrial Norway. Thus there were three relevant factors which air travel introduced: the creation of the Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS), the

notion of Scandinavian cooperation, and the impact of both of these upon the NA community in the metropolitan area.

SAS is a consortium of Danish, Swedish and Norwegian airline companies begun after World War II (NT 9/5/46). Financing for Norway's entrance into SAS came from the following Norwegian sources: government (about 29%), shipowners (about 32%) banks and industry (about 10%) and public stock sales (about 29%; NT 4/4/1946).

To the Norwegian government, recovering from the war, SAS meant increased tourism and American money.¹⁴ The Norwegian government's plan was to initiate a study commission which was established by the Norwegian Ministry of Transportation and Communication. The Commission's Chairman was a State Department Press Attache, Hans Olav, former Nordisk Tidende editor. It was the Commission's duty "to mobilize all the powers (in Norway) which in one way or another can stimulate tourism" (NT 6/16/49). The intention was to establish programs which only Norway, "in the entire world," could offer. These plans were then to be coordinated with similar plans formulated by Denmark and Sweden (Ibid.).

The concept of "Scandinavian" in the U. S. was promulgated in 1910 by the newly created American-Scandinavian Foundation whose goals included strengthening friendly and close relationships between the U. S. and Scandinavia primarily through educational exchange (Friis, 1961, 95-96). In this case Scandinavia meant Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Most Norwegian-born Americans however viewed the notion of "Scandinavian" with distrust and even anger. To the average NA ethnic the notion of freedom from Danish domination (1814) and Swedish control (1905) were too recent in history to enter into "Scandinavian" union. Many NAs

were appalled by Sweden permitting Nazi troops to use Swedish railroads¹⁵ to supply the Nazi occupation forces in Norway during World War II.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), for example, had Norwegian born NA members but these were by and large leaders of what has been defined here as a business elite. The former President of ASF stated that there was a distinction between these persons and the average Norwegian-born ethnic.

If Scandinavian cooperation was anathema to most NA ethnics, such was not the case among the leaders. As noted in the historical chapter there were and remained links between official and business elites in Scandinavia during and after the political unions. The idea of Scandinavian cooperation, for example, had occurred in the U. S. during the end of the Depression in 1934. Here again the focus was on tourism. The idea of "Scandinavia" as opposed to either Norway or Denmark or Sweden as travel destinations for Americans came from an American tourist office (unnamed) which launched a large "Scandinavian Education Campaign". It was argued that Scandinavia was not known because it was "off the beaten track" in Europe. The rationale was that an American would not travel only to one of the nations, but in a package tour each would offer something the other did not (NT 11/29/34). The shift was in part due to the political situations on the continent with the rise of Hitler and the threat of war. Scandinavian and Nordic (including Finland) travel cooperation became a fact by post World War II (NT 3/18/48; 4/24/52). This did not, however, alter the NA's attitude toward Scandinavian cooperation.

The idea of "Scandinavia" as a tourist area then is, at least in part, a business promotional scheme which American tourism interests created in response to changing political conditions on the European continent during the 1930s. The focus of the tourist campaigns was cultural and educational, for example, through cooperation with the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Advertisements also appealed to ethnic constituencies who are told of the benefits of visiting "home" or the birthplace of one's ancestors. Air travel made the possibility of travel to Scandinavia imminent.

Of the three airline companies vying for U.S.-Scandinavian schedules (including Icelandic Airlines and Pan American Airways) ¹⁶ it was SAS which had the initial impact on metropolitan area NAs following World War II. Nordisk Tidende was an information medium reporting upon the development of SAS. SAS in turn which had the job of stimulating tourism, utilized the Nordisk Tidende. Editor Soyland was among the 28 press personnel from the U. S. and Scandinavia on the first SAS regularly scheduled flight to New York. Nordisk Tidende's subscribers read glowing reports of the new transportation medium's speed through Soyland's page one article: "Think. It is a marvel, I am in Oslo. I am in Norway. In the middle of an adventure. It is simply an historical event" wrote Soyland after having had breakfast in New York and dinner in Norway (NT 9/26/46).⁷

SAS had invited the ethnic press on its first flight, establishing a precedent of SAS-Nordisk Tidende cooperation that has existed to the present. The newspaper and SAS both benefitted from the publicity.

Nordisk Tidende recognized the importance of the air link for its own benefit. Advantages included relative ease of travel which was expected to increase contact between NAs and Norway resulting in more news for the paper, relatively inexpensive Nordisk Tidende air mail subscriptions to Norway and new advertising by SAS (NT 4/29/48).

SAS advertised and Nordisk Tidende, in turn, wrote news and feature articles. From the beginning of SAS, the newspaper kept the reader informed of SAS' activities. The purchase of new planes (NT 4/29/48), enlarged airplane passenger capacity (NT 3/17/49), a new headquarters (NT 9/22/55) and the company's growth (Ibid.) were among items of general news pertaining to the company. The paper also discussed SAS personnel and promotions (for example, NT, 3/18/48; 12/23/48; 11/2/50; 11/1/51) and reported on annual reports and passenger growth (NT 1/15/48; 6/16/49; 3/3/60). Nordisk Tidende also noted items which would be of personal interest to the paper's readers such as the introduction of a "tourist class" and lower fares (NT 11/8/51), a new route possibly to a reader's home city, (NT 6/3/54; 4/26/56) and the introduction of jet travel further reducing the time to Norway (NT 1/21/60). It also cited SAS as a case of Scandinavian cooperation and the benefits of such cooperation as SAS itself illustrated (NT 9/22/55). The paper, if not outwardly promoting Scandinavian cooperation, was describing the important consequences which SAS had as a link between Norway and the metropolitan area. In this manner SAS became an integral part of the NA ethnic community.

Nordisk Tidende had been given a financial boost by the advent of air travel. It is apparent, as readership declined, that air travel

resulted in increased advertisement for the paper's financial support. In addition to cooperating with Nordisk Tidende, SAS developed relations with other NA organizations.

The advent of SAS flights to New York was the occasion for a banquet with prominent guests from Scandinavia and the U. S. including Scandinavian-Americans. Among the 250 persons attending were Nordisk Tidende's owner, Arnesen, members of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce and the American-Scandinavian Foundation. These persons represented an elite of the NA community, such as members of boards of directors not only of NA and Scandinavian organizations, but also of
17
American concerns.

SAS cooperated with a wide range of organizations, promoting travel to Scandinavia and also supporting NA ethnic organizations. For example, the Nordisk Tidende, seeking to capitalize upon the increased travel to Norway, launched an essay contest aimed at students returning from Norway. Prizes which totalled \$100 were offered. SAS liked the idea and raised the awards to \$200 (NT 3/3/49).

SAS also established links to the nationwide Sons of Norway organization. An SAS book promoting Norway, with photos of Norway taken from air, was distributed to each delegate at the Sons of Norway's biennial national conference in 1950. The Nordisk Tidende published a story with a photo of its owner, Arnesen, presenting a copy of the book to the Sons of Norway's national President (NT 9/21/50).

SAS films were used by various NA organizations as part of their meetings. For example, the Nordmanns-Forbundet showed "This is Scandinavia," an SAS color film, at a meeting (NT 4/9/53).

SAS also included NA organizations in its programs and press conferences. For example, SAS invited American, Scandinavian, and ethnic press and tourist agents to the opening of its new administration building in Queens, New York. NAs were present from the Nordisk Tidende, a Bay Ridge travel agency, and the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce in addition to Norwegians from the Tourist Office, the Information Service, Aftenposten (a Norwegian newspaper) and the Norwegian Telegram Bureau (an agency comparable to Associated Press; (NT 2/16/56). Persons from these organizations were also present at SAS sponsored parties (NT 12/26/57). In 1962 when Nordisk Tidende launched its travel issue, SAS purchased wholesale 10,000 of the 80,000 copies printed (Roedder, II, 310).

SAS had an interest in enabling the NA press to continue. It had become apparent by the late 1960s that Norway's interests were in part related to ethnic awareness and persistence. SAS itself was among the Scandinavian based firms which supported NA organizations and events, including press, business and social organizations, by being among their most consistent advertisers. The role of SAS will become more apparent in the Scanpresence chapter, but it is certain that SAS ads appeal to ethnics and encourage their travel, not only to, but within Scandinavia. A recent ad in the Nordisk Tidende, reflecting the position the paper took in 1952 that if you want NAs to travel in Norway, advertise to them (NT 4/24/52) stated:

Next time you go home spend some time in your back yard. Every year thousands of people go home to visit their friends and relatives in Scandinavia and never think about vacationing there.

Which is a shame. Because Scandinavia is one of the most beautiful places in the world to take a vacation.

And this year, SAS has more ways you can do it than any other airline....(NT 6/8/78).

The Norwegian National Tourist Office did not appeal directly to NAs whereas the Norwegian America Line and SAS did. It became rather apparent that Norway came to recognize the importance of a NA basis of support in the U. S. This resulted from NA support for Norway during World War II. Following the war contacts were further developed between Norwegian interests and the Nordisk Tidende, the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, the Norwegian Export Council and the Norwegian Information Service. In 1966 a meeting arranged by the Norwegian State Department in Norway suggested that these various Norwegian and NA organizations were part of an interrelated network in which the interests of organizations coincided, in some respects, with those of Norway and vice versa. In 1966 the Norwegian State Department arranged a conference which had two aims: to bring ethnic press editors together with Norwegian academics and intellectuals interested in the U.S.; and to bring ethnic press editors together with representatives of Norwegian industry who either had or wished to have ties in America. About 30 attended the meetings including NA editors, Norwegian members of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, and Norwegian Export Council, Norwegian government officials, a Norwegian press official, representatives of Norwegian trade and industrial federations, academics, and members of the Norway Travel Association. The meeting of the NA press and Norwegian industrial spokesmen was led by the Director of

the Norway Travel Association, the parent agency to New York's Norwegian National Tourist, and was held in SAS meeting facilities. Roedder, present at the conference for Nordisk Tidende, wrote the following:

The atmosphere had to be considered pleasant and without obligation. The State Department and the Norway Travel Association had done what it could at this time to prepare to advance the Norwegian-American presses' cause, as well as creating press ties in Norway. Now it was up to the Norwegian-American newspaper personnel to make the most of these contacts according to their own ability (Roedder, II, 338-339).

The relationships among persons from the various Scandinavian, Norwegian and NA organizations suggest that linkages exist, both financial and personal, among a number of business and social circles which in turn constitute a basis for an ethnic network in the New York metropolitan area. Those concerned with tourism constitute one, but an important, circle of interests. Each acting in cooperation with the other has appealed to the wide variety of persons and interests which NA ethnics represent.

The Norwegian National Tourist Office, the Norwegian-American Line and the Scandinavian Airlines System are three tourist organizations within a larger network of Scandinavian, Norwegian, NA and American businesses which promote ethnic identity by financially supporting and cooperating with NA ethnic organizations. Ethnic ties to Norway increase tourism to Norway; therefore, it is the "business" of tourist organizations to support ethnic persistence.

Footnotes

1

Vedtekter for Landslaget for Reiselivet i Norge, July 18, 1977; By-Laws of Norway Travel Association), obtained from Norwegian National Tourist Office, 75 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

2

Per Prag, Director, Norwegian National National Tourist Office, New York, N. Y., July 1977. In 1978 the Tourist Office is one office in the Scandinavian Tourist Office. The role of Scandinavian tourist cooperation is discussed in this chapter.

3

Roedder indicates that Blessum was "well known in New York" during 1922 suggesting that his work in New York preceded the opening of the New York Railway Bureau Office (Roedder, I, 96). Rygg states that a Norwegian Travel Bureau was established in New York in 1916. It was funded by "The Norwegian Railways, the Norwegian America Line, the hotel interests, etc." Ben Blessum was the manager of this bureau (Rygg, 222).

4

Blessum was an active participant among NAs in New York. He did not always discuss tourism exclusively. He spoke, for example, at a Leif Ericson festival discussing Norway's part in the discovery of America (NT 9/30/26). He also participated in the "Norway Day" festivities held in 1925 as a part of the 150th birthday of the U. S. A motorcade from the offices of the Nordisk Tidende to Philadelphia featured one auto which Blessum had covered with advertisements for Norway (NT 9/30/26). Blessum also spoke at the Norwegian Club on the "Empire of the Vikings and its Influence on the English Speaking World" which was accompanied by slides (NT 3/3/27). He was active in the Norwegian radio hour (NT 12/29/32) and he spoke on travel on a WFOX radio program (NT 9/1/32). His name appeared regularly in the Nordisk Tidende until his retirement in 1936. Recognition was given to Blessum in 1929 by the Norwegian government when he received the St. Olav award: Knight First Class, for "his outstanding service to Norway" (NT 12/26/29; 8/6/36).

5

The first Norwegian shipping company transporting passengers to the U. S. was established in 1871, The Norwegian American Steamship Co. It survived only to 1876. Until 1909 when the NAL began selling shares no other Norwegian passenger company existed. Those who did not come to the U. S. aboard Norwegian freighters came aboard other nation's ships (NT 9/22/60).

6

The Nordisk Tidende contained a regular feature on its editorial page "Nordisk Tidende 25 Years Ago and 15 Years Ago". Therefore the 2/21/46 date for 1920 information is accurate.

7

According to a page one Nordisk Tidende interview with C. A. Hanssen, proprietor of the oldest New York NA community travel offices. (begun 1899), an average of 30,000 NAs visit Norway yearly and "more than one-half aboard NAL ships" (NT 9/20/28). NAL statistics for 1929 state that 15,489 passengers sailed Norway to New York and return (plus 2,349 to Halifax, Nova Scotia) and that NAL carries 80% of all traffic between the U. S. and Norway and return (NT 1/16/30).

8

Skard stated that in 1905, the year in which Norway separated from Sweden, 20 million Norwegian crowns (\$4 million) were returned to Norway from the U. S. This amount "equaled the value of the entire Norwegian imports from the United States that year". (The entire Norwegian government budget in 1905 ran to less than 100 million crowns). Sigmund Skard The United States in Norwegian History (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 823.

9

The NAL, in addition to its leaderships' participation in the NA organizations, provided "events" in the NA community every time one of its passenger ships departed or arrived in the Port of New York. For example, the first arrival of a NAL ship was an affair in which many NA organizations and individuals participated, setting a precedent for future events. The Norwegian National Federation, a central organization of NA clubs and societies organized in 1905, created a committee to meet the "Kristianiafjord" in 1913. The Committee was led by A. N. Rygg, then Nordisk Tidende's part owner and editor. The reception ceremony was followed by a dinner for "almost 400 persons in the NA community in Brooklyn." A. N. Rygg, Norwegians in New York (Brooklyn, N. Y.: Norwegian News Co., 1941), p. 171.

10

Between 1913 and 1960 NAL carried approximately 720,000 passengers to and from Norway (NT 9/22/60).

11

In 1978 there are 4 Norway-registered cruise ship companies operating in the U. S., primarily from the Port of Miami, Florida, at least three of which advertise in Nordisk Tidende and in NA special event journals. They are the Royal Caribbean Line (2/3 Norwegian; 1/3 NA ownership), Norwegian Caribbean Line, and the Norwegian America Line. The Royal Viking Line does not advertise in NA publications. Special event journals include booklets published at times of NA organization anniversaries.

12

The Norwegian American Line was not the only shipping company which appealed to the NA ethnic traveler. The Scandinavian American Line, another passenger ship company, sought the NA ethnic by supporting the

Norwegian Radio Hour with advertising. Its director explained that the "ethnic was being appealed to as a potential tourist to the land of their fathers" (NT 12/1/32).

13

The passengers numbered 1,137 with 5,000 persons bidding them farewell. The passengers included Gladys Petch, an advocate of tourism to Norway since the 1920s, whose trip was paid for by the Norway Travel Association. The group trip to Norway involved a midwest organization, the Sunnfjordlaget led by a Lutheran clergyman (NT 6/2/32).

14

The U. S. government, funding the post-war reconstruction of Europe through the Marshall Plan, also encouraged tourism as a way to help restore Europe's economy so that European nations could resume buying from the U. S. In 1948 an Act of the U. S. Congress, with European economic recovery in mind, stated that tourism was the only "industry" which specifically benefitted both nations (NT 6/16/49).

15

Sweden initially refused to let Nazi war materials pass through Sweden to Norway on Swedish railroads. Its primary reasons were that Norway was a "brother nation" and such transport also violated Sweden's neutrality. By June 1940, however, the Norwegian army surrendered and the Allies withdrew to join the defense of the low countries. Sweden's major argument, Norway as a "brother country," no longer applied. When the Nazis defeated France and Belgium and Holland was occupied Sweden had two choices, remain neutral and permit the Nazis to pass through or risk invasion in what was then a Nazi dominated Europe. Sweden capitulated. John M. West, "The German-Swedish Transit Agreement of 1940," Scandinavian Studies, Winter 1978 (50, #1), 76-99.

16

Pan American also advertised in the paper. Icelandic Airlines was a supporter not only of Nordisk Tidende, but also other NA organizations and events through its advertising.

17

These persons, 13 of whom were positively identified as NAs, were generally active in three or four organizations each, for example, the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Chamber, the Norwegian Club and the Seamen's Church.

CHAPTER 8

NORWEGIAN CLUB

The Norwegian Club (the Club) is a private social organization whose members constitute a business and professional elite of Norwegians and NAs in the metropolitan New York area. It was founded in 1904 by the members of the Norwegian Engineer and Architect's Society to promote closer contacts among professional NAs and to serve as a bridge between Norway and the U. S. (Friis, 1964, 9 and 13). Its members have included shipowners, bankers, lawyers, Norwegian government employees, and professionals in the business, medical, architectural, engineering and legal fields (Ibid., 48-49). Thus the members of the Club were not representative of the average NA who typically was of the working class (Jonassensn, 388-390). The Club is open to "any man NOT of Norwegian birth or descent... provided that the numbers of such members does not exceed one-third of the total membership of the club or the date of submission of the application for such a membership" (Friis, 1964, 50-51).

The Club began by meeting in Manhattan and moved in 1906 and again in 1916 to NA sections in South Brooklyn and Park Slope, Brooklyn. In 1919 it purchased a brownstone in Brooklyn Heights, in a non-NA, but prestigious section of Brooklyn convenient to both the NA population area and the Manhattan business areas (Ibid., 13-18). The Club was experiencing financial difficulties during the 1960s because of declining membership and support. Despite a \$10,000 donation to the Club by a Norwegian shipowner (Roedder, II, 323), the Club was back in rented facilities by summer, 1969 (NT 7/31/69). In 1978 the Club meets at the Fort Hamilton Officers Club in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, the NA population center in the metropolitan area (NT 2/16/78).

A publication commemorating the Club's 60th anniversary stated its primary goals to be:

- (1) To provide and maintain a club house of Norwegian character for the convenience of its members.
- (2) To promote closer relations among people of Norwegian extraction.
- (3) To promote closer relations with Norway.
- (4) To promote good fellowship and social relations among its members.
- (5) To promote the acquaintance of the members with American affairs.
- (6) To advance Norwegian cultural interests and to encourage the usage of the Norwegian language (Friis, 1964, 50).

The Club's 60th anniversary book was supported by the contributions of 54 donors and 86 advertisers (Ibid.; 57-105). Analysis of the ads indicates sources of support for the Club. The advertisers, in general, represented shipping, banking, transportation and local business firms. Five of the 86 ads (5.8%) represented NA organizations which have had some special link to the Club, namely the Norwegian Singing Society, the Norseman Rod and Gun Club, the Norwegian Engineer Society, the Nordisk Tidende, and the Norwegian Ladies Club. Members of the first four organizations are also members of the Club and/or the organizations participate in and support the activities of the Club and vice versa. The Norwegian Ladies Club is an autonomous women's counterpart to the Club. Approximately 86% (N=74) of the ads come from the metropolitan New York area. Almost half of the ads, 47.6% (N=41) come from NA businesses and organizations. American, Norwegian and Scandinavian firms purchased 23.3%, 16.3%, 9.3% of the ads respectively. Three ads (3.5%) were not identifiable as to source. These ads illustrate the

network of organizations supporting the special publication of the Club. The sources of support are similar to the advertisers supporting other NA publications such as the Nordisk Tidende and the May 17 Parade Journal.

Aside from special activities such as the publication of an anniversary journal, the Club's activities are supported through membership dues. The dues are based upon categories of status within the Club and geographical area of residency. Essentially the categories are "Resident Members" that is, NAs living within the metropolitan New York area, and "Non Resident Members," that is, Norwegian citizens in the U. S. even though most reside in the New York area, often for long periods of time. For example the Directors of the Norwegian Information Service and the Norwegian National Tourist Officers were "Non Resident" members in 1964 (Ibid., 49), but both were in the New York area for almost twenty years. In addition to dues, the Club rented its facilities during the time it owned a building, to offset operational expenses and to support its general activities.

The Club's activities have been primarily of a social nature. They have centered around luncheons and dinners honoring prominent Norwegians including royalty, government officials, explorers, poets, authors, athletes, shipowners and businessmen. This has been especially true of Norway's representatives in the U. S., including Norway's Ambassadors to the United Nations, and to the U. S. and its Consul Generals served as President of the Club between 1944 and 1946 (Ibid., 28).

The activities sponsored by the Club were coordinated with the

dinners and celebrations of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce. For example, when the long-time Ambassador to the U. S., Morgenstierne, retired, he was given a dinner by the Chamber on March 10, 1958 (NT 4/10/58). Koht, the new Ambassador was hosted by the Club and he spoke at a Chamber luncheon (NT 6/5/58). Although both organizations did at times sponsor a similar event for the same person in honor of the same occasion, they did not, as a rule, both hold the same type of affair. For example, when Consul General Brodtkorb left the U. S., the Club gave him a dinner and the Chamber arranged a party (NT 7/17/58). There were also times when both clubs cooperated in sponsoring an event, for example, when Ambassador Morgenstierne celebrated his 60th birthday in 1947 he was given a dinner hosted by the Club and the Chamber. This type of dovetailing of events or outright cooperation between the two organizations was in part one of practicality. Many members of the Club belonged to the Chamber and vice versa. Too many affairs might spread the attendance too thinly at any one event. Further, the two organizations often cooperated by the Chamber holding a dinner at the Club's facilities when it was housed in Brooklyn Heights. Thereby both organizations' members could attend the function and support the Club financially in the process. Affairs for more than 200 persons, however, were held at a Manhattan hotel, often the Waldorf Astoria, because the Club could not accomodate large crōwds. Such events were attended by both Chamber and Club members.

Although the Club's activities were primarily of a social nature, its members and their wives did participate in charitable activities. The Norwegian Children's Home, for example, had 101 Board (63 males, 38

females) members through its 40 year history by 1959. Twelve of the males (19%) on the Board were identified as members of the Club. Further the Norwegian Ladies Club, an auxiliary of the Norwegian Club, was founded in 1917 to perform charitable work primarily among children in the NA community (NT 2/25/37). The Ladies Club, many of its members being the wives of Norwegian Club members, was one of the consistent supporters of the Children's Home (NT 10/8/59). In addition, the Ladies Club was a supporter of Camp Norge, a summer camp for NA children, the Norwegian Hospital, seamen's organizations, and Bethesda Mission which aided homeless and indigent men.

The Norwegian Club also instituted a scholarship to enable NA youths to attend the University of Oslo Summer School³ in 1957. Scholarships, ranging between \$200 and \$500 were administered by the Club's Scholarship Committee in conjunction with the University of Oslo Summer School Admissions Office and the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Nordisk Tidende, the Norwegian Information Service's, "News of Norway," the American-Scandinavian Foundation's "Scan," and the Sons of Norway's "Viking" publicized the Club's scholarship activities (Friis, 1964, 33-34).

These activities indicate that the Club's members and their wives are active in the various facets of the NA community in the metropolitan area, especially in business and charitable activities. In addition, the Club reaches out to the broader NA community through its subsidiary program.

The Norwegian Club is an ethnic organization. Although its membership is relatively small in number compared to some NA organizations, ranging from 40 at the beginning (Rygg, 83) to over 200 in 1964 (Friis, 1964 48-49), the Club has had an impact far wider than its numbers suggest.

As indicated by the Club's activities, it served to maintain links to both Norway and the NA community. Thus it operates to maintain an awareness of Norway which is related both to ethnic and to business interests.

Margaret Joy Tibbets, U. S. Ambassador to Norway, cited a much broader role which the Norwegian Club has fulfilled: "Such unofficial bi-national groups have a most constructive role to play in the broad framework of international relations." She also referred to the concept of

'people to people' diplomacy as a means of increasing mutual understanding between citizens of other friendly nations and the U. S., but the fostering of such mutual understanding and co-operation between Norwegian and Americans has been the role of the Norwegian Club ever since its founding in 1904 - long before the term 'people to people' was evolved (Friis, 1964, 6).

Hans Engen, Ambassador to Norway to the U. S. stated:

I have many happy memories of festive occasions in the Club, as I have found the Club very useful as a meeting place for serious discussions of problems relating to the Norwegian-American community (Ibid., 7).

August Fleischer, Consul General of Norway in New York noted:

Our club has, from the very beginning, been the meeting point for both residing and visiting Norwegians. The pleasant atmosphere of the Club has also been an instrument in facilitating a wide range of contacts between citizens of the two countries (Ibid., 8).

Footnotes

1

Names of persons honored and details of the functions held by the Club can be found in "The Norwegian Club" Anniversary publications of 1944 (by A. N. Rygg), 1954 (by Bent Vanberg) and 1964 (by Erik J. Friis).

2

This was ascertained through the Nordisk Tidende's practice of publishing the entire guest list of such affairs. The leadership network at this time had even extended to the Waldorf Astoria. For example, the Waldorf Astoria Corporation's President was Lucius M. Boomer (who died in 1947 while on vacation in Norway; NT 7/3/47). Boomer was cited above as a recipient of the St. Olav Commander award. Mrs. Jorgine Slettebo Boomer (his wife) was Norwegian-born, active in NA events, and a recipient of the St. Olav medal (NT 4/40/40).

3

The International Summer School of the University of Oslo was created following World War II specifically for the NAs in gratitude for NA aid during the war. Several years later it was opened to the international student body although NAs have always constituted the single largest element.

CHAPTER 9
NORWEGIAN SEAMEN'S CHURCH

The Norwegian Seamen's Church in Brooklyn was created in 1878¹ to meet the spiritual and welfare needs of Norwegian sailors. It is one among many such churches in the ports of the world which is administered and, in part, supported by the Norwegian Seamen's Mission, founded in 1864 and located in Bergen, Norway.

The Seamen's Mission, like its churches, is a private organization supported by the efforts of approximately 3,000 women's organizations in Norway (Vilhelmsen, 22; NT 10/15/53). The Seamen's Church in Brooklyn receives an annual subsidy from the Seamen's Mission which provides about two-thirds of the Church's budget. The other one-third comes from the metropolitan area, from firms conducting business with Norway, from sailors, from shipowners and from permanent residents, in this case, mostly immigrants. Support is organized through auxiliary clubs associated with the Seamen's Church, through activities such as parties and celebrations, and through annual bazaars. Contributions have been given in many forms in both large and small sums for the purchase, construction and maintenance of buildings as well as for program operations.

Especially important were the larger contributions and loans which illustrate the Seamen's Church's contacts with the Norwegian Consul General's Office in New York and shipping related firms. For example it was a loan of \$10,500 by a shipping broker which enabled the newly incorporated Seamen's Church to purchase its first church building in 1879 (Rygg, 103-104). Similarly, the second and present church building

was purchased with the aid of a \$40,000 loan by the Norwegian Ship Owners Association in 1927 (NT 3/31/27). It was the New York Consul General's Office which facilitated the arrangements. In addition Consul General's have often served on the Seamen's Church's Board of Trustees.

The Seamen's Church is part of a network of organizations which have been concerned with the welfare of seamen. This network has included the Norwegian Lutheran Deaconesses' Home and Hospital founded in 1883 (Rygg, 88-89; NT 1/24/33), the Norwegian Seamen's Home begun in 1887 to provide housing for seamen (Vilhelmsen, 183), the Seaman's League established in 1910 as a labor union (NT 9/29/60), the Bethesda Mission begun in 1921 with the support of NA churches to assist indigent NAs and Norwegian sailors, the Scandinavian Shipping Office, an employment agency, established in 1938 (Ibid.)², and the Seamen's Hotel organized by the Norwegian government in downtown Brooklyn during World War II (and now defunct). Organizations also existed for the officers, the Norwegian Sea Captain's Association organized in 1889 (Rygg, 77), and owners, the Norwegian Shipowners' Association.

Each of these organizations had specific functions; however it was the Seamen's Church which not only catered to the day-to-day needs of sailors, but also became an integral part of the NA community.

The specific functions of the Seamen's Church include the following:

- (1) Sunday church services;
- (2) religious and social meetings;
- (3) religious and shipping publications;

- (4) visiting Norwegians on ships and in hospitals bringing sailors to the Church;
- (5) holding and sending money to Norway;
- (6) letter central and post office;
- (7) reading rooms;
- (8) bureau of missing persons; and
- (9) special lectures (NT 1/22 to 5/20/48; Vilhelmsen, 182-191).

Since the 1880s the Seamen's Church has been serving increasing numbers of Norwegian seamen arriving in the port of New York. During the 1880s between 1,000 and 1,200 Norwegian sailing ships called in the New York port annually (Vilhelmsen, 182). The crews at that time numbering approximately 12 persons (Rygg, 239). Thus between 12,000 and 14,000 Norwegian sailors arrived annually. Many of these remained on in the NA community (Ibid., 183-184) working in the American merchant marine, in sea-related occupations, or in construction (Jonassen, 1947, 390). Following World War II and into the 1950s, Norwegian ships numbered between 400 and 1,000 annually, with crews averaging 35 persons (Rygg, 239; NT 12/14/50 and 8/14/52). The volume of sailors varied between 14,000 and 35,000 annually. The large number of sailors added to the activity of the NA community, and particularly increased the activities of and need for the Seamen's Church. This enabled the Seamen's Church to remain a major center of NA activity.

The Seamen's Church's annual calendar of event became a focal point of the broader NA community. Not only did NAs participate, but in the process supported the Seamen's Church, and thereby maintained their ethnic awareness. The calendar of events includes an annual

May 17 event (for example, NT 5/21/31) and an annual June 7 celebration (for example, NT 6/3/54), commemorating both Norway's freedom from Sweden in 1905 and, after World War II, the King's return to a "free" Norway. In September there has been an annual "Leader's Festival" celebrating famous Norwegian explorers, politicians and literary and musical figures. This is arranged in cooperation with a local Sons of Norway lodge (for example, NT 12/1/60). There is also an annual Christmas party for the benefit of the seamen. The participants at these events included NAs, not only from the metropolitan NA community but also from the entire U. S. Norwegians who were academicians (NT 5/14/53), politicians on visit in New York (NT 11/27/52) or employees in the New York Norwegian offices also participated (NT 12/9/48).

In addition to the above annual events there are numerous special events, all of which support the Church and strengthen its relation to the broader NA community. There were special concerts and programs arranged by NA organizations including the Norwegian Phalanx (NT 5/6/48), the Norwegian Singing Society (NT 3/10/49), the Norwegian Engineer's Society (NT 1/26/50), the Nordmanns-Forbundet (NT 10/2/52), the Norwegian Information Service (NT 10/1/53), the Nordisk Tidende (NT 2/3/55), and NA individuals (NT 3/1/56). These special events average perhaps one per month, excluding July and August, in addition to the Church's weekly services and auxiliary club meetings which include NAs.

Special events such as the acquisition of a larger church in 1927 (NT 3/31/27), parties honoring special "friends" of the church, for example, A. N. Rygg (NT 11/11/48), the acquisition of a new station wagon for the Church (NT 10/2/52), an anniversary, for example, its 75th

3

[NT 10/15/53] or its 100th (1978) , or an expansion of its facilities [1956 and 1966] primarily involved NAs in the celebrations and activities.

Crisis situations involving Norwegian seamen further illustrate the link of the Seamen's Church to the NA community. During the Norwegian shipping recession of early 1920s, hundreds of sailors were stranded in New York (Vilhelmsen, 187). NAs, primarily through their churches, responded by creating the Bethesda Mission which distributed food and clothing. Bethesda was supported by the Nordisk Tidende and numerous NA companies which collected funds and donated food. During the Depression of the 1930s, Bethesda Mission continued to operate and was incorporated into the larger Norwegian-American Relief Committee (Vilhelmsen, 190; Roedder, I, 236). The support came as before, from NA churches, businesses and individuals with the Nordisk Tidende directing the campaign (NT 11/11/26; 11/26/31).

During World War II the Seamen's Church was almost entirely dependent upon NA contributions since its funding from the Seamen's Mission in Norway ceased due to the Nazi occupation (NT 11/21/40; Sjomannskirken i Brooklyn: 1878-1953, 26-29). Events which were held as part of the annual calendar were now stressed as being more vital than ever. Special events were held, among these was one held by the Norwegian Engineer's Society which included a film from the Norwegian National Tourist Office and a speech by A. N. Rygg, President of the Norwegian Hospital (NT 11/21/40). The commanding officer of "Little Norway," an air force base begun in Canada after the invasion of Norway, was the featured guest at an appeal in the Seamen's Church (Roedder, II, 66-67). In November 1944, the pastor of the Seamen's Church was honored by the

Board of Directors of the Church at a Norwegian Club Dinner. It was attended by representatives of Nordisk Tidende and the Norwegian Hospital, the Consul General of New York, the President of the Norwegian Sea Captains' Association and members of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce and local NA churches. A check for \$1,500 collected By NA church youth groups was presented to the Seamen's Church to purchase a new station wagon to ease transportation between the church and the ports.⁴

The Board of Trustees of the Seamen's Church represents one further indication of its role as a link between NAs and Norwegians in New York and Norway. The Norwegian Consul General in New York has often served on the Church's Board of Trustees. In addition representatives of Norwegian organizations located in the U. S. and NA businessmen have been among the Board members. The Board during 1953, the Seamen's Church's 75th year, consisted of 9 men: Rolf Westad, Chairman, Borregard's (a Norwegian cellulose company) New York Division and member of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce (18 years on the Board); John Reiersen, Division Chief of Det Norske Veritas, a Norwegian shipping organization, Seamen's Home Board member, said to be "a man of influence in shipping circles" (18 years on the Board); Major Hans Rude Jacobsen, a NA engineer with the New York Transit Authority (13 years on the Board); Georg Unger Vetlesen, President of the Board, SAS, Inc., President and Chairman of the Board for the Norwegian America Line, and member of Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce (10 years on the Board); Captain S. C. Halvorsen, formerly a shipwreck agent and manager for the Norwegian Underwriter's Agency for the U. S. and Canada (8 years on the

Board); Captain Marcus Hegmann, Chief of Norwegian-America Line pier and Board member of the Seamen's Home (2 years on the Board); Erling Samuelsen, "well known shipping man" (1 year on Board); and New York Consul General Thor Brodtkorb (1 year on Board) in addition to the Church's pastor who is an ex officio member (Sjømannskirken i New York 1878-1953, 31). These men are representative of the influential circles within the NA community which serve the Seamen's Church.

In addition to visiting Norwegians who participate in Seamen's Church events as honored guests and/or speakers, visitors from the royal family include the church as one of their stops. This occurred in 1939 when Crown Prince Olav visited the World's Fair in New York, and during World War II when the Crown Prince and his wife Princess Martha visited the church (NT 4/19/45). In 1960 when the new Crown Prince, Harold, visited New York (NT 9/22/60) and again in 1965 on the occasion of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce's 50th Anniversary (Roedder, II, 322-323), he attended functions at the Seamen's Church. Olav, now King Olav V, returned again to the Seamen's Church in October, 1975 during the Norwegian Sesquicentennial celebrations in October. These appearances by Norway's royal family serve to further heighten Norwegian awareness and consciousness. Their appearance becomes a major event in the NA community and results in numerous parties and activities. NA as well as American papers report on the visit further increasing the ethnic consciousness of the NA metropolitan community.

By the mid 1960s the Port of New York began to decline as America's major seaport. This of course had an impact on the Seamen's Church, which resulted in reduced numbers of sailors in an increasingly wider

geographic area as the Port of New York continued to expand into New Jersey. The Seamen's Church remains, however, a center of NA activity. It will celebrate its 100th anniversary in October, 1978. The Seamen's Church has been a link between the NA community and Norway for 100 years. On the occasion of the Seamen's Church's 75th anniversary, then Nordisk Tidende editor Soyland wrote:

The Seamen's Church is a lighthouse which casts its light in two directions, toward the sea and toward the land. It has combined the concept of culture with religion, and in its Norwegian Colony in Brooklyn stands as a fortress of Norwegianness while much else that is Norwegian declines and disappears. Therefore, it should be supported and cherished (NT 10/15/53).

The Norwegian Seamen's Church continues to represent a visible link between the NA community and Norway and its sailors. It is however primarily an institution which appeals to the Norwegian-born NAs since most of its programs are conducted in the Norwegian language. Its staff is generally comprised of Norwegian citizens and it is affiliated with the Lutheran Church of Norway.

The Church is located in 1978 in a primarily Italian neighborhood therefore, most of its supporters commute to it for programs. It remains an integral part of the metropolitan NA community, however, with close ties to Nordisk Tidende and Norwegian language churches in Brooklyn. The Church also has ties to shipping-related organizations which are not discussed in this dissertation, but which add still another dimension to the NA community. Some of these organizations have been noted with reference to the Church's Board of Trustees.

The church's operations have been declining due to reductions in Norwegian shipping activity in the New York Port during the past two decades. Nonetheless the Seamen's Church is still considered one of the "NA" institutions in the metropolitan area. Another of these is the Norwegian Children's Home.

Footnotes

1

Prior to 1878, work among seamen (including Norwegians) in New York was carried on by government and religious organizations. Among the latter were Scandinavian Methodists, who operated seamen's services from a ship, the Bethelship. Vilhelm Vilhelmsen, Den Norske Sjømannsmisjon i 75 År, 1864-1939 (Bergen, Norway: J. D. Beyer, 1939), p. 182. The Bethelship was anchored at a Manhattan and later at a Brooklyn Pier. This seamen's mission later developed into a permanent NA congregation. In 1978 it is located in Sunset Park, Brooklyn. The Norwegian Synod of the Lutheran Church in the U. S. (most Norwegians were members of the Lutheran Church which is the State Church of Norway) also worked among Norwegian sailors as early as 1867 (Ibid., 183) in cooperation with the Norwegian Seamen's Mission, the parent organization of the Seamen's Churches. The Lutheran Church of Our Savior, now located in Bay Ridge and the site of NA events, also worked with Norwegian sailors. A. N. Rygg, Norwegians in New York (Brooklyn, N. Y. 1941), p. 96. Further, the Seamen's Church was the parent to Trinity Lutheran Church, one of the major NA Lutheran Churches. Presently it is located in Sunset Park, Brooklyn.

2

Operation of an employment office was for many years one of the Seamen's Home's functions. By the mid 1930s this service became a financial burden and the Scandinavian Shipping Office was established through the efforts of Norway's Consul General in New York and with the support of the organizations of shipowners and seamen's unions in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. A. N. Rygg, Norwegians in New York (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1941), p. 106.

3

The Seamen's Church celebrated its 100th anniversary in the Fall of 1978. The anniversary booklet was edited by Nordisk Tidende's editor, Sigurd Daasvand, and printed by Northway Printers, publishers of Nordisk Tidende (Nordisk Tidende, Brooklyn, N. Y., discussions with staff members while researching the paper's archives, 1977). The booklet, Norsk Sjømannsmisjon i New York, 1878-1978, 100 År, appeared in October, 1978. The discrepancy in the dates of Wilhelmsen's book (1864) and Daasvand's (1878) is due to Wilhelmsen's concern with the history of the Seamen's Mission in Norway. 1878 marks the establishment of a Seamen's Church in New York.

4

The economic and social ties between the Seamen's Church and the NA community are cited in publications commemorating special occasions in the life cycle of the Norwegian Seamen's Mission in Bergen, Norway. See Vilhelmsen, 1939, 182-190, the Sjømannskirken i New York 1878-1953, 7-9, Nordisk Tidende (e.g. NT 10/15/53) and Sigurd Daasvand, ed.,

Den Norsk Sjømannsmisjon i New York, 1878-1978, 100 År (no publisher cited, 1978), pp. 2 and 20.

⁵
Information from the "Scandinavian American Bulletin," Erik J. Friis, ed., Vol. 20, #5, May, 1975, p. 1. (This is the monthly publication of the Scandinavian-American Business Association, Inc.)

CHAPTER 10

THE NORWEGIAN CHILDREN'S HOME; A CHARITABLE INSTITUTION

NAs in the metropolitan area have founded and supported numerous permanent and ad hoc philanthropic organizations. These organizations were among the integrating factors holding the NA community together. Their transition and demise is one aspect of the changing nature of ethnicity within the NA community in the 1970s.

The philanthropies began at the turn of the century¹ and are the results of an interplay of factors including immigration, the size and density of the NA population, the preponderance of families of child-rearing age, the occupational structure of the NA and economic and social changes within the New York metropolitan area and national society. A further crucial factor linked to the above was conscious NA community building on the part of persons such as A. N. Rygg of the Nordisk Tidende (as discussed in Period II of the newspaper chapter). In the 1970s these philanthropies are symbols of an ethnic enclave in Brooklyn, New York which is slowly diminishing. One of these organizations is the Norwegian Children's Home which, when its development is examined, indicates the effect of a declining ethnic enclave upon ethnic institutions and upon one form of ethnicity. It is the existence of such institutions however which retards the process of ethnic enclave dissolution. Despite changing needs, ethnic leaders are able to manage ethnicity by appealing to NAs to support such philanthropies as the Children's Home, one of the most prominent among NAs.

The philanthropies began at a time when the NA population was increasing in size, improving its economic position and evidencing the first

conscious community building attempts. "It has been a Norwegian characteristic to avoid larger public institutions, if ... at all possible" (Rygg, 1949, 3). Creating charitable institutions was an attempt to take care of "their own race" (Idem).

The Norwegian Children's Home Association (the Home) was begun in 1909 and incorporated in 1912 by representatives from the Norwegian National League² and other NA community business and religious groups. It was created because the "hazardous work, as iron workers, riggers and seamen on harbor vessels," of NAs often resulted in death or maiming leaving children without one or more parents, (Rygg, 1949, 5).

The goal of the Home, as stated in its incorporation papers, was:

To establish and maintain a Norwegian Children's Home for the care and maintenance and rearing of children who through loss of parents or from other causes, are or may become destitute, helpless or needy, and in other ways to interest itself in promoting the welfare of destitute, helpless or needy children (Ibid., 4).

The philosophy behind the home was one of taking care of one's own people and of the strong caring for the weak. "It is...a good and sound rule in all complications of life that the strong shall help the weak"³ (Ibid., 44). It was to be an institution owned "by the whole Norwegian people.... each of us is therefore in a sense responsible for its welfare" (Ibid., 43). For almost seventy years it has remained an institution dependent upon the good will of NAs. Unlike most other NA philanthropies, the Children's Home has not been formally linked to another NA or Norwegian institution such as a church body, although it has received the support of a broad spectrum of NA community organizations.

For example, the goal of the Home, to provide a residence for children of NA parents incapable of providing for their children, was carried out in the organization's first five years of existence by funds raised at annual bazaars. Major support was provided by fifty seven (57) social, fraternal, women's church and business organizations and clubs. This general support base has remained constant throughout the Home's existence.

The Children's Home bazaars have been held in the area of NA population concentration in the "colony," in Brooklyn. It was primarily the people of the local NA community who attended the bazaars. Thus the general NA populace in addition to the work of those in organizations participating in the bazaar, enabled the Home to be successful by making the bazaars profitable. The bazaars represented the "greatest source of income" for the Home throughout its history (NT 1/17/35). The bazaars, which have included raffles for both automobile and later round-trip airplane tickets to Norway, netted about one-half of the Home's annual operating budget. In addition to bazaars, funds were raised through gifts and wills which totalled \$600,000 in the Home's first 40 years and \$400,000 in the years between 1949 and 1959 (NT 10/8/59). The increased support represents, in addition rising operating costs and inflation, funds obtained from the estates of NAs who had been supporters of the Home.

In addition to the above, other gifts to the Home came from NA individuals and organizations as well as from Norwegians and Norway-based organizations and represent a broad base support. Gifts included money and item donations such as instruments, furnishings and extra

facilities (Rygg, 1949, 15-16 and 19).⁶

Support for the second Home built in 1932 continued to demonstrate a broad base of NA support. NA organizations and individuals including two of the Home's women's groups, the Ladies Auxiliary (\$1,050) and the Thursday Club (\$280) donated money for furnishings. The Ladies Auxiliary of the ~~Norsemen's~~ Lodge masonic club (\$200), a Daughters of Norway Lodge together with a Sons of Norway Lodge (\$200), NA churches (\$245), and the Bronx Aid Society (\$85) also contributed. Money (\$110) and furniture were also donated by two individuals. The total furnishings were said to value \$2,500 (Ibid., 24).⁷

These contributions suggest the importance of wealthy NA organizations and average NAs to the Home. The small donors, however were praised, especially by Nordisk Tidende's editorials, for their role in NA charitable efforts (e.g., NT 10/8/59). It was A. N. Rygg, who consciously sought to build NA community through support for institutions who initiated the practice of systematic praise for any effort. It was also Rygg who wrote the appeals for funds for many charities.⁸ The efforts of the Nordisk Tidende staff did not go unrewarded, although often not cited, the Norwegian News Company was the publisher of special brochures and booklets commemorating major events and anniversaries. Thus it was in the paper's interest to support the continued maintenance of any NA organization which in turn provided the paper with a larger field of NA activity.

The crucial role of the Nordisk Tidende was shown in 1934 when the Children's Home was faced with financial collapse. Rygg wrote in that "only a resolute pulling in of our belts will prevent the Children's Home

from wrecking on the rocks." He noted that "if the Norwegian-Americans were not careful the institution, which cost \$120,000, would be sold for a 'song' to real estate speculators ... outside of our ethnic group." The article, he explained, is being written to give the reader an understanding of the Home's economic situation. The "splendid and costly building, one of the most beautiful monuments which Norwegians have built in Brooklyn" must endure. For twenty-five (25) years the Home has been supported with at least \$120,000 in "cold cash." The Home's treasury was almost empty and it could not wait to next year's bazaar because mortgage and operation payments had to be made.

Rygg proposed a way to handle the problem. The Home was approaching its 25th anniversary and therefore a celebration would be held in the NA Zion Lutheran Church. The aim of the event was to sell one thousand tickets at \$1.00 each. "It is time for our friends to come forth"
 9
 (NT 12/27/34).

The Nordisk Tidende issue following the celebration stated in a page one article, that the Home's crisis was over. More than one thousand attended with a profit over \$2,000, double the original goal. Editor Hans Olav ended his editorial: "It is a moving demonstration of the Norwegian group's viability and strength" (NT 2/14/35).

Rygg continued to appeal to NAs as a "Norwegian" group in order to gain support for the Children's Home. Olav continued Rygg's editorial position of praising NAs for their support of charity. Such appeals and praise apparently worked because the \$2,000 was raised at a time when individual giving to NA charities had declined; it was 1935, the fifth year of the Depression. In addition to the Home, NAs were also

supporting another children's home, a hospital, two homes for the aged, the Seamen's Church and two missions, the Emergency Relief Committee as well as more than 30 congregations.

The Home's finances, based on bazaar incomes, did not improve until World War II. Comparing 1935 and 1946 figures, the bazaar intake more than doubled from \$4,520 to \$12,352 (Rygg, 1949, 35). Following the war organizational support revived. For example, a male NA chorus, the Norwegian Singing Society, then in its 57th year and a regular supporter of the Home, held a concert for the Home in 1947 (NT 12/4/47) which netted \$600 (Rygg, 1949, 28). The six Brooklyn Sons of Norway Lodges created a scholarship fund for the Home's children (NT 3/4/48). The Norwegian Phalanx, a federation of NA organizations created in the metropolitan area to aid Norway during World War II, raised \$2,400 for 8 NA institutions the Home received a 1/8 share, \$300. The arrangements were made by S. A. Haram, Phalanx President and member of the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce, with Norwegian America Line leaders who permitted the organization to hold an open house aboard the new "Oslofjord" (NT 4/27/50). A similar arrangement with the Swedish America Line also resulted in \$300 for the Home in 1948 (Rygg, 1949, 28). The Christian Friends Group, an organization approximately 14 NA churches and institutions in Brooklyn had "for a number of years (donated) some substantial," although unstated, "contributions" (*Ibid.*, 28). In 1954 Peggy Wood, a NA star of the "I Remember Mama" T.V. series, gave \$1,600 in winnings she had earned on a television quiz show to the Home (NT 1/21/54).

Each of the contributions represent activity within different sectors of NA community including religious, social, Business and charitable organizations. The Nordisk Tidende promoted, supported and publicized each of the events. Such activity was one element of the NA community which resulted in NA solidarity behind a philanthropic organization.

In addition, there were also special events held at the Home which served to honor or celebrate the donors. One of the special events begun in 1947 by the Home's President, S. A. Haram, was an annual open house. According to Haram it was a "good will project...to awaken interest in the Home....The Home belongs to the people which support it," said Haram (NT 10/8/59). The open house set a record attendance in 1965 by drawing 1,000 persons (Roedder, II, 323). It continues as one of the Home's regular events in 1978, although its 1978 attendance was 250 (NT 6/15/78).

Other special programs focused specifically on the Home's children, for example, they were among members of the Viking Junior Band. The band was begun by the Brooklyn Sons of Norway Lodges and later developed into its own organization until it disbanded in the late 1960s. The band also participated in the May 17 Parade and gave special concerts at the Home and at other NA events.

In addition, the Home's children participated as marchers, sometimes with a float, in the annual May 17 Parade. They were in the first parade in 1952 (Roedder, II, 248) and in most of the subsequent parades to 1978.

The Children's Home has, since its beginning in 1909, been operated by a Board of Trustees. The trustees have served voluntarily and have

consisted primarily of NA businessmen and women active in NA organizational circles. Between 1909 and 1959 a total of 101 persons served on the Home's Board nearly two-thirds of whom were men, (63 males (62%) and 38 females (38%). The Board members were active in the Norwegian (American) National League which was credited with the idea and initial support of the Home. Further thirty seven (37; 36.6%) persons were positively identified as being active in at least one other NA organization including the Norwegian Hospital, the NA Emergency Relief Committee, Sons of Norway, the May 17 Parade Committee, the Nordmanns-Forbundet, the Norwegian Club, the Viking Junior Band, the Scandinavian American Business Association, the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, the Norseman's Masonic Club and its Women's Auxiliary as well as the National League and the American Scandinavian Foundation. It is probable, based on the support the Home received from the various women's auxiliaries that the figure representing persons active in other NA organizations would be higher if auxiliaries were included since the ladies auxiliaries of the Norseman Masonic Lodge, the Scandinavian Business Association and the Home's own auxiliaries were among the Home's most ardent supporters (Rygg, 1941, 94; NT 10/8/59). During the 1970s, women's organizations continued to provide a considerable base of the organizational support (NT 11/3/77) and local businesspersons continued to serve on the Board and support the bazaar (NT 4/27/78).

A 50th Anniversary booklet for the Home was written in 1959 by Bent Vanberg, then editor of the NA Chamber of Commerce's "Norwegian American
10
Commerce" journal. Vanberg had also edited the Norwegian Club's 40th Anniversary journal in 1954. Reflecting on these experiences Vanberg wrote that the Home was supported by

... men in prominent positions, in industry, in trade and in official life which, in the Norwegian Club, had found themselves a meeting place. The pleasant and encouraging thing is that one finds that many of these names which one found in (the Norwegian Club) book...men who had reached their goals and did it well...one also found in the book about the Children's Home as supporters of a good social cause concerning children who are able to get a better start in life than they would have otherwise received. The same persons are found in accounts from a large number of Norwegian organizations in Greater New York. For them also, the Children's Home is a common denominator, a cause close to one's heart (NT 10/18/59).

Of the one hundred and one (101) names listed as having been Home Board members during its 50 year history, 12 (19% of males) could be positively identified as having been Norwegian Club members and an additional 5, 17 persons in total (27% of males), were active in NA Manhattan business circles especially the NA Chamber of Commerce.

The development of the Children's Home has indicated its dependence on the U. S. economy as mediated by its impact on the NA supporters. The size of the NA population is also a significant factor. There were fifty-seven (57) different tables in the Home's first bazaars (Rygg, 1949, 8-9). This number declined to about 40 between 1932 and 1949 (NT 1/31/35 and Rygg, 1949, 33). The number declined again to 28 between 1949 and 1959 (NT 10/8/59). By 1977 the number of organizations participating in the bazaar was about thirteen (NT 11/3/77). The number of tables declined as the local (Brooklyn) NA population did despite the attendance of "commuters" at the Home's bazaars and events. Participants at the 1975 bazaar, for example, were cited as coming from New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts and "even Florida," (NT 11/6/75) and not only from the

Brooklyn area of NA concentration. The Home did have a history of support from Staten Island, the Bronx and Long Island, but the support is now spreading and thinning out.

The decline in the number of tables also mirrors a decline in the number of organizations in Brooklyn. Both dissolution of and mergers between organizations shrink the participation. Declines have been noted in other areas. The Home's Open House which begun following World War II reaching 1,000 persons in attendance in 1968 had declined to 250 by 1978 (NT 6/15/78) reflecting the decline (by migration and death) of the Home's earlier supporters. One of the Home's responses to both the declining NA population and density of organizational events has been the initiation of two annual bazaars in the spring and fall.

As immigration dwindled the number of families with children declined. Further the occupations of NAs are no longer as dangerous and other American institutions have replaced the need for a Norwegian Children's Home. As a result, the number of children in the Home has declined. The peak year was 1919 when 78 children, 28 above the Home's stated capacity, were permitted by New York State because of a shortage of orphanages (Rygg, 1949, 20). Between 1948 and 1958 the Home had between 32 and 45 children (NT 10/8/59). This reduction to below capacity had occurred despite a policy change in 1941 which enabled the Home to "meet changing social conditions by accepting children on a more or less temporary basis." This might occur in the case of a parent too ill to adequately care for the children (Rygg, 1949, 32). Further there are non-NA children in the Home. Despite changing By-Laws admitting non-NAs and accepting children on a temporary basis, the occupancy of the Home

averages less than twenty (20) children in 1978. Nonetheless the Home's Board has steadfastly (some say stubbornly) maintained the Home as a "Norwegian" institution. The City of New York has offered to support the Home which would give the City the right to place children. According to S. A. Haram, President of the Home in 1959, this would mean "a very mixed selection of children from different nationality, racial, and religious backgrounds. When this occurs the Board has lost control" of the Home (NT 10/8/59).

Thus the Home's support, as in the case of many of the charities, came and continues to come from NAs. By 1959 over a million dollars had been donated to the Home for its buildings and operations. As Editor Soyland wrote in a Nordisk Tidende editorial, that "is no small sum when one considers that the (NA) ethnic group has other charities to support.... The Children's Home is a fine monument to the Norwegian's self help, honesty and charity" (NT 10/9/59).

The declining NA population base in Brooklyn and the maintenance of orphans by public institutions have been among the factors which have led to rumors of the Home's demise in recent years. A Director of the Home's Board was the main speaker at the 1978 annual open house. "He dispelled rumors that the Home was about to close" (NT 6/15/78). Nonetheless the NA ethnic community's ability to maintain local institutions such as the Home is declining. These institutions have depended upon a spatial ethnic community. One constant in the Home's history has been the location of its bazaars in the area of NA concentration. In 1978 the bi-annual bazaars were held in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn at a NA Lutheran Church (NT 4/27/78). NA ethnicity, however, is taking on new

institutional forms which are based on larger spatial areas, metropolitan, national and international. If the Home is to survive it will have to continue to be supported by a spatially diverse NA ethnic group as well as an increasingly American-born constituency.

The philosophy of caring for one's own ethnic group has survived at the Children's Home since prior to the Depression. In general NA philanthropies have either dissolved or merged into other, often Lutheran, bodies. As the ethnic enclave declines, local ethnic institutions begin to change their character or dissolve. The Norwegian Children's Home despite the virtual lack of need for such an institution remains a symbol of an ethnic enclave that exists primarily in the minds of the older immigrant generation. Still there are enough supporters to maintain the Home which still retains its Norwegian identity. These supporters are aging and one expects the institution to dissolve unless its present goals and operations are changed to meet more relevant needs. Until that time the Home's existence retards the ethnic decline, its leaders continue to urge its support and useful function in the NA community. Nordisk Tidende continues to report its activities, but unlike the newspaper which has kept abreast of a changing NA ethnicity, the Home has not because its objectives are less adaptable to the changing metropolitan and national character of NA ethnicity. In contrast, the two NA homes for the aged are linked to broader religious organizations and continue to meet the needs of the ethnic population. Support for these homes is greater among American-born generations who want their parents or relatives in a NA environment. The persistence of homes for the aged is therefore more relevant to present day needs, a link between the ethnic

enclave and changing forms of NA ethnicity. One of the major viable NA institutions which has adapted to current economic and social realities is the Sons of Norway, an organization providing, for example, insurance for youth and adults (including retirement) and which is not dependent upon the immigrant generation or the generation of the ethnic enclave for its perpetuation. Nonetheless NA charitable organizations, of which the Home is only one, were and are important mediating organizations in the NA community which unite the various NA elements. The contributors have had a vested interest in the Home which thus adds to the community feeling and pride in ethnicity among the NAs involved.

Footnotes

1

These philanthropic organizations have included the Norwegian Deaconesses' Home and Hospital in Brooklyn (now called Lutheran Medical Center); The Christian Old Peoples Home in Brooklyn; The Carl Michael Eger Norwegian Lutheran Home for the Aged in Staten Island; the Christian Orphan's Home in New Jersey; the Bethesda Mission for Men in Brooklyn (now the Blue Cross Mission); the Emigrant Mission in Brooklyn; the Norwegian Lutheran Community Service which operated the Emergency Relief Committee during the depression; Camp Norge; and a day nursery. A. N. Rygg, The Norwegian Children's Home (Brooklyn, N. Y.: no publisher listed, 1949) p. 3.

2

The Norwegian National League was a federation of NA organizations in New York. It was begun in 1905 upon the urging of the Norwegian Club to aid the Norwegian cause in what appeared to be an imminent war with Sweden. It remained an advocate of the NA group, arranged May 17 and Leif Ericson events and supported charitable institutions. A. N. Rygg, Norwegians in New York (Brooklyn, N.Y.: The Norwegian News Co., 1941) p. 82.

3

A residence was built in 1914 at Gubner and 88th Sts. near Bay Ridge, Brooklyn in an area now part of the Dyker Beach Park. In 1932 it moved to 88th and 13th Avenue where it is presently located, when the City of New York decided to build the park.

4

The fifty-seven clubs and organizations were: social and fraternal (N=28; 49%), women's clubs and auxiliaries (N=11; 19%), businesses (N=5, 9%, church (N=1; 2%) and not identified (N=12; 21%). The "not identified" were probably small women's organizations which were temporary in nature. They were: Busy Bee, Sunset Heights Table, Helping Hand, Hamilton Booth, Imperial Table, Daisy Chain, Brooklyn Table, Willing Workers, Manhattan Table, Christiana Table, Queen Maud and Loving Neighbors. A. N. Rygg, The Norwegian Children's Home (Brooklyn, N.Y.: no publisher listed, 1949), p. 9.

5

The efforts of the Home's NA lawyer, Henry Halting, were cited for an increase of income from wills during the 1950s (NT 4/30/53; 1/28/54; 10/8/59). Halting was a member of the Norwegian Club serving as President 1956-1957. He was also active in the Scandinavian-American Business Association.

6

Furnishings for the first building erected in 1914 were valued at \$2,500 and were donated by a businessman, the Norwegian (American) Suffrage League, the Home's Ladies' Auxiliary and individuals from four NA families. In 1916 a book collection was donated by an active NA Chamber of Commerce Businessman, A. N. Rygg, The Norwegian Children's Home (Brooklyn, N.Y.: no publisher listed, 1949) pp. 15-16 and 19. Other examples of gifts to the Home included a contribution of \$2,500 by a prominent NA engineer, E.A. Cappelan-Smith in 1916. He was only a sometime resident in the metropolitan area, but was a philanthropist to many NA charities in the New York area. For example he contributed to the Summer Camp, Camp Norge (NT 5/31/28) operated by the Norwegian Lutheran Community Service based at the Norwegian Hospital. (By 1931 Cappelan-Smith, as noted in "Setting the Stage," was honored with the Royal Order of St. Olav). In 1918 one-half the proceeds, \$613., from a lecture given by Norway's Special Minister to the U.S., in the U. S. negotiating Norway's neutrality in World War I, were donated to the Home, The United Norwegian Societies, an organization which consisted chiefly of Nordisk Tidende's owners Arnesen and Rygg, contributed over \$700 from a May 17 celebration in 1918. In 1921 the United Norwegian Societies donated the proceeds, about \$1,100., from a Norwegian film evening held at the Brooklyn Academy of Music to the Home (Rygg, 1949, pp. 19-20). The Home's Mens' Aid, which operated between 1914 and 1923 often arranged festivals and picnics to raise funds for the Home (Ibid., 18). In 1926 one-quarter of the proceeds, \$379, from NA participation in "Norway Day" at the U. S. Sesquicentennial in Philadelphia, Pa. was given to the Home (Ibid., 19-20). The Home was also one of the NA institutions visited by Norwegian royalty on trips to the NA "colony" from 1939 to the present.

7

Although sum equaled the value of the 1914 furnishings, the new Home was erected in the middle of the Depression. This might account for the lack of increase in furniture value.

8

The role of A. N. Rygg and Nordisk Tidende in community building is discussed more fully in the Nordisk Tidende chapter, especially Period II.

9

The main speakers included Dr. Charles H. Johnson and Dr. Charles Trexler, both supporters of the Home. Johnson had been the Commissioner of Public Welfare in New York State until 1933 and was, in 1934, Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Masons in New York State. Other speakers included Norway's Consul General in New York, Zion's pastor and A. N. Rygg, President of both the Norwegian Hospital and the Norwegian-American Emergency Relief Committee created during the Depression. Nordisk Tidende Assistant Editor, Soyland, accompanied a NA singer on the piano (NT 1/31/34). Ninety-eight (98) individuals who contributed money were listed in the paper including prominent NA businessmen.

10

Bent Vanberg is editor of the Sons of Norway's international "Viking" magazine in Minneapolis, Minnesota 1978. He had been active in the New York NA community during the 1940s and 1950s. He had worked with the Norwegian Information Service after the War (NT 12/9/48), was active in the Nordmanns-Forbundet NY Chapter and also worked with the Norwegian Telegram Bureau as a New York representative (NT 11/11/48, 1/24/52; 4/24/52; 1/22/53; 2/10/55). Vanberg was also a representative for Norwegian Radio (NT 10/18/59) and editor of the NA Chamber of Commerce's monthly journal during the 1950s. In 1959 he coordinated the May 17 Parade publicity with Nordisk Tidende's Soyland (NT 11/5/59). He and his wife also owned shares in Nordisk Tidende after the paper was sold in 1958 (NT 10/9/58).

CHAPTER 11
THE SONS OF NORWAY

The Sons of Norway (S/N) is the largest and fastest growing of the NA ethnic organizations in the U. S. and in the New York metropolitan area. It represents an important ethnic phenomenon since Norwegian immigration has virtually ceased since 1968.¹ Nonetheless its U. S. membership had more than doubled between 1965 and 1975 and the east coast division containing the New York metropolitan area increased its membership by about sixty-seven percent (67%) between 1960 (N=6,000) and 1976 (N=10,096). At present S/N's appeal is largely to American-born persons not all of them of Norwegian descent.

S/N is an international "non-profit, charitable and benevolent fraternal insurance society" which was founded in Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1895 (Norborg, 34-35).

The official goals as of 1970 are:

- (1) To unite in a fraternal organization men and women of Norwegian birth, descent or affiliation, who are of good moral character (not explained);
- (2) To provide for the payment of sick and disability payments to its members.
- (3) To provide for the payment of death and endowment benefits to its members or their beneficiaries and to provide for death, endowment and annuity benefits upon the lives of children, and such other benefits as may be permitted by law from time to time, to be provided by fraternal benefit societies (Norborg, 147-148).

The S/N's membership comes from the U. S. and Canada. Its membership was initially restricted to Norwegian-born and Norwegian-descent persons and was therefore primarily an immigrant organization through

the World War II period. Initially a male organization, it opened its membership to women in the World War I era (Ibid., 91) and since 1946 to any person of "good moral character" and having an "affiliation" to Norway. Ethnic "affiliation" is a crucial term which

...covers persons married to members, but the absence of any strict definition holds the door open to moral persons who apply for membership, because they feel drawn to the fellowship of the Association (Ibid., 150).

Although only insurance participants could initially join, two types of membership were created as early as 1900 when "social," non-insurance as well as insurance members were accepted (Ibid., 49). However, the "social" members were not eligible to serve as delegates to the S/N conventions; therefore, they had no voice in policy matters. The exclusion of non-insurance members from convention participation was changed in 1950 when social members were given the same voting privileges as insurance-holding members (NT 8/31/50).

The S/N's legal changes began after immigration declined due to restrictive immigration policy passed in the U. S. in the 1920s.

Thus, despite a virtual cessation of Norwegian immigration S/N has been able to increase its membership through a series of Constitutional and By-Law Changes which have broadened its membership qualifications. S/N now has a membership of "over 100,000 persons".² The greatest increase came after 1965 when membership grew by 150%-- from 40,000 in 1965 to 100,000 in 1975. In addition to membership qualification changes, acceptance of larger numbers of non-insurance, social members³ has also accounted for the increase.

It was also in the early 1950's that "juvenile insurance" began to be sold [Norborg, 175]. Youths became involved in S/N activities at this time although it was not until the 1970s that the system of Junior Lodges began (Ibid., 199). In 1974 the "Unge Venner" (Young Friends) groups were officially established and recognized within the S/N organization (Minutes, 43rd International Biennial Convention, 43).

S/N as an insurance organization reveals several key factors which have to be considered in the study of ethnic persistence: (1) it was created in response to American economic circumstances and (2) it was an urban development. Its 18 founding members created Sons of Norway in 1895 in the wake of the economic collapse of 1893. Secondly it was founded in the city of Minneapolis, whereas most NAs in 1895 were rural dwellers. Its founding members were "fairly Americanized immigrants" having lived in the U. S. between 13 and 26 years (Norborg, 41). Further the organization was organized on the model of American fraternal societies. It therefore developed along the lines of American fraternal organizations. It began as a small group, in this case in an urban NA community, based upon mutual trust. As it increased in size and as new technology relating to actuarial skills developed, the structure changed becoming based upon more business-like procedures utilizing actuarial tables. Finally state legislatures demanded more accountability, resulting in increasing centralization (Ibid., 85). The centralization continued, as did specialization of the staff, as the insurance fund was invested to attempt to increase its holdings.

The S/N's central administration, the Supreme Lodge, is located in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The centralization was primarily necessary

to accomodate insurance requirements but was welcomed and supported by the leaders in different areas of the country who thought that geographical subdivisions in the form of Districts "would enhance the chances to build a strong national organization" Ibid., 92-93). The Supreme Lodge adminsters to seven District Lodges corresponding to seven regions in North America in 1978. District Lodges are comprised of local lodges. The individual local lodges are the basis of the national organization (Ibid., 85 and 186). The biennial Supreme Lodge convenes to handle matters of policy. Delegates are nominated by the local lodges and sent from the District Lodge. Thus S/N is a three level organization, which claims a democratic base at the local level.

Despite S/N's democratic polity, the increasing complexity of S/N due to organizational growth and changes in its insurance programs and operations have removed its day to day operations beyond the understanding and control of the average member. Lodge delegates to the Supreme Lodge conventions do, however, have veto powers which determine Constitutional and By-Law changes.

District Three: Eastern U. S.

District Three covers the entire U. S. eastern coast. Since 1950 the Third District unlike other S/N Districts, has been divided into zones (NT 8/21/50). Six of these zones include lodges in the New York metropolitan area (See Chart I). In 1976 there were 30 local lodges in the six zones in the metropolitan area accounting for about 5,900 persons or about 160 percent of the Third District's more than 10,000⁴ members. In addition there were three "junior lodges" (whose members

CHART I

Organization Chart: Levels of Organization of the Sons of Norway With Reference to District Three -- 1976

Level 1 International Headquarters
 Supreme Lodge

Level 2 DISTRICT LODGES (7)
 District Three

	<u>District Three Zones: * New York Metropolitan Area</u>				
I	II	III	IV	V	VIII
	Long	New	New York and	Staten	New England
Brooklyn	Island	Jersey	Westchester	Island	(including Connecticut)

Level 3 Local
 Individual, Lodges

Brooklyn: Arbeideren, Brooklyn, Faerder and Harald

Long Island: Garborg, Haakon, Henrik Ibsen, Loyal, Norden,
 Norge, Peconic and Roald

New Jersey: Freya, Leif Eriksen, Little Norway, Noreg,
 Norges Lys, Norseman, Pleasant Point, Viking

Westchester 8 lodges, 4 in metropolitan area-- Fram (Freehold, N. Y.),
Area: Klippen (Bronx); Norrona (New City, N.Y.) and Valhalla
 (Port Chester, N. Y.)

Staten Island: Fredheim and Nansen

Connecticut 10 lodges in Zone 8, only Connecticut lodges are in the
Area: metropolitan area: Olav, Ryvingen, Skaugum and Varden

* Zones are unique to District Three and are not, therefore, a separate level of national organization. In 1978 there are 11 Zones in District Three. Zone VI includes Washington, D. C., Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, Zone VII is Upstate New York, Zones VIII and X are in New England including Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Zones IX and XI are in Florida.

are 25 years of age or less] in the metropolitan area and there were junior members in other lodges which amounted to approximately six hundred youths (42nd International Convention Report, 1972, 45).

Each lodge is autonomous in terms of its social programs, but the Supreme Lodge has increasingly provided inputs into the local lodge. In the years prior to World War II S/N had been reluctant to provide centrally appointed staff. This hesitation has dwindled since World War II. As membership has grown there has been a corresponding increase in the size and duties of the central office although part-time help is still the rule (Viking, May 1978, 1948). Central office inputs began with the provision of part-time "organizers." Organizers aid the lodges with additional help in membership drives, fund raising activities and in the creation of new lodges. Thus the local lodge while still providing the basis of regular business and social meetings can not be understood separately from the overall organizational structure.

The network of leadership in the Sons of Norway, as one might expect due to changes in the national organization's Constitution, began to change after World War II and particularly in the 1960s. Early metropolitan area leadership was generally Norwegian-born and sometimes second generation. The District Three leadership was limited primarily to Brooklyn and New York area lodges since all but a few lodges on the east coast were from the metropolitan area (that is, 24 of 29 lodges, NT 9/14/39). Thus the Third District Board and delegates from the Third District to the Supreme Lodge Conventions were largely from the metropolitan area (NT 6/4/42). By 1976 the metropolitan area lodges were no longer as dominant representing about one half of the Third District lodges (30 of 58; 29th Annual Third District Directory, 8-10). Further non-NA and American-born leadership, while still the exception, is noticeable. This suggests changes within the S/N organization which will have an as yet undetermined impact of the future of NA ethnicity at least within the S/N.

S/N has been linked to a variety of NA, Norwegian and Scandinavian organizations which forms the network leading to ethnic adaptation and to the persistence of NA ethnicity in the New York area. The role of Nordisk Tidende is as noted, most important. Its former publisher Arnesen advocated that S/N become the national NA organization which he thought was necessary to maintain NA ethnicity (NT 2/7/35). Nordisk Tidende's links with S/N date back to at least 1927 (NT 3/3/27) and have continued to the present. Recognizing this important relationship the following resolution was passed at the 1974 Supreme Lodge convention:

This is to the Editor in New York who has made a great contribution to Norwegian-American culture and communications by giving up his employment in Norway to assume the editorship of Nordisk Tidende, thereby insuring the continuation of the fine work of Mr. Carl Soyland, former Editor.

BE IT RESOLVED, That this Convention express its appreciation and support of Sigurd Daasvand for his keen interest in Norwegian and American life and for his interests in Sons of Norway in particular (43rd International Biennial Minutes 1974, 44).

The Third District and S/N has always had the support, at least in terms of participation in S/N events, of the New York Norwegian Consul General's Office as well as the Norwegian Embassy in Washington. In 1923 the Norwegian Consul General was made an honorary member of the Third District (NT 8/5/48) and Consul Generals have been speakers at Third District events (for example, NT 9/30/37; 6/13/40). Ambassador Morgenstjerne was a regular participant at S/N special events (for example, NT 6/27/40), 1/11/45; 6/31/48).

Further S/N has been linked to the Nordmanns-Forbundet (Chapter 14).

It is interesting to note that when the newly established organization called Nordmanns-Forbundet made its first contacts in America (ca. 1907), Sons of Norway made immediate offers of organizational cooperation with this Oslo-based Norseman's League....Sons of Norway also provided some financial assistance to Nordmanns-Forbundet in those early days (Norborg, 83).

Direct organizational links never developed, but

during the sixty years to follow (to 1970), the absence of any organizational connections between the two groups has never hampered the living feeling of fellowship between the two societies. In fact, a substantial part of Nordmanns-Forbundet's

membership in America has always consisted of members of Sons of Norway, who provided much of the leadership (Ibid.).

Cooperation between the two organizations occurred, for example, during the 1939 World's Fair (NT 5/11/39). Further in the metropolitan area the fall "Leaders Festival" held at the Norwegian Seamen's Church has often been under the joint sponsorship of the Brooklyn S/N lodge Faerder and the New York Chapter of the Nordmanns-Forbundet. These linkages indicate the position of S/N in the network of NA and Norwegian organizations in the metropolitan area. Other examples of S/N's interconnections with the NA metropolitan community are its support of Norwegian charities such as the Norwegian Children's Home (NT 3/4/48; 10/8/59; 11/6/75), as well as the Eger Old People's Home (NT 5/26/55). In addition S/N has supported and been supported by transportation companies. In 1950 the Third District hosted the Supreme Lodge Convention in Brooklyn, New York. All of the meetings were held at the Hotel St. George in Brooklyn Heights except one on board the Norwegian-America Line's "Oslofjord." At that time master of ceremonies Sevrin A. Haram noted that this meeting was made possible because the Line changed the Oslofjord's schedule to accommodate the meeting. As Nordisk Tidende wrote:

"...and that was an historic event because the Sons of Norway Supreme Lodge held its first meeting ever on Norwegian ground" (NT 8/31/50).

SAS was also at the meeting and showed the film "Majestic Norway" (Ibid.). In Brooklyn members of the S/N lodges have been linked to the Scandinavian American Business Association (SABA) which provided membership and leader-

ship in the S/N. Thus the S/N lodges are part of the network of NA and Norwegian organizations including the press, the Norwegian Consulate and Embassy, and charitable and business organizations.

A 1960 Nordisk Tidende editorial stated that a growing S/N would have great value for future Norwegianness in America (NT 3/10/60). In 1977 however the same editor noted that S/N was quickly becoming non-NA. The editor had never been a proponent of "old fashioned Norwegianness." He constantly wrote about and advocated links to a modern Norway. S/N has developed links to modern Norway, nonetheless its own organizational growth necessitated opening its membership to non-NAs. The organization realized that NA World War II cooperative efforts among NAs would not be sustained. As Norborg wrote:

By 1945, the history of Norwegian-America (Det Norske Amerika) had long since passed its linguistic and nationalistic peak....By 1945-1946, it was perfectly evident that the inspiring cooperation caused by the wide-spread sympathy for the war-stricken Norwegian nation (1940-1945) had been but a temporary event. Henceforth, like all other Norwegian-American organizations, Sons of Norway realized that it would have to stand on its own feet in order to create its own future among her kinsmen. The era of transition in American Norwegianism had passed into a memory-world of closed yesteryears. Accordingly Sons of Norway felt duty bound to turn its face toward a completely American future of Americans for new American generations (Norborg, 144).

The S/N organization is an example of an ethnic group's adaptation to a new U. S. environment. Despite favorable memories which may exist toward the homeland, the ethnic and their organizations have to cope in the U. S. As Norborg stated, the organization's leaders decided that if it were to survive, it had to focus on Americans. The crucial factor

becomes organizational survival, although the ethnic factor remains. The ethnic factor however is intertwined with American history and change; ethnicity does not exist in a vacuum.

The Sons of Norway Foundation

Norwegian heritage was further strengthened in the 1960s when a separate non-profit Sons of Norway Foundation was incorporated in the State of Minnesota (Ibid., 210) which distributed funds to S/N lodges throughout the U. S. (42nd Convention Report, 1972, 35). It also distributes funds to non-S/N organizations in both the U. S. and Norway. The Foundation was begun in 1961; it was incorporated in 1966 (Norborg, 209-210).

The Foundation's activities are another positive factor in the S/N's membership increase in addition to its more inclusive membership laws. The largest gains correspond to the creation of the Foundation in the mid 1960s. The Foundation's functions provide a complement to both the S/N insurance programs and to the local lodge fraternal activities. Its funds are "used exclusively for charitable, scientific, literary and educational purposes" (Ibid., 210). The Foundation's purposes are to:

encourage and promote the study of the history and arts of our common cultural heritage, by providing scholarships and assistance in the development and furtherance of this program to students, teachers, lecturers and artists (Ibid.).

The Articles of Incorporation also state that the aims of the Foundation are:

To encourage the giving of gifts and contributions by individuals and corporations for; (1) use in providing scholarships in the study and promotion of Scandinavian history, arts, music, heritage; and (2) to assist in the development and furtherance in the program of interchange of students, teachers, and lecturers between the United States and the Scandinavian countries; (3) to provide education incentives and opportunities for all qualified and interested persons in Scandinavian culture and language; (4) to provide scholarships for Sons of Norway members and their children and grandchildren, including scholarships to the University of Oslo, Norway, International Summer School (Ibid., 210-211).

The Foundation operates the following programs: (1) Ski for Light, a "program of cross-country skiing for the visually handicapped"; (2) Camp Norway, held in Norway for S/N families and includes camping and opportunities "to meet Norwegian relatives and friends;" (3) Haraldvangen Camp School, a program held in Norway for NA and Norwegian handicapped and non-handicapped children "to live, learn and play together...;" (4) King Olav V Norwegian American Heritage Fund "becomes a new bridge between America and Norway that will forever remain," a scholarship fund; and (5) TUBFRIM, a Norwegian organization which collects cancelled stamps, the proceeds from which go for "the care of unfortunate, crippled and tubercular children" in Norway. In addition the Foundation operates a Camp Norway in the U. S. It is a month-long program for youth and stresses both camping and Norwegian cultural heritage programs of Norwegian language, dance and arts and crafts. Camp Norway seeks to serve and receive the support of the youth groups (Viking, May, 1977, 160).

These programs are for the use of all S/N members. They provide a direct contact with Norway and Norwegian culture. They also provide

opportunities for travel to Norway, for example, through scholarships. In addition the Foundation's Programs provide new types of ethnic activities. They do not only seek to hold on to a cultural heritage, but to keep in contact with current events in Norway and to reach beyond the ethnic group to aid other persons through service oriented programs. The nature of these programs and their effects upon the membership are in part shapers of future NA ethnicity. The programs operated by the Supreme Lodge and the Foundation represent only one part of the S/N program. They are promoted in the Viking and in the Nordisk Tidende in addition to local lodge newspapers and District communications. Thus to understand the metropolitan Sons of Norway it is necessary to understand that the lodge programs are in part dependent upon and related to both the Supreme Lodge and the Foundation.

Metropolitan Area Sons of Norway Lodges

The day by day activity of the majority of the S/N members occurs in the local lodges. In the metropolitan area S/N is 68 years old. The first lodge founded on the east coast was organized in Brooklyn, N. Y. in 1910 one year before the State of New York approved the sale of S/N insurance. The Third District was created in 1912. Other lodges soon followed in Manhattan, Bronx and Staten Island, New York and in Jersey City, New Jersey. S/N insurance sales were approved in N. J. in 1912 (Norborg, 205). By 1926 S/N had 35 east coast lodges with about 3,000 members. Membership gains were in part due to the campaigns led by O. C. Christopher, an organizer, with the support of Nordisk Tidende (NT 11/25/26). By 1928 there were 41 District Three lodges (NT 5/31/28). The economic Depression hurt S/N including the Third District in terms

of membership. The Third District recovered in the late 1930s when two S/N organizers were active. It was at that time that the first English speaking lodge appeared in Brooklyn (NT 3/1/37 and 4/8/37). The Third District had its 25th anniversary in 1937 (NT 5/6/37). It was also in 1937 that S/N expanded to the state of Connecticut as the NA metropolitan area population dispersed. S/N insurance sales were approved in Connecticut in 1937 (Norborg, 205). Although membership had been increasing since the Depression, there were about 1,000 fewer members in 1937 than in the late 1920s (NT 9/16/37). The number grew slowly reaching 4,000 by 1941 (NT 3/20/41), and approximately 5,800 by 1949 (NT 6/23/49). The Brooklyn lodges had about 1,900 members in 1949 (Ibid.), while the figure in 1976 was approximately 1,300 (29th Annual Directory). The entire Third District however grew to 10,000 members, or approximately 1/10 of the entire S/N (see Table I).

Demographic patterns cited with reference to other NA metropolitan organizations are therefore repeated with regard to the Third District. The population is dispersing from the area of NA concentration in Brooklyn to the suburban areas. A merger of four Brooklyn lodges into one in 1974 has reduced the number of lodges from 7 to 4 in Brooklyn.⁶ Thus the NA demographic decline in the area of NA concentration in Brooklyn is also reflected in the S/N organization. Lodges and lodge members from the New York City boroughs of the Bronx, Brooklyn and Manhattan have migrated to countries on Long Island, in Westchester, in Connecticut and in New Jersey, as well as to Florida. The organization however remains viable because a profitable insurance business, with a national clientele, forms the S/N's base. Despite the cessation

TABLE I

Sons of Norway Membership and Lodge Totals for Entire Organization and Third District for Selected Years.¹

YEAR	ENTIRE ORGANIZATION		THIRD DISTRICT (Founded in 1912)	
	Membership	Lodges	Membership	Lodges
1900	526	...		
1904	2564	...		
1910	6383	90		
1912	9321	123	254	6
1920	12258	167	...	...
1926	21883	255	3000	35
1928	...	...	3352	41
1930	24396	323	...	...
1933	...	...	1784	...
1934	15199	301	1578	20
1936	17354	298	...	...
1937	...	...	2207	24
1938	19134	298	...	...
1939	...	...	3500	29
1940	20511	301	...	...
1941	...	...	4000	30
1944	24487	287	4678	32
1946	...	...	5200	35
1947	31097	...	5819	...
1950	...	...	6093	40
1955	35624	...	...	41
1960	...	...	6000	41
1964	36692	...	...	...
1976	...	...	10096	58
1978	100000 ²	350	...	...

1

Information for the "entire organization" was obtained from Norborg, 1970. pp. 77, 89, 97, 107, 121, 154, and 191 unless otherwise indicated; for the Third District from Nordisk Tidende issues for 9/23/26; 11/25/26; 5/31/28; 5/9/33; 5/6/37; 9/16/37; 9/21/39; 5/8/41; 3/20/41; 6/1/44; 5/30/46; 6/6/46; 7/4/46; 10/16/47; 6/23/49; 6/29/50; and 3/10/60 unless otherwise indicated.

2

Information from Viking magazine, May, 1978, #5, Vol. 75, p. 148 and "The Heritage People" brochure, revised 9/75.

3

Lack of data corresponding to the entire organization and for the Third District for the same year is due to the fact that International Supreme Lodge meetings are held biennially in even-numbered years and the Third District meetings were held at that time, in the odd-numbered years.

4

Norborg, 154.

5

"Twenty-Ninth Annual Directory," Third District, Sons of Norway, published by the District Lodge, Mrs. Mary Skaalerud, Secretary, pp. 8-10

of immigration Third District growth continues. In the metropolitan area, the suburbs represent the areas of growth. Still the Brooklyn lodges are among the largest in total membership, averaging 344 persons in each of its 4 lodges, while Staten Island averaged 454 persons for each of its two lodges, Long Island averaged 200 persons for each of its eight lodges, and New Jersey 155 persons for each of its eight lodges (29th Annual Directory, 8-9).

Many NA organizations have not been able to appeal to the post-World War II Norwegian immigrant or American-born persons. S/N with a variety of economic, social (including recreation and sports) and cultural programs has had some appeal for youth.

Some persons express doubt that S/N is an NA ethnic organization, but rather a business organization. A Norwegian citizen employed in the Norwegian National Tourist Organization in New York City stated that S/N

... is not an ethnic club for Norwegians to stick together ... I am willing to bet that you will find many Swedes and Danes who are Sons of Norway members not because they feel like joining Sons of Norway, but because they get insurance.⁷

The Norwegian National Tourist Organization representative also noted the presence of non-Scandinavian nationalities by stating that the S/N Charter Flight Committee chairperson was of Hungarian descent. A similar opinion regarding the increasingly non-Norwegian membership of S/N was expressed by Nordisk Tidende's Editor Emeritus. Using a 1976 Directory of the Sons of Norway Presidents and Secretaries, he underlined non-Norwegian names indicating to the researcher the growing number of non-NAs in the organization. Of the 35 lodges and 70 persons named from lodges in the metropolitan area--Connecticut, New Jersey and New York--nine⁸ (12.8%) names were underlined as being non-Norwegian.

The S/N leadership considers non-NA members as part of its usual business. It even cites that the non-NAs are among the most⁹ active members. Thus the mixture of business and fraternal activities appears successful using membership increase as an indicator of success. In terms of NA ethnic persistence in the metropolitan area S/N does maintain links between Norway and the U.S. Further it emphasizes past and present cultural programs pertaining to Norwegian language, art, music and other cultural activities. The S/N is also a vital link in the network of NA and Norwegian organizations. In these respects, and as elaborated below,

the S/N, its lodges, members and leaders make it one of the most vital of the metropolitan NA organizations. The local lodge activity in the metropolitan S/N lodges occurs in conjunction with Supreme Lodge, District Lodge and Zone as well as local lodge programs.

A Supreme Lodge program which the metropolitan area lodges participated in during the summer of 1978 was a S/N sponsored "Heritage Cruise" on a Norwegian Caribbean Line ship. The Viking stated:

This special cruise, planned especially for Sons of Norway members and their friends, will offer Norsk (Norwegian) food, Norsk entertainment, and Norsk fellowship on the Norsk ship, M/S Southward ...(Viking, March, 1978, 78).

The "heritage" did not focus on the past but the present. Possible cruise participants included the Norwegian actress Liv Ullman, whose films would be featured in a film festival during the cruise. Also a Norwegian TV personality, whose works have included NA life and people, was a possible participant. Music was to be provided by a Norwegian group. Promotion in the Viking by Editor Bent Vanberg stressed the "heritage" of Norwegian shipping. Reference to ethnicity was also cited in terms of the opportunity for contact with other Sons of Norway members as well as contact with persons of Caribbean "ethnic and cultural background" (Viking, December 1977, 360). The cruise is representative of a focus in the S/N upon recreation and leisure activities. Leisure certainly has to be considered as a component of NA ethnic activities.

In addition to the Third District's participation in a S/N cruise,¹⁰ other specifically Third District activities also stressed recreation. The publication of the "Third District Today," a flier sent to all lodges

and usually incorporated into individual lodge publications (Viking, January 78, 16], recapped the events of 1977 in its August-September, 1977 issue. These included the possible purchase of between 100 and 300 acres in Pennsylvania by the Third District as a vacation and recreation area. The purchase was being studied by the District's Long Range Planning Committee ("The Third District Today," August-September, 1977). The Third District also sponsors annual flights to Norway to add to S/N's focus on recreation and leisure. The Third District is sponsoring three flights in 1978 (Viking, Jan. 78, 16).

Zone activities include scholarship funds supported by the lodges in order to assist in obtaining education beyond high school. The Long Island (Viking, Sept., 1977, 274) and New Jersey (Viking, Aug., 1977, 243) Zones have scholarship funds. In Brooklyn the lodges celebrated the 30th anniversary of its scholarship program for the Norwegian Children's Home (Viking, July, 1977, 216). These activities focus upon the young, seeking to keep them interested in S/N. In addition fund raising for scholarship purposes provides another activity for the lodges.

Individual lodges held a variety of sports and social events, including a male chorus and drill team in Brooklyn (Idem), a Norwegian dance troupe from a New Jersey lodge participating in a Scandinavian American Festival in New Jersey (Viking, October, 77, 310), and lodge anniversary parties (Viking, Nov. 77, 335). These types of activities, often directed at the entire family, provide a social basis for S/N activities. Often the activities focus upon Norwegian or Scandinavian events which maintain a sense of ethnic heritage. Not all programs however were or are related to ethnic preservation. What effect this

will have upon the ethnic content of the S/N remains to be seen; however, some changes are identifiable in the past 15 years, particularly the increased numbers of non-NAs and the lack of "cultural" content at many meetings which are primarily social. In 1960, for example, Nordisk Tidende's Editor Soyland wrote the following in an editorial on the occasion of the S/N's 65th anniversary:

The Sons of Norway, an idea which came to life 65 years ago, has shown its vitality....In such a strong and growing organization one can truthfully see great values for the future of Norwegianness in America and for fraternal feeling and development between Norway and America (NT 3/10/60).

The Nordisk Tidende then devoted much of the 16 page special S/N issue to discussing the activities of the various metropolitan area lodges. Included were special clubs such as drill and sports teams, sewing, drama, dance, youth and choral groups, special events such as annual parties, bingo, bazaars, dances and dinners, and lodge newspapers. In several cases lodges owned their own "homes," which were supported by the members (Idem). In these special clubs and events were the seeds of S/N increasingly becoming a social club for Americans, devoid of "Norwegianness."

In 1978 the events at local S/N lodges are similar to those in the 1960s, but the S/N's central leadership, perhaps in response to claims that it is no longer a NA organization, has taken steps to increase the amount of ethnic programming. For example, the S/N Foundation aids NA organizations and activities and focuses upon programs for the entire family and the "maintenance of cultural heritage." In 1971 \$37,000

was spent on programs, not a large sum for the entire U. S., but it was a relatively new venture (42nd International Convention Report, 1972, 33 and 35). In addition the "fraternal program," that is, non-insurance, provides some of the following services; Viking magazine with its¹¹ articles on Norway and NA events, scholarships totaling \$50,000 provided by the Supreme and District Lodges for use at the Oslo International Summer School, from World War II to 1971; about 70 Norwegian language, folk art and dance classes throughout the U.S. in 1971; 70 charter flights to Norway between the summers of 1970 to 1972; Heritage Productions, a multimedia service of slides, films, language aids; cultural services such as books and art services, and fraternal seminars, membership aids and Junior Lodge promotions (Ibid., 1972, 6 and 12-17). Each of these are either post 1960 developments or have expanded since 1960. The impact of these "fraternal services" in terms of the degree and kind of "ethnic preservation" will have to be determined at a later date, but they are worth noting in terms of the S/N as a NA ethnic organization. In the metropolitan area alone, these types of programs have the potential of reaching about 6,000 persons based upon an average of 200 persons in the area's 30 lodges.

Of the thirty lodges in the metropolitan area, in addition to utilization of Supreme Lodge programs, each carries out a program of special events commemorating Norwegian leaders and holidays, such as May 17. It was the Brooklyn Zone of the S/N, Third District which initiated in 1952 what has become "the" annual May 17 Parade in Brooklyn. Metropolitan lodges have been active in the parade since then. In 1978 26 S/N groups including 24 lodges, the "Young Friends" youth group, and a lodge drill team participated. Norwegian language classes, Norwegian

folk dance and folk art are characteristic lodge activities. Thus the activities of the S/N Third District, that is, on the east coast, have been more numerous than any other metropolitan area NA organization with the possible exception of NA churches. In the years since 1960 the organization has experienced increasing centralization as well as considerable membership gains, over 150% between 1965 and 1975. In addition S/N has refocused upon ethnic heritage, although the impact of the ethnic focus upon ethnic preservation remains to be determined. At present, based on membership gains alone, one can conclude that S/N is viable and lends to the NA ethnic presence in the metropolitan area. Ethnic preservation and adaptation of its program to modern Norway constitutes the main non-insurance programs.

Prior to the end of World War II S/N envisioned itself in a dual role, assimilation of its members, for example, by operating citizenship classes, and maintenance of "bridges" to Norway by promoting events which emphasized Norway and its heritage (Norborg, 11). Following World War II the focus has changed to one of ethnic preservation and more significantly, an up-dating of interests resulting in ties with present-day Norway. The local lodges often have a full array of events relating to Norway's history and heritage, for example, May 17 celebrations, or Leif Ericson day in October, and Fridtjof Nansen and Roald Amundsen days in recognition of these Norwegian explorers in November.

Thus in 1978 citizenship and loyalty to America are not questions of concern, they are taken for granted. Pre World War I loyalty oaths to the U. S., inserted in the S/N Constitution, have been eliminated (Norborg, 90 and 122). Annual American holidays, such as Lincoln's and

Washington's birthdays, July 4, Labor Day and Halloween have become a part of the NA "ethnic calendar". The S/N has become an American organization with a Norwegian background, and with a range of ethnic, social, cultural and business programs.

The reasons for changes in the S/N were clearly stated.

The future growth of Sons of Norway depended upon a strategy for seeking out the recruiting possibilities within this new America, characterized by the ever-growing urbanization of the American people (Norborg, 143).

If the organization wanted to continue it had to become more inclusive, including women, youth and non-NAs (Ibid., 147). The Norwegian language was replaced by English as the meeting language. The Norwegian language was initially retained by a 1916 Supreme Lodge Convention vote, (Ibid., 92), but by the 1930s English language lodges were accepted into S/N. The first English language lodge did not appear in the metropolitan area until 1937 (NT 3/1/37, 4/8/37). As Norborg stated:

At the end of the Second World War the transition era in the history of 'Norwegianism' (Norskdø), in the stricter sense of the word, had come to its close (Norborg, 164).

English is now the dominant language although the Norwegian language is not entirely neglected. S/N operates language camps, its Heritage Productions sell texts, tapes and song books as Norwegian language teaching aids (Viking, April, 1978, 1A-12A). S/N's monthly magazine, Viking, which became entirely English in 1942 (Norborg, 126), recently published an article which discussed the merits of learning a foreign language (Viking, June 1978, 175). Thus S/N stresses ethnic

heritage while at the same time incorporating a variety of educational and cultural programs into the organization at the national level. NA ethnicity is becoming less parochial and less exclusive, moving beyond a focus on Norwegianness that reflects 19th century Norwegian culture and language and including American-born of Norwegian descent as well as non-Norwegian persons. Thus the S/N organization has adapted to changes within the NA group as well as to changes in the broader U. S. society. Possibly these adaptations are merely a delaying process which will eventually result in total disappearing of NA organizations and ethnicity. Perhaps S/N will merge with other Scandinavian fraternal organizations becoming part of broader "Scandinavian" ethnicity (See Scanpresence, Chapter 15).

For the present however S/N has sought to and succeeded in providing programs which have appealed to NAs and non-NAs and in doing so has maintained an interest in things Norwegian, possibly reviving an interest in the all important group for continued ethnic awareness - the youth. Certainly the S/N is a different organization than 20 years ago. It is not an immigrant organization, although its leadership in the Third District has consisted primarily of immigrants. It is an American organization with ethnic programs. In these programs the future development of NA ethnicity is observable. Norborg wrote:

From an historical point of view this constant broadening of interest within the (S/N) Order at all levels to include educational and cultural areas indicates a steady moving away from the largely non-intellectual traditionalism of the early immigration era. Like many other thousands of Norwegian-inspired Americans, the members of Sons of Norway most definitely retain a vital

interest in the ethnic aspect of their cultural background. Even so, when young people of third, fourth or fifth generation of the Norwegian immigrants take personal pride in their ethnic origins, Sons of Norway is handed widespread public interest and approval which can--if properly challenged and developed--be used for the good of all concerned (Norborg, 197).

Norborg wrote these lines in 1970 and despite his apparent enthusiasm for S/N he may be correct. S/N may yet become the all-encompassing NA organization which Nordisk Tidende's former owner Arnesen envisioned. If so, NA ethnic awareness will continue in the U. S. into the 21st century. Norway and Norwegian heritage will continue to be emphasized by the S/N through its network of Norwegian as well as NA organizations.¹² Further, there will be an increasing focus upon Scandinavian cooperation as the old traditional Norwegianness is replaced by a more "intellectual" ethnicity. Such an effort will of course be supported by organizations such as the American-Scandinavian Foundation and travel oriented companies as well. Increasing Scandinavian focus will also result from demographic decline. Finally business will continue to provide an economic basis for ethnic activity which will span national boundaries. S/N has changed and adapted, responding to current historical and demographic factors which it must do if the organization is to persist. At the same time it has changed its membership requirements to include non NAs, furthered its links to Norway and retained the forms of NA ethnicity.

Footnotes

1

The national origins quota system was abolished on July 1, 1968 when the full provisions of a 1965 act went into effect. The 1965 act regulated immigration partially on the basis of reuniting separated families. Since most Norwegian immigrants in the U. S. had their families with them, Norwegian immigration was restricted. See American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, Fact Sheet: The Immigration Act of 1965 - Public Law 89-236 (April 7, 1967), pp. 1 and 2. Even without the new law it is doubtful that Norwegians would have immigrated to the U. S. due to continually improving social and economic conditions in Norway. Average Norwegian immigration to the U. S. in the 1951-60 decade was 2,293 per year, in the 1961-70 decade, 1,548 per year and in the years of 1970-4, 420 per year. U. S. Bureau of the Census Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1974 (95th edition) Washington, D. C., p. 99.

2

The 100,000 figure is taken from the Sons of Norway, "The Heritage People" (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Sons of Norway, 1975) no page numbers, publicity brochure. The 100,000 figure was recently repeated in the Sons of Norway's monthly journal, Viking, May 1978, #5, Vol. 75, p. 148, edited by Bent Vanberg. In an "Insuring the Future" editorial it was noted that membership increase from Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 1977 was 9,298 members compared to 8,422 in 1976.

3

Between Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 1977 membership in the U. S. and Canada increased by 9,298 persons of which 795 (8.5%) were insurance members (Viking, May 1978, #5, Vol. 75, p. 148). In addition, By-Law changes in 1974 enabled persons from states and provinces not recognizing the sale of Sons of Norway insurance to join a specially created "Lodge 1000." The accepted By-Law Resolutions were stated as follows: "Whereas, Sons of Norway (S/N) receives letters each month from persons living in states and provinces and countries where S/N has not been licensed to conduct business, requesting membership in S/N, and whereas S/N Constitution and By-Laws prohibit acceptance of new non-insurance members into Central Lodge 1000, and whereas it would be in the best interests of S/N to provide for the acceptance into membership of such persons, and whereas, it would be economically sound for S/N to accept such persons into Central Lodge 1000 as non-insurance members by providing that such members pay initiation fees and yearly dues, as determined by the Supreme Lodge Board of Directors, and whereas, membership interest shown in new areas will be helpful in determining new jurisdictions for S/N to apply for a license to organize lodges and conduct its business at a later time..." The resolution was passed to accept such membership, Supreme Lodge, Sons of Norway. Minutes, 43rd International Biennial Convention (Banff, Alberta, Canada, 1974), pp. 8-9.

4

According to 1970 census figures there are approximately 50,000 first and second generation NAs in the area roughly equivalent to the five zones (not including Connecticut) discussed here. Considering that the Census figure does not include third or later generation NAs and that the Sons of Norway figure (of 5,900) does include these persons as well as non-NAs, it is likely that fewer than 10% of metropolitan area NAs belong to Sons of Norway. Nonetheless Sons of Norway is numerically the largest of the secular metropolitan NA organizations.

5

Of the 30 lodges in the metropolitan area, 24 had local lodge publications in 1976 Sons of Norway, Third District, 29th Annual Directory, 1976, pp. 46-51.

6

The August-October, 1968 issue of "Faerder Glimt," the newspaper of the Brooklyn Sons of Norway lodge, Faerder, encouraged its members to visit the sister lodges, viz., Arbeideren, Bjorgvin, Brooklyn, Polar Star, Saga, and Stavanger. In the mid 1970s a new Brooklyn lodge resulted from the merger of 4 lodges. In 1978 Arbeideren, Brooklyn, Faerder, and Harald, the merger lodge, remain in Brooklyn, N. Y.

7

Norwegian National Tourist Organization, New York, N. Y., interview with selected staff, July, 1977.

8

Nordisk Tidende, Brooklyn, N. Y., information obtained during period of archive research, March, 1977.

9

Viking magazine, for example, reproduced an article, "Sons of Norway: Modern Day Success Story," Milwaukee Journal, May 10, 1978 in which it was stated "To tell you the truth," says Olav Eide, a Sons of Norway Supreme Director from Milwaukee, "It's the Poles and Germans and others that are most active in our group. Even more than the Norwegians" (Viking, September, 1978, p. 271).

10

In 1974 the Supreme Lodge convention changed the title of Sports Director to the more inclusive term Recreation Director (1974 Minutes, p. 22).

11

In 1971 Viking had approximately a 50,000 circulation with an estimated half million readers in the U. S., Canada, Norway and other areas. Issues discussed in 1971 were: The Norwegian Language Village at Bemidji, Minnesota; historical highlights of Sons of Norway; Centers for Ethnic Studies; ...new Viking Era programs; ...the Oslo Summer School and the Sons of Norway Foundation (42nd International Convention

Report, 1972, p. 11). In 1978 Viking's mailed subscriptions totalled 72,984 (Viking, November, 1978, p. 346).

12

In 1977, an employee of the Norwegian Information Service in New York City, a Norwegian citizen, became General Manager of Public Relations at the International S/N headquarters.

CHAPTER 12

THE NORDMANNS-FORBUNDET

The Nordmanns-Forbundet (Norsemen's Federation; hereafter the Federation) was founded in Norway in 1907 as a private organization. Its primary aim was to maintain bonds of friendship and brotherhood among Norwegians throughout the world and to sustain close connections between their various adopted homelands and Norway. It sought to maintain and strengthen the Norwegian heritage, to unite and solidify Norwegians. The Federation's manifest purpose was therefore cultural:

Ever since its founding...it has been Nordmanns-Forbundet's steady striving to see that the affection to Norwegian culture is kept fresh and living among all of Norwegian descent, and in that way maintain the ties between the emigrant and the Norwegian at home (Prestgard in Morgenstierne, 13).

The Federation has also been referred to as a cultural arm of Norwegian business enterprise which supports it and vice versa (NT 6/13/33).

Norlie wrote:

The (Federation) has in many cases acted as the advance guard of commercial, tanking and shipping enterprises by spreading information about (Norwegians) and their ways and their works in the world (Norlie, 524).

The Federation's goals were implemented by a worldwide network of representatives and local chapters. The major communications link was its journal Nordmanns-Forbundet, and after World War II, a second, English language journal, The Norseman.

The Nordmanns-Forbundet represented one of the few organizational¹ links which existed between Norway and NAs prior to World War II.

Before World War II the links between the Norwegians and NAs were primarily individual or familial. Organizational links between the two nations were primarily initiated by NA organizations and were American-based. Between 1860 and World War I Norwegian-America consisted of "a jungle of organizations of all kinds" (Skard 78). The NA organizations expressed a concern for Norway, but it was not reciprocated. According² to Skard "official " Norway did not give much thought to the NA. However the situation changed in 1907 when the Federation became a unique case of Norwegian interest in the NA.

The Federation's creation was integrally connected with Norway's separation from Sweden in 1905. When it appeared that a Norwegian-Swedish war was inevitable in 1905, the Norwegian government was amazed at the show of support NAs exhibited for Norway. For example, in the U. S., NAs wrote to the Federal government seeking U. S. intervention. Many NAs volunteered to join the Norwegian army to fight Sweden if war came and sent money to Norway. The dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union however came peaceably. The government of the newly independent Norway, which had viewed emigration as a "national disaster," now realized that

Norwegian-America was of national value and needed support. One sign of this interest...was the foundation...of a worldwide Norsemen's Federation, in which the Norwegians in America were bound to play a dominant part (Skard, 135).

A NA editor referred to the events of 1905 as a "discovery," "the biggest thing that had happened in Norway in the 20th century." The editor of Decorah Posten (a NA newspaper in Iowa) reflected on the "discovery" at the time of the Federation's 25th Anniversary in 1932:

With this discovery of a greater Norway came a new duty, urgent and unavoidable: the necessity to build some type of bridge between the land of birth and the widespread outposts of the broader Norway throughout the world. It is this which has been Nordmanns-Forbundet's great and magnificent task during the 25 years since it came into existence. (Prestgard, in Morgenstierne, 13).

The Federation is a non-governmental organizations, but close ties have always existed between it and the Norwegian government. The Federation's Board of Directors and leadership includes Norwegian government officials, including foreign service employees such as consulates, as well as religious and academic officials and business persons. The President of the Norwegian Parliament has always served as the Federation's President.

The Federation was and is governed by a Board of Directors in Oslo, Norway where the organization's main office has been located since, its founding in 1907. Its day to day operations are conducted by a small staff of which the Secretary is the de facto head. Similar to the Sons of Norway, the Federation developed a system of representatives and local chapters throughout the world during its seventy year history. The central offices leadership provides inputs into the chapters which carry on their own programs and activities.

The organization's membership includes Norwegian and NA persons and organizations. NAs have historically contributed the single greatest source of membership and therefore financial support.

The Federation, therefore, was and is a private, non governmental organization which serves as a public relations organization complementing Norway's foreign policy, both economic and political. Its programs are identified as "cultural," but the Federation both sponsors and provides a forum for traveling Norwegian businesspersons and politicians as well as academicians, artists and literary persons. Its journals have provided the major communications links. The journals are supported primarily by advertisements from Norwegian firms. The Federation's leadership has been primarily Norwegian although there have been close ties between the central office and NAs.

One of the Federation's major contact persons between the U. S. and Norway was Arne Kildal. Kildal was Secretary from 1925 to 1954 and illustrates the type of contacts the Federation had with metropolitan area NA organizations prior to the creation of a New York Federation Chapter after World War II. He served as a Norwegian press attache in New York in the early 1920s (NT 8/12/26). As a Federation representative he was the contact person for those Norwegians interested in applying for American-Scandinavian Foundation industrial fellowships which resulted in personnel exchange between Norwegian and American industry (NT 11/4/26). In 1929 he travelled in the U. S. promoting the 100th Anniversary of the death of Norway's patron saint, St. Olav, which was celebrated in Trondheim, Norway in 1930 (NT 10/17/29). This

event, in part sponsored by the Federation, resulted in thousands of NAs traveling to Norway.

Kildal also promoted the Federation's journal as a way of informing NAs of the programs the organization offered. The journal alerted NAs of the organization's activities which included books and projects which documented emigrant contributions and brought NAs and Norway closer together (NT 1/28/54). Other Federation projects which connected the U. S. to Norway and discussed in the journal included exchange programs for students, educators, Norwegian government officials, journalists and occupational groups, sponsorship of exhibits, travel programs to and from Norway, and the awakening of interest among NAs and Norwegians for emigrant history. Each of these programs helped to promote awareness of and interest in Norway among NAs and likewise an interest in the U. S. among Norway's citizens. Any person or group, for example, such as a Norwegian choir (NT 3/4/54), which performed in a NA organization served to add a Norwegian component to that organization's programs. To what extent these types of programs led to ethnic persistence cannot be specifically determined. The Federation, however, with Kildal in charge, initiated, advertised and implemented such activities and programs through a quarter of century in the U. S. and in the metropolitan area prior to the creation of the New York Chapter.

The Federation also had an advocate for over a half century in
³
 Wilhelm von Morgenstierne. He had been Secretary of the Federation prior to Kildal. He served as a commercial adviser in the Norwegian legation in Washington, D. C. at the time of World War I (1917-1931), later became the Consul General of Norway in New York and in the 1930s

became Norway's Minister to the U. S.

Morgenstierne had a long history of connections to the U. S. and NAs. He was Secretary of the Federation in 1914 and was an participant in one of the first major Federation programs linking NAs and Norwegians. The "Emigrated Norway" exhibition was held in Norway in 1914 in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the signing of Norway's Constitution (which occurred in 1814 at the time of Norway separation from Denmark). An estimated 20,000 emigrants traveled to Norway (NT 6/13/33). Morgenstierne stated that for most of the 20,000 it was⁴ their first⁴ return trip since they emigrated. He was of the opinion that such an event, with so many visiting NAs, would have positive consequences for the Federation's future (Morgenstierne, 19-27).

The aim of the "emigrated Norway" pavillion, erected in Oslo (then Kristiania), Norway was twofold: to illustrate how the emigrated Norway lived and worked abroad and to provide a meeting place for the emigrant and their Norwegian countrymen. The exchange among the emigrants and⁵ Norwegians was to be an important part of the "bridge building" work of the Federation to unite Norway and the U. S. The exhibition also helped to reduce the mistrust which existed between the NA and the Norwegian. Reference was made to beliefs that many emigrants had that Norway was the same country they had left. On the other hand few Norwegians had any idea of how the NAs lived (Ibid., 19-23). Citing the links which existed between the Federation and NA organizations at that time, Morgenstierne referred specifiially to the aid the Federation exhibit received from the Sons of Norway organization, from the "Norwegian-American church society," from representatives from the various

6

states where Norwegian-Americans were numerous, from the hygdelags in the U. S., that is, social clubs based upon specific geographic areas of Norway, and from the Commissioners or representatives of the Federation in the U. S. These organizations provided for booths or divisions of the exhibit (Ibid., 20).

Morgenstierne soon after the "Emigrated Norway" exhibition became one of the Federation's most prominent advocates and leaders in the metropolitan area although serving in an official capacity for Norway. In the U. S. he had represented "the interests of the Norwegian government as a commercial adviser in the Norwegian legation" in Washington, D. C. In this capacity he dealt with many Norwegian-U. S. trade discussions in New York and in the U. S. which arose during and after World War I. Part of his efforts at this time were in helping to establish the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce. As Norway's Consul General in New York, he assisted in reviving the Chamber in the early 1930s (NT 6/13/33). These positions including his role as Ambassador enabled him to promote Norway-U. S. trade following up groundwork which he had provided while with the Federation. Morgenstierne was recognized as a bridge builder by NAs. His interest as a representative of Norway was to serve what Morgenstierne viewed as Norway's interests. He recognized trade as a vital link in the exchange between the two nations and he cultivated support among NAs. The Federation provided a basis for positive public relations for Norway and its interests; interests which NA organizations also supported because it also furthered their own goals. This included the Nordisk Tidende's

need to maintain a NA ethnic presence in order to continue, as well as the interests of NA businesses which were represented, for example, in the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce. Whether or not most Norwegians in official positions realized the importance of NAs in serving Norway's interests, Morgenstierne did. Prestgard makes this explicit:

One of Nordmanns-Forbundet's leading figures through many, many years is generalkonsul Wilhelm Morgenstierne. He was one of the first to see and understand, and he has through the years performed great work spreading the light of solidarity and understanding among our people both at home and abroad. He was one of the first to take discovery trips in Norwegian 'colonies' abroad and he has been an ardent participant in the large meetings and national celebrations among our descendents both here and abroad (Prestgard, in Morgenstierne, 14).

It was through the Federation, at least in part, that Morgenstierne sought to realize improved U. S.-Norwegian relations which provided one basis of trade. It was, however, World War II which to a great degree brought about the realization of Morgenstierne's objectives. The war also further increased active Federation work in the U. S. World War II period provides another example of the Federation's links to the Norwegian government and to the Norwegian-America. A major leader at this time was C. J. Hambro, the Federation's first President, a position which he held up to World War II when he became an exile in the U. S. Hambro had long been a protagonist of U. S. business in Norway (Skard, 162).⁷ When the Nazis took over the Federation's Oslo office and with it the journal, Hambro came to the U. S. and re-established the Nordmanns-

Forbundet journal in Princeton, N. J. Dr. Edvard Hambro, son of C. J. Hambro, temporarily left his studies at Northwestern University to become the editor. It became a journal of the exiled Norwegian government. The journal had a photo of Norway's King Haakon VII on the cover with his motto "All for Norway." The King, Haakon VII, the crown Prince, Oláv, C. J. Hambro, as President of the Parliament, and others wrote messages supporting the London government's cause, a "free Norway" (Nordmanns-Forbundet, #1, Vol. 35, 1-3). The journal's contents included⁸ articles on all phases of the Norwegian war effort.

The Federation's influence has increased with time in the metropolitan area especially since World War II. The Federation had members in the New York metropolitan area prior to World War II. The membership was separated and had little contact with other metropolitan area members because there was no metropolitan area chapter. As a result individual linkages which existed were to Oslo, the organization's headquarters, primarily through its monthly magazine Nordmanns-Forbundet. The metropolitan area had a Commissioner who acted as the liaison between Oslo and the local members. It was not until after World War II that the New York chapter of the organization was created.

The Federation's leadership had been closely connected with New York organizations prior to New York Chapter's creation in persons such as Kildal, Morgenstierne and Hambro. "In the spring of 1948 Secretary Kildal came to the U. S. through the auspices of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Among other duties, Kildal met with persons interested in organizing a New York Chapter of Nordmanns-Forbundet. The meeting was held in May, 1948 in the reading room of the Seaman's Church. It was

arranged by a Committee headed by E. C. Halvorsen, a major NA organizational leader and then New York Commissioner of the Federation and also included Nordisk Tidende's publisher, S. J. Arnesen, a Federation Commissioner prior to Halvorsen, C. Soyland of Nordisk Tidende, and a NA Methodist pastor, G. Storaker (organizer of the first May 17 parade in 1943), who were among the founders. Thus the New York Federation Chapter (hereafter referred to as the Chapter) was organized in May, 1948.

The Chapter's aims were, like the parent organization, "to maintain and strengthen the bonds of national heritage and culture between Norwegians and people of Norwegian ancestry, as well as other persons sharing in such interests" (By-laws, Article 2). This aim is often referred to as "bridge building" between Norway and the U. S.

As Article 3 of the Chapter's By-Laws state:

The purpose of the New York Chapter is to represent Nordmanns-Forbundet and to further its aims through meetings and other arrangements. It seeks to encourage wide interest in its purposes, enlist new members and cooperate with other organizations on the basis of the time-honored goodwill that exists between the United States and Norway (By-Laws, Articles II and III).

Promotion of the Chapter began that fall. "Morgenstjerne Speaks at Nordmanns-Forbundet Dinner on November 6th" the Nordisk Tidende headlined in October 14, 1938. The Board of the new Chapter invited all persons to its first public meeting to be held in November. The article stated that the Federation had several hundred members in "Greater New York" but it's been a long time since any programs had been arranged for these persons by the Federation. The article, promoting the new Chapter,

recapped the meeting of May 22 at which the Chapter was organized (NT 10/14/48). Soyland further promoted the Chapter in an editorial explaining the Federation's goals and the recent establishment of the Chapter, noting the potential of the organization among Norwegians and NAs in Greater New York (NT 10/21/48).

Morgenstierne, Norwegian Ambassador to the U.S., spoke at the first Chapter dinner which was open to the public. He noted his earlier residency in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn and that he had been a Federation member since 1910. He noted the Federation's role in maintaining ties among Norwegian and Norwegian-descent persons, stating that the relationship among Federation members was stronger in 1948 in part due to the monthly magazine (in 1948 the Federation had only one edition, printed in the Norwegian language). Morgenstierne noted that most of the Federation's members lived in America and that most of these were American citizens. Nonetheless, the Norwegian heritage is stronger than national borders and it is the organization's goal to maintain ties with Norwegians all over the globe (NT 11/11/48).

The Chapter's first public meeting was reported upon a Nordisk Tidende article which listed the names of sixty persons of the one hundred said to be present at the November 6, 1948 dinner. These included former Federation Commissioners, persons identified with the Nordisk Tidende, the Norwegian-American chamber of Commerce, the Norwegian-America Line, the Scandinavian-American Business Association, the Children's Home, the Norwegian-American Women's Committee and the Norwegian Engineer's Society. Also in attendance was the Danish-descent B. J. Hovde, President, New School for Social Research, New York City.

Morgenstierne and Hovde were the principal speakers and Soyland acted¹⁰ as moderator (NT 11/11/48). Although the event was publicized as open to the public the attendance list suggested the type of person who was to support the Chapter. It included a basic core of NA leadership from business, charitable, and professional organizations as well as from the Nordisk Tidende. Further the Chapter's membership suggests the type of linkages and contact among the various social and occupational circles of the NA community. Finally, the support of individuals from institutions such as the New School for Social Research, the Norwegian Embassy and the American-Scandinavian Foundation suggested that the content of the Chapter's meetings would not be of the usual dance or social variety.

Like the Sons of Norway, the Chapter's membership was open to non-NAs as the "other persons sharing in such interests" clause indicates. Unlike the Sons of Norway, it apparently had little to offer to the youth, despite a "youth" membership category. The business and social meetings were conducted in Norwegian which had a negative effect in terms of attendance by American born youth. What youth there was consisted of Norwegians, newly arrived immigrants as well as Norwegian citizens employed in the New York area. In addition there were other organizations using the English language which appealed to cultural interests of the youth in the metropolitan area such as the American-Scandinavian Foundation and increasingly, by the mid 1960s, the Sons of Norway. But there were some who thought NA youth would join the Federation's U. S. chapters.

In 1953, for example, Arne Kildal, toured the U.S. one year prior to his resignation of the Secretary position. Reflecting on his U. S. tour, in one of his last speeches in the Secretary position, Kildal noted the role of the NAs for its "'vast and faithful support' for the old country." He stated that one sees in the Norwegian descent American, in the third and fourth generations, a steadily rising interest for maintaining contact with Norway. The war had given the interests of Norwegianness a mighty push forward and after the war the stream of gifts from NAs showed how vast and faithful the support was. In his trip to America he discovered, to his joy, that interest for Norway among second and third generation NAs has blossomed. They supported Norwegian enterprise and duties, and maintained the cultural heritage the first immigrants brought with them to America. Most spoke English but he had met some who spoke Norwegian into the 3rd generation, citing a prominent clergyman of the midwest as an example (NT 1/28/54). But if the interest of the NA youth did exist it was not reflected in the membership of the New York Chapter, even though it was the second largest Chapter in America by 1954.

By 1959 however the new Chapter's membership stabilized. At the Chapter's first 1959 meeting the President, Steen Jacobsen, gave a speech entitled "An Evaluation of Our Colony." Jacobsen pointed to major problems that all NA organizations were experiencing, "shifting times, shifting needs, shifting language and a need to focus on the youth" (NT 2/19/59). The specific references were not elaborated upon, but it was apparent that younger NAs were not attracted to the Chapter. The New York Chapter did however experience a decade of growth during the late 1940s and 1950s.

The Greater New York Chapter came into permanent form when, taking the English language name of Norsemen's Federation, it was incorporated into the State of New York in 1953. It quickly grew to 400 members (NT 4/22/54) making it one of the largest of North American Federation Chapters(which did not number more than ten). The Chapter's membership continued to increase and new leadership entered in the 1950s. The leaders included Dr. Einar Bredland, General Chairman of the May 17 Parade Committee in 1958 and 1959, and Steen Jacobsen, who had been the first east coast President of the Supreme Lodge of the Sons of Norway, 1956-1958 (Norborg, 181), and later became the Chapter's President (NT 1/29/59). Of the board's twelve members, seven had been in the Chapter since 1953, five had joined after 1954 (NT 2/12/59). The New York Chapters's goal of 1000 members was never realized although it reached a membership of more than 500 by the late 1950s (NT 1/29/59) which made the Chapter one of the largest NA organizations in the metropolitan area. Thus despite impetus provided by increased U.S.-Norway contacts as a result of World War II, the Chapter's membership peaked in the early 1960s.

In part the Chapter's successes were largely attributable to the nature of its leadership which ranked among the leaders of and was linked to numerous NA and Norwegian organizations in the metropolitan area. The Chapter's leadership has been relatively stable even to the present representing the same organizations present at the first organizing meeting. The Chapter's membership and leadership also includes persons from Norway working with seamen's organizations and the Seamen's Church, from the Norwegian Information Service, the Norwegian National Tourist Office,

the Consulate, the Norwegian delegation to the United Nations, and various Norwegian companies in the area. These persons constituted as much as one third of the active membership, particularly the offices and committee members posts. The remaining membership was NA, but almost exclusively Norwegian-born. The Chapter also had the support of the Norwegian Ambassador in Washington, D.C., Morgenstierne, as well as the support of more recent Ambassadors. In addition the Nordisk Tidende promoted the new Chapter and continues to do so in 1978. Editor Soyland became the first President and was active in the Chapter's leadership until 1978 (NT 3/16/76), when he resigned from the Board of Directors.

The Chapter is operated by a 12-member board which often included NAs from other NA organizations, as well as NAs in, for example, the American-Scandinavian Foundation. The Chapter also has an "Advisory Council." Members of the Council has included, for example, Erik J. Friis, editor of the American-Scandinavian Foundation's publication "American Scandinavian Review," and Henning Koefoed, Norwegian National¹² Tourist Office (NT 2/9/56). Other members of the Advisory Council included Jacobsen, Sverre Marcussen, New York Office Manager of Icelandic Airlines, Christian J. Mohn, New York Office Manager of the Norwegian-America Line, and Erling Naess, a prominent NA shipowner. Every council and board member through 1955 was Norwegian born (NT 2/10/55). Like the Norwegian Club, the Chapter's membership came from some of the sectors within the community--NA business circles, NA and Norwegian agencies in Manhattan, NA institutions and clubs and some of those who, in general, were not joiners. Again like the Norwegian Club, the Chapter is not representative of the total NA community. Its member-

ship never included the blue-collar, working person. These factors had provided the Chapter with leadership and stability not found in other NA clubs, but limited its potential membership.

The Chapter also cooperated with a wide variety of NA and other organizations in the metropolitan area. The Chapter has sponsored, throughout its thirty year history, programs with the following organizations or with representatives from these organizations: Nordisk Tidende, the Norwegian Club, the Welfare Council for the Norwegian Merchant Marine, the Norwegian Seaman's Hotel, Norway House, Trinity Lutheran Church, the sons of Norway, the Seamen's Church, the Consulate General's office, the Norwegian Embassy in Washington, D. C., the Norwegian Information Service, the Norwegian National Tourist Office, the Norwegian Singing Society, the Norwegian Arts and Craft Club, the Norwegian-American Women's Committee and the Norwegian-America Line. It has also sponsored programs with organizations and individuals within Scandinavian circles in New York, for example, with the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Swedish-American Lines and with various representatives of the Nordic nations. The Federation has also sponsored programs with NAs serving in the U. S. government and with American organizations: members of the U. S. Congress of Norwegian descent or birth, with the New School for Social Research and the New York Times. The meetings reflected its leadership and provided the basis of the Chapter.

The content of meetings focused on economic, political and cultural events. The Chapter advertised itself as one New York Norwegian organization which offered an alternative to the usual dance

socials which characterized many of the NA organizations. A regular meeting would include, for example, a lecture, film, or slide program accompanied by a musical presentation. The lecturers were often given by visiting Norwegians including government officials, clergy, journalists, authors, academics and Federation officials. The musical portion of the program often was presented by the Chapter members themselves or by persons who had contacts with NAs engaged in musical professions.

Chapter arrangements also included events which were intended for NAs in the entire "Greater New York Area." These included concerts, for example, at Carnegie Hall and the Brooklyn Academy of Music, theatre, special events such as trips within the U.S.--to the United Nations, to Washington, D. C., to sites of Norwegian history in the eastern U. S.--and the celebration of special occasions such as the 50th Anniversary of the restoration of the Norwegian throne (in 1955) and the annual May 17 programs.

One Chapter event for all NAs was arranged in October 1953. Soyland and Roedder of Nordisk Tidende and Jon Embretsen, Director of the Norwegian Information Service, made plans to bring the NA conductor, Ole Windingstad, to Carnegie Hall for a program of Norwegian music (Roedder, II, 265). A committee of 35 persons representing persons from New York City, Long Island and New Jersey carried through the plans. The featured pianist was Percy Grainger, the Englishman whose music had been profoundly influenced by the landscape of Norway and by Grieg (NT 10/1/53). Proceeds of the event were divided among 6 NA institutions: the Children's Home, the Old People's Home and the Hospital (located in the area of NA concentration in Brooklyn) and the Children's

Home in Ft. Lee, N. J., the Old People's Home on Staten Island and the Seamen's Church in Brooklyn (NT 10/8/53). This type of program indicates some of the contact points between NAs, between NAs and Norwegians working in the U. S. and between both NAs and Norwegians to the larger American society. It suggests that NA ethnics rather than consisting of isolated, ghetto-like persons have contacts with both Norway and the broader American community and with higher forms of cultural life.

The Chapter continues to meet in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn during the 1970s although many of its members commute from throughout the metropolitan area. Meetings draw up to 50 persons even in the 1970s. Special events may draw several hundred persons. The programs continue to focus upon Norway. One of the activities of the Chapter was to utilize money from its cultural fund to sponsor the second volume of Roedder's history of the Nordisk Tidende published in 1968. Roedder had been a President of the New York Chapter (Roedder, II, 342). A list of 43 contributors from the Chapter to the Roedder volume included persons active from the late 1940s and early 1950s and represented persons from the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, the May 17 Committee, the Sons of Norway, the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Scandinavian-American Business Association, the Norwegian Engineers Society, the Norwegian Club and Norwegian Consulate General's office (Roedder, II, ii).

In the 1970's the Chapter experienced another change in leadership; however, the network of organizations the persons belonged to has altered little, for example, the present Nordisk Tidende Editor

(1970-present), Sigurd Daasyand and his wife Synnoye have served as officers of the Chapter (NT 11/21/74; 2/16/76). The Chapter is still one of the largest and most active in the Federation. This is so because New York remains a major city in terms of Norwegian shipping business and Norwegian United Nations activity. At least one annual Chapter meeting consists of representatives of the Norwegian government. Nordisk Tidende's Daasvand wrote a page one article on the November, 1974 meeting:

Nordmanns-Forbundet's meeting in the Masonic Club in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, Monday, November 4 was an interesting and informative forum consisting of Norwegian Parliament representatives who are serving as delegates to the United Nation's convention. The main speaker was Ambassador Olaf Tellefsen, who also represents Norway in the U. N. this fall... (11/7/74).

The New York Chapter of the Norsemen's Federation continues to function in 1978 on the basis of leadership as well as its links to Norwegian organizations in the metropolitan area. The Chapter's persistence has also resulted from the presence of Norwegian-born in the metropolitan area and from the post World War II influx of Norwegian representatives working in the New York area.

The New York Chapter has added to a Norwegian presence and to the broader NA organizational network in the metropolitan area. The metropolitan pre-World War II, and pre New York Chapter, influence must also be considered in assessing its role in NA ethnic persistence. Part of the Federation's contributions came from its use of words and phraseology which have become everyday words among NAs as mediated by the NA press.

The expressions "the emigrated Norway," "a greater Norway" and "bridge building," for example, were among ideological catchwords used by the Federation which the Nordisk Tidende utilized in its columns and editorials to appeal for the aid of NAs in all types of endeavors whether it be for the support of a children's home, a political campaign, an occupied Norway during World War II, or the Federation itself. The phrase, "the emigrated Norway" referred to NAs, among others, who left Norway. From this came the concept of "a greater Norway" which referred to emigrated Norwegians "who spread themselves throughout our...earth-without regard to national borders" (Prestgard, in Morgenstierne, 13). The concept of bridge-building was used to refer to any program, event or exchange which further linked Norway to the NA people. The Federation further sought to appeal to the NAs sympathies for Norway through the use of words "heritage" (fedrearven), and "Norwegianness" (norskdommen). These terms were not used exclusively by the Federation, but they were used by Federation leaders with regularity, particularly by Wilhelm Morgenstierne who named a book of his collected essays, A Greater Norway (Et Storre Norge).

NA enclaves were viewed as "colonies," by NA's themselves and possibly by some in Norway's political and economic circles, not in terms of political control, but in terms of certain interests. There were some in Norway, for example Morgenstierne, who perceived potential political and economic support in the NA emigrant population. The leaders of NA organization recognized, in turn, their dependence upon Norwegian organizations and firms for ethnic preservation and, in part, economic support. The Federation does not seek to preserve NA ethnicity

per se,¹³ yet Norwegian America is an integral part of the Federation's membership, operations and world-wide network; they are interdependent.

In 1932 Prestgard, who had praised the Federation, also lamented the timing of its and Norway's recognition of Norwegian America. Even by the time of the Federation's creation in 1907, its existence had come too late. Had it come a generation earlier such recognition would have tied Norway and NAs together (Prestgard in *Morgenstjerne*, 14). Prestgard came from the mid-west, where the Norwegian-born generation was dwindling. In 1907, however, Norwegian-born immigrants were still arriving in the metropolitan area. The NA community was still growing as the third wave of Norwegian immigration, 1900-1913 (Norborg, 79), which settled primarily in urban areas, had just begun.

Therefore the Federation's inputs into the metropolitan area were contemporary with the NA community's growth. The New York Chapter added to NA organizational density although factors operating in the metropolitan area reduced its chances of reaching the potential expected in the post-war period.

The New York Chapter continues to persist in 1978. In addition to the meetings, Chapter members can use the Federation's travel service, legal advice (e.g. with regard to tax problems of Norwegians abroad), a book ordering services, color slides from Norway, a buying service (for the purchase of Norwegian goods abroad), an information exchange with regard to meeting other Norwegians, general advice concerning Norway and a base in Norway where one can "feel at home." These services are in addition to one of its journals, or both for a small fee (*Nordmanns-Forbundet*, No. 8, 1976, 256). These types of services help maintain links

of both Norwegian citizens and NAs to Norway. In this respect, the Federation helps maintain ethnicity. It also helps to maintain, or at least support Norwegian political and economic interests abroad through programs focusing upon cultural interests. This does not mean that Norway is any different than other nations seeking to maintain and improve their interests within the world markets. Carl Soyland once very matter-of-factly wrote that business is a part of culture. Without the economic support of business enterprise culture, in both the sense of artistic endeavor as well as the sum total of human accomplishments, cannot exist. The Norwegian government and the Federation, particularly through persons like Morgenstierne, recognized that a population of "emigrated Norwegians" could serve as bases for the development of Norway's interests abroad. NA "colonies" in the U. S. provided part of this base.

The Nordmanns Forbundet has been one Norwegian organization which has specifically operated to maintain the links between Norway and emigrated Norwegians. It has accomplished this by numerous official and unofficial visits by the royalty of Norway, by its politicians and business persons who have added to Norwegian awareness by the immigrant and their offspring. The aim of maintaining ethnicity was probably not the aim of the traveler, but maintaining organizations and ethnicity has been an aim of NA ethnic organizations seeking the visiting Norwegian guest. The Chapter activity seeks, through a network of information exchange via the Norwegian Information Service and other Norway-funded organizations, to bring the visitors to Chapter meetings. In this manner ethnicity is maintained and so are the organizations which sustain ethnicity.

But the Chapter's efforts to sustain itself are insufficient if the central organization does not take steps to cope with changing factors. Differences between the Federation's Oslo office and its U. S. Chapters are revealed at this point. The Federation has sought to advance Norway's economic political and cultural interests. In 1907 there were a only few voices seeking to direct Norway's political-economy toward the U. S. In 1978 there are more political and economic organizations to further these interests. In addition to the foreign service offices there exists in the New York area, the Norwegian Export Council, still linked to, but by no means as dependent upon, the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce as it was in the post World War II period. There is the Norwegian Information Service to advance cultural interests and the Norwegian National Tourist Office to promote tourism to Norway. Further Norway is politically linked to the U. S. through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Thus the Federation's early goals have been by and large accomplished. The Chapter provides a place to meet for many of the Norwegians working or visiting in the U. S. But for the NA, whose goal is to sustain an ethnic organization, there has been nowhere to turn to reach a new audience. The public which has ethnic interests have affiliated with other local organizations such as the Sons of Norway for insurance protection and/or leisure time activities. For those who might be interested in the programs of intellectual and cultural provided by the Chapter, there are the more inclusive organizations such as the American-Scandinavian Foundation which also provides social and travel benefits and the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies which appeals to primarily academic publics.

Thus while the New York Chapter of the Federation has adapted its By Laws to become more inclusive, its narrow range of interests has resulted in its maintainence, but not growth.

Footnotes

1

Another of the specifically NA-Norwegian, pre World War II organizational links, the Norwegian-America Line created in 1913, (Skard, 135) was discussed. Other contacts related to shipping and business and had been further developed between Norway and the U. S. in the 19th century and especially at the time of World War I. As noted in earlier chapters these linkages did serve to strengthen NA businesses related to the shipping industry and thereby increase organizational links. Sailors also had contacts with the NA New York community, but these were personal not organizational ties.

2

Skard wrote: "'Official' Norway at the time did not give much thought to (Norwegian-America). The narrow upper class of the country was often haughty toward the less privileged groups at home, let alone those poor creatures who left for America!" Sigmund Skard, The United States in Norwegian History (Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1976), pp. 78-79. Similar usage of the term "official Norway" was used by Galtung, "...the upper strata in Norway: official Norway government departments and committees...." Johan Galtung, "Norway in the World Society," in Norwegian Society, ed. by Natalie Rogoff Ramsøy (Oslo: Norwegian Publishing Co., 1968), p. 387.

3

Morgenstjerne was born in Oslo, Norway into a family of government officials of Danish and Norwegian descent. He was Secretary in 1913. By 1915 he had made his "third official visit to the U. S. as a Federation official." In 1916 he returned to the Norwegian State Department and in 1917 returned to the U. S. and again as Secretary to the Nansen Commission which was seeking to present Norway's position of neutrality to the U. S. (NT 6/13/33). Morgenstjerne also worked on the Committee of NAs with regard to the NA Chamber of Commerce's revival in the 1930s. He was also active in the Norway House project of the Chamber of the 1950s. Although on both of these occasions he was acting as a representative of the Norwegian government and not of the Federation, Morgenstjerne, it is suggested, was clearly aware of the Federation's role in economic and political considerations.

4

One manifestation of his recognition of the value of NAs was a persistent advocacy on behalf of NAs and the NA press and organizations. When necessary he publicly defended NAs against Norwegians who spoke pejoratively of them and their institutions. He stated that one has to live the NA experience to really understand the NA. He felt that he had lived the NA experience and that he understood NAs (NT 6/13/33). Between 1929 and 1934 he served as the Norwegian General Consul in New York after having been in the Norwegian Foreign Department between 1921

and 1929. In 1934 he became Norway's Minister to the U. S. and in 1942 became Ambassador after the Norwegian legation was designated an Embassy. He resigned in 1958, after 24 years as the highest ranking Norwegian official in the U. S. A total of 3,800 signed the register at the exhibition, of which 3,561 were from North America. The metropolitan area states ranked 5th (New York, 295), 11th (New Jersey), 60 and 22nd (Connecticut 9). Minnesota led the list with 666, North Dakota 570, Illinois 440 and Wisconsin 313 rounded out the top four Vilhelm Morgenstierne, Et Storre Norge (Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co, 1932), pp. 24-25.

5

The concept of "bridge building" was an often used expression by Nordisk Tidende with regard to maintaining contact with Norway. This term, for example, was used with regard to the American-Scandinavian Foundation's work (NT 6/2/32), for praising Norwegian sailors for their practice of sending their wages to Norway (12/24/36), for Norway's participation in the 1939 New York World's Fair (NT 8/18/38), for noting any official Norwegian visit to a NA community, e.g., a Norwegian Radio's trip to the Norwegian-American to record NA events (NT 2/16/39), for the importance of having supported the World War II fund raising drive in the NA community (NT 10/25/45), and with regard to the role of the NA press in general (NT 3/5/59).

6

The bygdelags, a term developed in an American context came into usage "about 1907." "An American bygdelag would be a society of immigrants from a particular settlement, group of settlements, a general district, fjord, region or valley in Norway, and of their descendents in the country." Odd Sverre Lovoll, A Folk Epic: The 'Bygdelag' in America (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), pp. 1 and 2. Lovoll's book refers primarily to the midwestern U. S. where the lag movement was far more active. The bygdelag is an example of an ethnic association which did not adapt and has virtually ceased to exist in the U. S.

7

Skard makes it clear that Norway had both pro- and anti- U. S.-Norway trade relations protagonists in the Norwegian government (Skard, 115-221).

8

Articles included, for example, "The Norwegian Troops in Scotland," "The Traitor's Price," "The Sailor and the Seamen's Church in War Time," and "The Norwegian Fighting Force on Iceland" (Nordmanns Forbundet, #3, Vol. 35, Table of Contents, no page number).

9

Sigurd J. Arnesen was a Federation Commissioner in the metropolitan area prior to World War II. When Arnesen was called into the military during the war, Edward C. Halvorsen, a Brooklyn funeral home proprietor

also active in the Norwegian Children's Home, the Scandinavian-American Business Association and the Sons of Norway, replaced him. Halvorsen was the last Commissioner as the position was eliminated when the metropolitan area Norsemen's Federation Chapter was created.

10

The names of 58 persons were cited in the article and 66 persons were in a photo. Earlier Federation Commissioners included a musician from Darien, Connecticut and an engineer from Camden, New Jersey. Nordisk Tidende was represented by Arnesen, Soyland, Rygg, Roedder, telegraphist Arnulf Olsen, photographer Rudy Larsen (also a member of the Scandinavian-American Business Association) and Sverre Sigueland. The NA Chamber of Commerce was represented by Editor Bent Vanberg, Arne Foss, and B. Westergaard. The Children's Home supporters included Arnesen, Rygg, Birger M. Bendixen and Halvorsen. Others present were engineer William Morch (Norwegian Engineers' Society), Bergliot Andersen (NA Women's Committee) and Capt. Leif K. Strand (Norwegian-America Line). Two of those present Strand and T. Kaare Johansen later became active in the May 17 Parade Committee (NT 11/11/48).

11

It was surpassed in size only by the Chapter at the Federation's U. S. headquarters in Minneapolis, Minnesota. According to Kildal's successor, Johan Hambro, the New York Chapter, despite its number two status in terms of membership, was perhaps the "most enterprising and and most active of all the chapters in the world."

12

The first Advisory Council's membership is illustrative of the organizations which have served on it. It consisted of Norway's Consul General in New York, Thor Brodtkorb; Jon Embretsen, Norwegian Information Services; Johannes Aardal, Seamen's Church pastor; Ivar Aas, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church (and 17th of May Steering Committee Member); Finn Hexeberg, Manager of the Norwegian Seamen's House; Capt. Leif L. Strand; Engineer Adolf Andersen, and Sverre Sigueland (the latter 3 were active in the Chapter for years); and Samuel Abrahamsen, teacher of Norwegian language classes at Bay Ridge High school.

13

In 1942 Nordmanns-Forbundet urged its members to read Nordisk Tidende and the NA press (Nordmanns-Forbundet, 12, Vol. 35, pp. 223 ff); in 1976 the Federation's U. S. Chapter events are discussed as monthly items (Nordmanns-Forbundet, #8, Vol. 69, p. 255).

CHAPTER 13

THE SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

The Scandinavian-American Business Association's (SABA) history illustrates the relationships between ethnic businesses and (1) the ethnic community, (2) the land of emigration and (3) the non-NA, local and broader metropolitan communities. Each of these elements create a part of the NA ethnic structure. The SABA organization, the nature of its goals, its membership, the time and place of its creation and its year to year operations seen in relation to each of the segments suggest the changing nature of a major NA ethnic, business organization through time. Similar to the other organizations noted above, decision-making bearing upon the organization's development is often in response to broader historical factors. Major environmental factors which shaped SABA's development were the demographic composition of the area in which it was located, the economic Depression of the 1930s, World War II, and the development of communications technology.

The SABA history is illustrative of a point which concerns the organization of ethnic interests. Scandinavian-Americans reached their demographic peak in the Colony area by the time of the 1930 census. Prior to that they were numerous enough to support a number of various types of NA and Scandinavian ethnic stores. Many of SABA's members had begun their stores in the downtown and South Brooklyn areas and had moved with the population to Sunset Park and Bay Ridge. The end of the Depression brought about the realization by the shop-owners that Scandinavian-Americans were declining in number. Prior to the Depression customers were numerous enough to be taken for granted.

The decline in numbers caused concern among the NA's and Scandinavian-Americans (SA's) who, to some extent, depended on ethnic trade.

It was in response to this decline that SABA was created. SABA was organized as an attempt to consolidate the remaining Scandinavian market. (There are parallels to SABA in the Scanpresence chapter). Thus the SA business leadership began to realize the possible economic loss which a regular market provided.

SABA was founded in July 1934 in the Nordisk Tidende building then located at 4808 Fourth Avenue in Sunset Park, Brooklyn in the middle of the NA area of concentration. SABA consisted of 80 almost exclusively NA and primarily local, small businesses. It was created as an attempt to get the SA public to use SA owned businesses (NT 7/18/34).

One SABA goal was to work "for better understanding between the Scandinavian public and Scandinavian businessmen." According to a founding member, Christopher Rude, SABA was organized in response to the declining SA population in the Bay Ridge and Sunset Park sections of Brooklyn. The decline was a result of the events of the 1920s (presumably the immigration restrictions) and then outmigration during the Depression (NT 9/14/44).¹ Thus an aim of SABA was to organize the SAs in support of SABA's membership. Another founding member, Einar Danielsen, stated that SABA was created to get a better understanding of the public. Also, SABA members wanted to give the SA public better service. Another founder, Alf Hanssen, stated that an aim of SABA was "to knit a strong bond between the organization's members and the district's people" (NT 9/14/44). The goals do not refer primarily to ethnic preservation, but to creating stronger links between the public and the SABA

members which organized and maintained the NA ethnic community, despite the post-World War II out migration of SAs from Brooklyn.

Like the local NA population, which joined the suburban move in the post-World War II period, SABA's membership began to come from a broader area as its membership also dispersed. The automobile and transportation networks however enabled the SABA members to return to the meetings held in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn. Also as organizations and businesses expanded in size in the metropolitan area, they too joined SABA. Thus SABA has survived the SA population decline for reasons noted above and also because its leadership and membership has been relatively stable and because of its programs. Norwegians were immigrating into the metropolitan area until the mid-1960s. A combination of older immigrants and post World War II immigrants has enabled SABA to continue, although as in many organizations a small nucleus of leadership keeps it viable.

SABA's membership, despite its name, was and remains primarily NA although more Scandinavian organizations have joined in the 1960s and 1970s. Prior to World War II however when its name was adopted there were never more than five non-NA members. Its membership consisted primarily of² businesspersons (primarily male) who were small shop proprietors and professionals. When founded its aim was to limit membership to the Bay Ridge Brooklyn area, although the plan for the future was to include businesses throughout greater New York (NT 8/22/34). That plan was realized as later members included persons either working or living in other parts of New York City and its suburbs. It was not until after World War II, however, that SABA's membership, reflecting changes in the NA population, began to come from the wider metropolitan area.

In 1946, its 85 members still consisted of small store proprietors and some professionals. This figure was down from 105 members in the mid 1930s. But it was up from its war membership, 71 in September 1944 and 80 in December, 1944 (NT 9/14/44; 12/21/44). By 1947, it had over 100 members (NT 1/9/47). At its annual meeting in December 1947, it was said that 1947 had "possibly been its best year" in its 13 year history. Its membership was listed as 122 including 28 new members. It was also in 1947 that a Women's Division was formed, a new trade guide had been issued, and a building fund³ had been established (NT 1/29/48).

SABA's membership by 1950's still consisted primarily of immigrants. There were some second generation persons succeeding parents, but as a rule, if the second generation was not in the immigrant parent's business by WWII, the American-born generation had entered a different occupation. Increased mobility after the war which resulted in movement both geographically and economically was primarily responsible for the dearth of second generation in family businesses. The children were not, in general, interested in the local business. Many of the youth went to college. SABA's membership began declining, therefore, as did the NA population, in the 1950s and by June, 1978 SABA's membership is predominantly located in Brooklyn, 44 of 60 (38 of these are located in the NA area of concentration in Brooklyn). There are however members located "from Maine (1) to Florida (1)." Members in the metropolitan area are also located in Manhattan (6), Long Island (2), New Jersey (3), Staten Island and Queens (1 each); ("SABA Bulletin," June 1978, 9). Scandinavian organizations located in Manhattan such as Finnair, Icelandic Airlines, the Norwegian-America Line, and the Scandinavian

Airlines System joined after 1960 and continue to maintain membership in SABA in 1978. SABA remains both an ethnic organization and a business organization through its membership which has ties to the network of NA and SA organizations and to the broader American Community and to Norway and Scandinavia as well.

SABA as a primarily NA business organization had the support of the Norwegian News Company, publisher of Nordisk Tidende, which was among its first members (NT 8/22/34) and remains active at present. One means by which the Scandinavian public could be reached was through advertising, therefore an aim of the 1934 organizers was to get better and more ads in local papers, including Nordisk Tidende, in order to get the people to know who the Scandinavian owners were (NT 10/29/59). SABA and the Nordisk Tidende were allies; each supported the other. SABA and its members advertised and Nordisk Tidende published articles about the organization and its members. For example it was SABA's practice to take out an ad under the organization's name with each sponsor of the ad listed separately (e.g. NT 4/10/35; 11/21/35; 5/7/36). This practice enabled SABA members to take a sizable ad with 50 to 75 sponsors dividing the cost. It was, however, not uncommon for SABA's members to support both the SABA ad and then have their own firm's ad in the paper as well. In one issue SABA members had 25 (20%) of 123 ads which were placed in the paper from both Brooklyn and Manhattan areas from which SABA's members came (NT 1/18/45). There were a total of 153 ads in the issue, and SABA accounted for 16% of all ads not including classified or organizationn announcements. In another issue there were 98 ads from Brooklyn and NY firms, 24 of these were SABA members (24.5%). During

the 1950's the paper began the practice of giving information about its advertisers on a regular basis. In a section entitled "Business Directory" Nordisk Tidende featured one advertiser per week. During 1951 there were 40 such information items (the remaining 12 were ads promoting Nordisk Tidende). Of the 40, 5 (12.5%) were identified either in the article or by the researcher as SABA members. These figures are not conclusive, but they are suggestive of the support SABA members gave to Nordisk Tidende. This has especially been the case in the past two decades since, for example, the paper's major advertisers include transportation companies which are also SABA members. SABA is a major advertiser in the March, April, and May Nordisk Tidende when it sponsors large ads. During these months SABA publicizes its annual Miss Norway Contest, a beauty contest for NA females which it sponsors as part of its annual program and its participation in the May 17th parade.

SABA's structure today is approximately the same as it was when it was formed in 1934. It is governed by a Board of Directors which, according to its first Constitution and By-Laws, had fifteen members including seven officers and a Chairman (NT 8/22/34). By 1941 a second Vice President had been added raising the number of Board members to sixteen (NT 1/16/41). In 1934 there were three committees with three members each although through the years the number of committees and their members has varied depending on events SABA sponsored and historical factors such as the Depression or Second World War. In 1978 there are⁴ ten committees with two to five members.

SABA's leadership came from the ranks of NA businesspersons and a small core of professionals which reflected its organizational composition.

There were essentially two types of SABA leaderships, local and NA community-wide. The internal local leadership was primarily concerned with SABA's own internal affairs and, if active in other NA organizations, seldom participated as a SABA member, but as an individual. The communitywide leader on the other hand linked SABA to other organizations through joint programs and/or individual participation in several NA community organizations. It was the community-wide leaders who were boundary personnel with links to non-local NA and to SA and Scandinavian leaders. They were community-wide leaders in the sense that they mobilized the NA community to support a broad variety of programs which created ethnic awareness and solidarity. Several examples of this type of leadership and its interaction with both the local NA community and the broader SA community illustrate the process by which ethnic interests are organized and ethnic solidarity coalesced.

One of the early community-wide leaders was E.C. Halvorsen, a second-generation funeral home proprietor, who was active in the Sons of Norway, Nordmanns-Forbundet and was instrumental in creating new organizations and programs such as the Viking Junior Band, the Sons of Norway Center in Sunset Park and the May 17th Parade.¹⁵ Halvorsen was SABA's President in 1937 (NT 4/8/37) and later became Chairman of its Board. Halvorsen preferred using the English language and was active in creating an English speaking Sons of Norway lodge in Brooklyn in 1937. His affiliation with other NA organizations and his initiative in developing programs indicate the manner in which organizational linkages are created.

A second community-wide leader in SABA was Sevrin A. Haram, an

importer also active in the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, Sons of Norway, the Norwegian Club and the May 17 Committee. Haram had been especially active during World War II using SABA as a fund-raising vehicle for Norwegian seamen's causes. Both Halvorsen and Haram provided links to Nordisk Tidende which had been a SABA advocate in the 1930s, but became especially linked to it because of SABA's World War II efforts for the seamen. Since the 1950s the newspaper has not only supported SABA, but also Nordisk Tidende's owners and staff became particularly active in SABA. Both Halvorsen and Haram provided links to the paper, but focused on two different leadership areas. Halvorsen was particularly active in the ethnic enclave, but Haram, while active in the local community as well, was also active in broader networks of NA and SA activities. This is in part at least attributable to their own organizational bases, Halvorsen was a local proprietor, Haram a importer seeking to appeal to a larger public. Both complemented each other and indicate ways in which personal interest and ethnic leadership overlapped.

Halvorsen died in the mid 1950s, Nordisk Tidende's eulogy suggested the thinning local NA leadership. "One of a few, who are becoming fewer, wanders away." Soyland wrote (NT 8/8/57). But the editorial reported a demographic decline as well as the passing of a local leader. The ethnic leader, as represented by Haram, was becoming more cosmopolitan, moving in wider circles, more inclusive of Scandinavians and other groups even though part of the focus remained upon the demographically declining ethnic enclave.

It was in the mid-1950s that another active NA SABA member came to the

forefront of SABA's leadership. Erik J. Friis, an officer of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, editor of its "Scandinavian Review" journal, contributor to Nordisk Tidende and active member of numerous NA organizations, revived SABA's monthly newsletter "The Scandinavian-American Bulletin," which has been produced by Friis since 1955.⁶ Friis remains in 1978 another of SABA's community-wide leaders who was and is a⁷ member of almost every major NA and Scandinavian Committee on Board. Halvorsen, Haram and Friis stand out as SABA leaders during its forty-five year history linking the organization to the local NA enclave, to the NA professional elite and their organizations as well as to the SA and Scandinavian "community."

SABA has been linked to NA philanthropic endeavors such as the Children's Home since it was founded through the efforts of its leaders. It was in 1947 that the Women's Division of SABA, another key source of community-wide, NA leadership, was formed. NA women have been active supporters of every NA organization discussed⁸ as was most apparent in the Children's Home chapter. It was the Children's Home which gained a major financial supporter when SABA Women's Division was created. The membership of SABA's two divisions had been listed monthly in its "Bulletin." As of the June, 1978 issue, however, the SABA Women's Division was no longer listed. It had ceased to exist with sixteen members. The Women's Division acted, however, in a community-wide leadership role by linking SABA to several NA charitable organizations.

Like other NA organizations the regular meetings of SABA were and are concerned with internal matters such as business and operations, but SABA also played a role in creating and maintaining ethnic awareness.

It was and is the special events linked to celebrations, crises and new ideas, which serve to generate a NA solidarity. It is through these special events with the general SABA leadership, interacting with other organizations, that one observes a process in which ethnic as well as organizational interests are organized and advanced. These events are related to environmental factors; it was World War II which prompted SABA to broaden its programs to include Norway and its war effort. SABA had links to Norway and Norwegian organizations and had been in existence for six years when Norway became occupied. It was during World War II that SABA began to shed some of its local concern and become active in the broader NA community.

During the war SABA sponsored a number of events for the seamen which served as rallying events for the entire NA group. The first of these events, a dinner for captains in the Norwegian merchant marine occurred in 1941. It was held at the Norwegian Club. This event received page one coverage in Nordisk Tidende. The guests included a consul from the New York Norwegian Consulate, the captains and SABA members. 120 were said to be present. Haram was the master of ceremonies. This event indicated SABA's links to the NA upper class.

In the fall of 1941 SABA arranged another event for seamen of the Norwegian merchant marine. It was held at the Half Moon Hotel on Coney Island, 11/30/41. Nordisk Tidende described the programs as the "Colony's biggest event this year" and praised SABA as a "very enterprising organization." The paper held up SABA as a model for other organizations to follow. SABA invited 150 young Norwegians from ships in the New York harbor. It also invited 150 young girls from the Colony area to attend.

Together they marched in to a playing band stirring up, according to the paper, the "fantasy" of a victory parade in Oslo's main street. 2000 were said to have attended in a show of "solidarity" (NT 11/18/43). SABA was also capable of reaching the average NA, upon whom most of its members depended for the living. This event was not only held to publicize the SABA organization, but also, and more importantly, suggests the influence which business organizations have in the ethnic community. Such programs as the captain's dinner and the merchant marine event also indicate the variety and nature of organizational links in the NA community.

The proceeds of the merchant marine event, \$777.74, were presented by SABA's President to the Norwegian Consul General in New York, Rolf A. Christensen, at an April 9, 1941 event at Carnegie Hall in Manhattan. The money was to go to a fund established for the needy and orphaned children whose parents had been injured or died in the war. The Carnegie Hall program, organized by the Phalanx organizations, that is, a federation of NA groups established to aid Norway's and the Allied war effort, was one of the organizations with which SABA cooperated
10
(NT 4/16/42).

SABA repeated the sailor's program in 1942. As in 1941 the Norwegian Consulate was represented at the event. SABA's president closed his speech with a special thanks to the Nordisk Tidende for its good advertising for SABA (NT 11/19/42) by both publicizing and praising the organization's efforts for Norway.

Again in 1943 SABA arranged a "People's Party," a Woman's Committee, wives of SABA members, were a driving force in the affair. In December

SABA donated \$775.35 to the National War Fund (NT 11/18/43; 12/23/43).

SABA had also been among the major supporters of the war effort for Norway and the Allies. It had been a member of the Phalanx (NT 8/6/42). SABA had also provided entertainment for Norwegian seamen and for NA's with profits going to Norwegian and American war funds. In February of 1943, it gave \$1,700 to a rest home established for Norwegian sailors by the Norwegian government in Katonah, N. Y. In addition, it gave money (amount unspecified) to the U.S.O.

Thus SABA worked for the Allied war effort which also included Norway, serving to further note the bond between the two nations. SABA's fund raising programs were aimed at both Norwegian and American organizations; there was no conflict since both nations were allied. But unlike the situation NAs experienced in World War I, SABA's members were not walking a tightrope in its support of both nations. By World War II U. S.-Norway relations had become much closer and SABA supported both nations.

Immigrants and ethnics found and find no contradiction in being Norwegian-American. The ethnic or American dichotomy is not a general characteristic of all immigrants and ethnics. For example, SABA members supported local organizations, whether SA or not. Many SABA members belonged as individuals, to local Masonic Lodges, to political organizations, to civic groups and to churches. As individual businesses SABA members belonged to local and national trade associations. They supported the Bay Ridge Civic Association (NT 1/7/37) and later participated in the Bay Ridge Community Council. In addition, SABA, as one of South Brooklyn's merchant associations, worked on civic matters of

concern to the members such as transportation, street and sewer conditions, and safety conditions such as better street lighting and traffic directionals (NT 9/14/44). Thus being ethnic is not always synonymous with being isolated from American structures. Nor is being an ethnic characterized exclusively by a parochial world view. SABA's members were ethnics and linked to American social structures at the same time. By the time of its 10th anniversary in 1944, SABA had been active in contributing to Norway's and the Allies' cause in the war, to the improvement of the local community, as well as to the local NA organizational structure. At SABA's 10th anniversary festivities it was possible to see some of the links which existed between SABA and the broader community.

There were two main speakers at the 10th anniversary, Norway's Consul General and a local politician. SABA's President introduced the first speaker, Norway's Consul General, and apologized to the two Danish and one Swedish members of SABA for having only the Norwegian Consulate. Jamie Kelly, the Deputy Clerk of Kings County, was the representative of "official Brooklyn." Nordisk Tidende published the names of 121 persons at the affair, not including a number listed as "guests." Organizations represented were the Colonial Trust Company, the Lincoln Savings Bank, Nordlyset (the New York Danish paper--now defunct), Nordstjernan (the New York Swedish paper), Nordisk Tidende, the Spectator (a local Bay Ridge paper), the Norseman Masonic Lodge (consisting primarily of NA's), a Sons of Norway Lodge, and a Daughters of Norway lodge. Among those attending were about fifty to sixty persons with non-Scandinavian surnames such as Wallin, McDonald, Sumara and Dowd. Nordisk Tidende's

editor, was among the honored guests and provided a quick "Norway tour," presenting a slide program which he narrated and accompanied on the piano. The orchestra was from a Sons of Norway lodge from New Jersey (NT 9/28/44). SABA's 10th anniversary celebration was a mixture of ethnic and American events.

It was during the early 1950s that SABA initiated two events directed primarily at the NA ethnic community. As is the case with most events, a large network is enlisted to support the idea of a particular organization. The first of these events was the creation of the Viking Junior Band focusing upon the local community. The second event was the forerunner to the Miss Norway Contest which appealed to persons throughout the metropolitan area.

The creation of the Viking Junior Band, a marching band for NA and SA youths, served to link the Sons of Norway, SABA, a NA charity, and a Norwegian seamen's organization. Credit for the initial support for what became the Viking Junior Band in 1954 was given to Edward C. Halvorsen. Halvorsen and Ralph (Rolf) Friedmann, Norwegian Government Employee's Association, took a loan to launch what became a successful venture and eventually an independent NA organization. SABA raised over \$2,000 for the band's uniforms (NT 10/29/59). Among the band's members were children from the Norwegian Children's Home. The band remained active participating at various Children's Home and other NA community activities until the band was discontinued several years ago. The Viking Junior Band was centered in the ethnic enclave, but became a victim of many of many of the same factors which are not affecting the Children's Home including fewer NA youth and supporter dispersion. The Miss Norway contest however was able to adapt to the changing factors.

It was also in 1954 that SABA initiated a program which was to place it at the center of the events associated with the May 17 Parade (see Chapter 14). It was then that the predecessor of the annual Miss Norway beauty contest began. The first beauty contest to select the then "17th of May Princess" was held in 1954. For three years the organization chose a 16 to 25 year old female, of either Danish Norwegian or Swedish descent to participate with the SABA group in the May 17th parade (NT 3/29/56). In terms of its publicity in Nordisk Tidende in the first years, it had competition from the Norwegian-American Woman's Committee (NAWC) which had annually selected a "Viking Queen." Nordisk Tidende covered the SABA beauty contest, but as a Scandinavian event, it received less coverage and on back pages rather than the page one coverage received¹¹ by the Viking Queen contest. In 1957 SABA's event became solely a Miss Norway contest and it was during the late 1950's that SABA was able to incorporate Nordisk Tidende's active support for its beauty contest. The SABA event has survived the Viking Queen affair.

The Miss Norway contest appealed to Norwegian born or Norwegian descended females to join the contest through ads in the Nordisk Tidende. A 1957 ad stated that this was SABA's 4th Annual Beauty Contest, open to persons within Greater New York who were of Norwegian descent, a category broad enough to be inclusive of many generations. Judges were named including Peggy Wood and Judson Laire of the T.V. program "I Remember Mama," which was based upon an NA family, ensuring the success of the program. Participants were told of prizes given to contestants by SABA members, prizes which became more attractive through the years. The

event was to be held at the Sons of Norway Center (NT 4/4; 4/18; 4/25/1957) and was later moved to the assembly hall of a NA Lutheran Church in Bay Ridge.

In 1958, the SABA first prize featured (as did the Viking Queen contest) a round-trip to Norway for two via Icelandic Airlines. The prize was donated by the C. A. Hanssen Travel Bureau, operated by NA's and SABA members. The 1958 winner was selected from among 35 contestants (NT 4/24/58). Each year the contestants have increased as the prizes became more numerous and more attractive. In 1978, SAS offers the round trip first prize. Nordisk Tidende's publisher, Gunnar Bjorkman, and its English language editor, John Yauchstetter, are among the moving forces of SABA's Miss Norway contest and Miss Norway's participation in the 17th of May Parade. Both are among SABA's five Miss Norway Contest Committee members, while Bjorkman also serves on the Publicity Committee.

SABA's links to the NA community have increased since the mid-1950s exactly at a time when its membership began to decline. This has in part resulted from the Miss Norway contest which was publicized in Nordisk Tidende. The event is finalized by the participation of Miss Norway and her attendants (runners-up) in the May 17th Parade which SABA has supported since the late 1950's.

SABA and its Miss Norway contest and Nordisk Tidende are closely linked in the operations related to the beauty contest. The contest provides readership appeal based upon the number of contestants from the entire metropolitan area. In 1978 "50 or more girls had entered" ("The Scandinavian-American Bulletin," Vol. 23, #5, 8). Also the first

prize round trip airplane trip to Norway provides tourist promotion for SAS, a SABA member, and Nordisk Tidende promotes both the contest and the eventual winner's trip to Norway. The contest serves to link NA and SA organizations in a common annual event which receives publicity throughout the entire metropolitan area.

SABA celebrated its 40th Anniversary in 1974. Nordisk Tidende's publisher G. Bjorkman, a SABA member, attended the event and wrote the Nordisk Tidende account. The "Miss Norway of Greater New York" contest was said to be SABA's most important annual event (NT 11/21/74).

Thus the Miss Norway Contest serves to provide an event which garners support from a NA public from the entire metropolitan area. Such programs enable ethnic awareness to persist despite a declining population base in the Bay Ridge enclave. In addition, however, the beauty contest suggests an ability on the part of ethnic leaders to adapt to a changing environment. The beauty contest as well as the May 17 Parade and the Scanpresence Committee represents the process by which ethnicity must maintain a focus on contemporary events while at the same time providing a link with the Norwegian past if NA ethnicity is to adapt and persist. In this manner business interests and ethnicity dovetail and sustain each other.

In 1978 SABA continues to function, although its entire membership of 80 is not always active based upon requests by the President in the monthly newsletter, "Scandinavian-American Bulletin," encouraging more members attend the monthly meetings. Nonetheless, there is a core of leadership. SABA's role continues to be primarily that of a local business association in a NA organizational network which supports the May 17th

Parade, NA charitable institutions, provides "news" for Nordisk Tidende and helps to maintain ethnic awareness. Its membership has been increasingly from a broader metropolitan area. Its membership includes the press (Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish), Scandinavian radio, major tourist companies, as well as shop proprietors and professionals. Not unlike other NA organizations, SABA is becoming more pan-Scandinavian and its membership is less concentrated in the Bay Ridge and Sunset Park sections of Brooklyn. As the size of each Scandinavian group declines in the metropolitan area, each organization seeks to coalesce with other groups, primarily but not exclusively SAs. Such has been the case with SABA and such has been the aim of the May 17 Committee (Chapter 14) and of a new centralizing organization called the Scan-presence Committee (Chapter 15).

Footnotes

1

Rude, a NA pharmacist, did not explain what caused the decrease after the Depression. Rygg had noted the growth of the Norwegians in Brooklyn up to the "years of the great depression." He then cited the decline as a result of the cessation of immigration and death of NA's already in Brooklyn (Rygg, 264). Also, as noted in Part I, there was a 1920 migration from Brooklyn by NAs which ceased with the Depression.

2

At least 4 women representing 3 businesses and one firm located in Red Hook, Brooklyn, were members in the 1930's. The Women's Division, created in 1947, had sixteen members in 1978 when it became defunct. Fifteen were located in Brooklyn, of these 14 are in Brooklyn, and one was located in Connecticut.

3

The building fund was established to create a SABA House which had been a dream of many Brooklyn NA organizations, but one seldom realized. SABA's building fund was begun in 1944 on its 10th Anniversary (NT 9/14/44). By its 25th Anniversary, it had raised \$6-7,000 for a clubhouse, but to date it has not become a reality. In 1978 there is still a Building Committee in SABA.

4

These committees and their sizes are: 17th of May (3); Miss Norway Contest (5); Membership (3); Civic (2); Publicity (3); Finance (2); Building (3); Entertainment (3); By-Laws (3); Bay Ridge Community Council representatives (2) "The Scandinavian-American Bulletin," Vol 23, #6, June, 1978, p. 8.

5

Halvorsen was born in the U. S., the son of an immigrant who came to New York City in 1855 as a sailor, eventually establishing an undertaking business which is still in the family in Sunset Park, a member of SABA and active in NA affairs, A. N. Rygg, Norwegians in New York (Brooklyn; Norwegian News Co., 1941) p. 163. Halvorsen also belonged to the Norwegian Society of New York, the Norwegian Club, two NA ski clubs, the Norwegian Singing Society in addition to dozens of American organizations (NT 12/3/42). By the time of his death he had served as President of the Sons of Norway Third District, and Vice President of the Supreme Lodge of Sons of Norway and served as Chairman of the May 17 Committee (NT 10/14/48; 4/2/53; 5/6/54; 5/13/54).

6

The "Scandinavian-American Bulletin" is a 16 page "8-1/2 x 11" pamphlet supported by advertisers, not all SABA members. Its three

essential features are a page one item on a SA organization or event, a message from the SABA President discussing past and future meetings and events and a "Scandinavian of the Month" essay featuring a SA active in the New York area. There are also book reviews and a list of member organizations. It is distributed by mail to members and in SA companies and businesses. Its editor is Erik J. Friis.

7

Friis had written for Nordisk Tidende since the 1930's and continues to do so on occasion today. He was, in 1974, editor of the American Scandinavian Foundation's journal "American Scandinavian Review." Friis was also the author of several organization anniversary brochures including the Norwegian Club's 60th in 1964.

8

The role of women in ethnic communities has been primarily restricted to that of housewife. The ethnic woman has been portrayed as parochial, retentive of the home land's language, cooking and culture. This characterization needs to be reassessed as it is, at best, partial and distorting. Women did playsocial roles often as adjuncts to their husbands in NA activities. However, even this is only partly correct, as NA women were leaders in a broad variety of NA events, serving in leadership roles decades before the women's right's movement of the late 1960s. SABA's women in addition to consistently supporting the Children's Home also supported the Norwegian Christian Old People's Home (NT 3/28/46), the Norwegian Hospital and Camp Norway (NT 9/14/44). SABA also supported the Kallman Swedish Children's Home located in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn.

9

A small number of SABA members constituting boundary personnel to upper class segments in the NA community had memberships in the Norwegian Club. Chris Rude, credited with SABA's founding, referred at SABA's 25th Anniversary Dinner, to Norwegian Club's support of many SABA's members (NT 11/5/59). Rude did not explain the type of "support," but it included use of member's products for the Clubs programs and operations. He was a Norwegian Club member as were other of SABA's members, some of whom were professional persons, lawyers, doctors, and there were also some shop owners. Of the 127 "Resident" Norwegian Club members listed in the Club's 60th Anniversary booklet in 1964 at least 14 were members at the time of SABA's 25th Anniversary in 1959. Sigurd J. Arnesen, Nordisk Tidende's owner, for example was an early member of SABA and the Club. In most cases these persons, who were relatively few in number proportionate to the Norwegian Club's total membership, were boundary persons. They moved in a number of circles among the Colony's common persons and among the leaders of Norwegian and NA shipping trade, government, and cultural functions. But as the NA community began to dwindle in size, as the SABA membership declined and leveled off at approximately 60 members in the 1970's, a greater number of SABA's membership belonged to the Norwegian Club.

One indication of the overlapping membership between the two organizations was evident in the 1974 Norwegian Club officers. Of the Club's 13 officers, not including the Honorary President, the Norwegian Consul General in New York, 6 were SABA members, including the President and two Vice Presidents. The Club's First Vice President at the time was Erik J. Friis, a NA long active in Colony and NA Manhattan affairs, and later SABA's President. Friis was and is a major link to the Norwegian Club from SABA, but he is not the only one. Another had been S.A. Haram. The Norwegian Club in 1947, as in years before, offered a \$500 S. A. Haram Memorial Scholarship to a young American attending the International Oslo Summer School (SABA Bulletin, July 1974, p. 4). Both men were active participants in the Norwegian Children's Home as well. These two men were not unique, but were among a small group of leaders who could be found participating in business, cultural and social circles and who represented a core of NA leadership.

10

The Phlanx's Chair was S. A. Haram, also a SABA member and community-wide NA leader. Sevrin A. Haram died in 1971. As noted in other chapters, Haram was one of the key leaders involved with the NA Chamber of Commerce, Norwegian Club, Children's Home, May 17th Parade, as well as SABA and the Sons of Norway.

11

The Norwegian-American Women's Committee was one of many ethnic, women's organizations belonging to the Women's National Institute, which annually produced the Women's International Exposition, a cultural and trade fair, in Manhattan. The NA Women's Committee Viking Queen contest had the support and following of Nordisk Tidende's Karsten Roedder as well as the NA Chamber of Commerce. The "Viking Queen" event was linked to the Oslo, Norway Tourist Office, which used Viking Queen as a tourist promotion plan. SABA gained the Nordisk Tidende's attention during World War II and the Miss Norway contest, with the aid of Yauchstetter and Bjorkman of Nordisk Tidende, became a major NA community event by the late 1950's several years before the Viking Queen contest was discontinued.

CHAPTER 14

MAY 17 COMMITTEE OF GREATER NEW YORK: THE PARADE

The May 17 Parade Committee¹ produces an annual parade which is supported by every element of the NA community: social, religious, business, philanthropic, official Norway offices and broader Scandinavian organizations. The parade, held in the NA ethnic enclave in Brooklyn, also incorporates the support of non-NA, local and metropolitan area people and organizations. The Norwegian national origins group's parade is thus a rallying point for NAs and for others who in some way benefit from the parade. It is an NA ethnic parade with Norwegian themes and metropolitan area NA support. It is also an example of ethnicity adapting to a changing environment, incorporating American social and cultural content under the rubric of a Norwegian-American ethnic celebration.

Norwegians and later NAs have celebrated May 17 as "the" Norwegian national holiday since the signing of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814. May 17 in Norway is comparable to July 4 in the U. S. NAs have therefore celebrated May 17 since their arrival in the U. S. Until World War II, however, it was ironic that NAs celebrated the Norwegian national holiday in discrete groups. These NA groupings included organizations whose celebrations were based upon traditions brought from Norway in addition to adaptations to their new American environment. For example, organizations gathering to celebrate May 17 did so based upon geographic region from which they emigrated. These regional divisions have had a long history in Norway and continued to have an impact on immigrant organizational affiliation in the United States.

Further the NAs divided along religious, occupational, class, political and other interest groupings once in the U. S. Thus May 17 celebrations did not initially display unity among NAs, but rather continued to indicate fractionalism. There were meetings where a number of the groups would join together, for example, the Norwegian National Federation's Annual May 17 celebration in an armory in Sunset Park or the outdoor sports and social events in Ulmer Park opposite Gravesend Bay in Brooklyn. There was never one celebration, a fact which Nordisk Tidende pointed out, admonished and sought to change since it was first founded in 1891 (Roedder, I, 18; for example, NT 5/21/31; 4/7/32; 5/8/41).

In addition to the few coalitional programs, each NA organization, club or church had its own May 17 event. May 17 was the major fund-raising day among many NA organizations. To ask an organization to merge with another or a larger group threatened the potential for fund raising. Thus even when coalitional events were held, organizations also had individual celebrations to replenish their treasuries. Further as long as immigration continued each community faction was replenished with new members. It took the World War II crisis to inspire NAs to join together for one common "people's parade" in a show of solidarity for Norway.

The first mass celebration in the form of a parade occurred in 1942 during the time Norway was occupied by the Nazis. NA churches took the initiative for the parade which was viewed by Nordisk Tidende as a welcome surprise. NA churches, particularly the pentecostal denominations which were characteristic of the Norwegian community, seldom involved themselves with such worldly events. Nonetheless

the church members and organizations still maintained ties to Norway and gathered to show their support. The parade was held in Leiv Eiricksson Park in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn with ambulances from the Royal Norwegian Air Force (from a base established in Canada), American soldiers and Norwegian sailors participating. A Nordisk Tidende editorial stated that "seldom have so many been seen in Norwegian national costumes"(NT 5/21/42). "Several thousand" participated; "it was a brilliant people's parade along (Fourth) Avenue and the entire event was so successful that it ought to become a permanent institution." The event was broadcast on American radio. "Everything considered Norway's name was beamed throughout the world stronger and more nobly on this last May 17 than ever before in history" (NT 5/21/42). The parade was used in this case as a political rallying point, Norway and the U. S. were allies. The parade continued as a show of solidarity for Norway during the war with broad NA community support for the church sponsored event.

A 1946 Nordisk Tidende editorial complained that now that the war had ended, "... we are back to normal." No parade was held in 1946 (NT 5/16/46; 5/23/46). The parade was resumed, however, in 1952 on the initiative of the Brooklyn Sons of Norway lodges. No specific reasons were given for the parade's resumption. A Nordisk Tidende editorial suggested that the revival of the parade was in support of Norway's reputation. An uneasy world situation existed between the western and communist nations as manifest in the Korean conflict. The editorial noted that this situation inspired NAs to demonstrate their support for a "democratic" Norway (NT 5/15/52). Despite a

Socialist government in Norway, NAs did not want people in the U. S. to equate democratic socialism with totalitarian communism. In addition May 17, 1952 was a Saturday, a non-working day for most people. A parade could be held in the afternoon without interfering with the individual organization celebrations. NA's could show unity and solidarity and still have their own separate organizational events. The 1952 parade was advertised as "only a parade and open air activities (speeches) ... an arrangement which would in no way intrude upon the usual arrangements"(Roedder, I, 247). There would be no fund-raising. The organizers were cognizant of the important fund raising activities of May 17 which each organization both counted and depended upon. The parade was not designed to compete with other organizational events.

Precedents established during the 1942-1945 parades were repeated and have become traditions. The parade was led by veterans of the Norwegian merchant marine which was the "fighting arm" of Norway's government in exile during World War II. Further Norway was represented by various officials including the Norwegian Trygve Lie who was serving as Secretary General of the United Nations at the time.

The parade received page one headlines in Nordisk Tidende. A photo of the reviewing stand and the crowd covered eight columns, the entire width of the paper, a quarter of a page in height (NT 5/22/52). An estimated 2,400 persons marched in the 1952 parade including twenty-seven NA organizations (representing business, cultural, religious and social interests) and a local high school band. Participants, included NAs from the metropolitan area including northern New Jersey, Westchester, Long Island, Staten Island and all New York City boroughs

(NT 4/24/52). A speaker's platform served as a reviewing stand and provided seats for the honored guests and speakers. Among these were Norwegians including Lie, NAs and Americans, often politicians or New York City officials. "Thousands" watched the parade while 6,000 listened to the post-parade speeches and activities at the reviewing stand (NT 5/22/52).

A New York City official was among the speakers. Col. John J. Bennett, Chairman, City Planning Commission, citing former U. S. President F. D. Roosevelt, claimed "Our best citizens are those who honor the country they came from." This sentence was excerpted from his long speech, printed in the paper, and cast into a page one headline. It is possible Bennett stated, to love wife and mother, in this case both America and Norway. The parade served to further emphasize the NAs links to Norway. The ethnic parade was legitimized by recalling Norway's participation on the side of the Allies during World War II and Norway's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO, (NT 5/15/52).

The May 17, 1952 parade also had economic ramifications. It had one interesting effect of increasing advertising in Nordisk Tidende as various local and metropolitan area stores and organizations greeted and congratulated NAs in ads in the paper. Further the parade had the support of the major Bay Ridge and Sunset Park area business associations (NT 5/8/52).

It was not surprising, therefore, that Nordisk Tidende soon advocated that the organizing committee be established on a permanent basis. Suggestions were made for improvements for the 1953 event.

The Committee was also aware of the changing composition of the NA group and later included "bringing freedom's ideals to Children's consciousness," and reminding others "of Norway's contributions to freedom and democracy" as among the parade's goals (NT 10/25/56). Thus the parade also served to maintain ethnic awareness among young NAs and to publicize Norway to Americans.

In 1953 the Committee was maintained as a standing committee. It no longer consisted only of Sons of Norway lodge members but included representatives from other organizations which participated in the 1952 parade including NA business, church, philanthropic and social organization members as well as honorary members from the Norwegian Consul General's office in Manhattan. The central Committee was chaired by a local businessman who was very active in many NA organizations, Edward C. Halvorsen. His position was assumed by a NA minister from Queens, N. Y., Leif T. Gulbrandsen, when Halvorsen departed for a Norway tour. Gulbrandsen was earlier with the Norwegian Seamen's Church (1935-1947) and afterwards remained in the U. S. He had close ties with Nordisk Tidende, serving as President of the New York Nordmanns-Forbundet Chapter with Carl Soyland as Vice President (NT 4/2/53; 4/16/53). The Committee's more than 20 members from various NA elements represented linkages among groups which had existed previously only during times of crises such as during World War II.⁴ Thus the Committee established a precedent in NA cooperation and interorganizational interdependence. Editor Soyland praised this cooperation, encouraging it to continue (NT 4/23/53). And, as in

articles before the 1952 parade, Editor Soyland, like Rygg before him, sought to maintain the unity expressed among the various NA community elements. He particularly noted his pleasure at the participation of local NA churches who had departed from their past position against such "secular" events.³

Thus on the basis of a successful event with support not only from NA, but also from local people and businesses, and with the support and active participation of Nordisk Tidende's staff, the May 17 Parade Committee of Greater New York became a reality. Another factor contributing to the May 17 Parade Committee (the Committee) was the continuing outmigration of NAs from Brooklyn coupled with a low immigration. Also as years passed the divisions which separated NAs became less intense. Members of NA regional associations (bygdelags) joined other organizations such as the Sons of Norway which more and more contained Norwegians from various sections of Norway in one lodge as the Norwegian-born population declined and American-born memberships increased. Religious, occupational, class and social differences also became less intense, although these separations often characterized the various organizational memberships, and the lines of separation were less marked permitting a common display of Norwegian solidarity.

The Committee was therefore created and goals according to the By-Laws stated that:

The purpose of the Committee shall be to encourage and develop a deep appreciation for the ideals of independence and freedom that the 17th of May Constitution of Norway embodies and to keep alive the cultural heritage from Norway.....the Committee shall make arrangements for, and sponsor a parade (Parade journal, 1967, 6).

Nordisk Tidende's owner, Arnesen, and Soyland were active Committee members. Sevrin A. Haram another community-wide leader became active in the Committee in 1953. Arnesen had numerous connections with the local boards of trade in Bay Ridge and Sunset Park. With Haram, they were active in the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce. Both served as the master of ceremonies at the annual parade. Soyland wrote numerous editorials supporting and praising the parade and its initiators (NT 4/23/53). He contributed to the parade journals printed by the Norwegian News Company. In addition the paper's English Editor, (who wrote most of Nordisk Tidende's columns in English) John Yauchstetter,⁵ was also active at this time (NT 4/23/53) although he became more active in the 1960s and 1970s also serving as the parade's master of ceremonies. Between 1952 and 1956 the Committee operated as an ad hoc organization composed of various NA and Norwegian representatives. In 1957 the Committee was incorporated as the Norwegian-American 17th of May Committee of New York in the State of New York. It became necessary for legal and operational procedures to enumerate the organizations' purposes. Thus a Constitution and By-Laws were written and the "Committee" became a separate entity in the network of NA community organizations. Almost a century had passed, but NA's had a centralized organization open to all elements of the NA community, spread by 1957 throughout the metropolitan region including New York, New Jersey and Connecticut counties. The Committees Chair between 1956 and 1960, Dr. Einar Bredland, of Sons of Norway, sent a letter to all NA organizations at the time of incorporation encouraging their support. He envisioned the Committee's common cause as a way

"... to unite NAs and, in a broader sense, Scandinavians and fellow Americans in an effort to bring closer the ideals that May 17 embodies: liberty, freedom and brotherhood among men ... a way of teaching these ideals to children (NT 11/28/57).

One of the main goals of the parade and the committee was to solicit cooperation among the different NA lodges, groups, and churches (NT 10/25/56). Bredland also described the parade as a "forum" for all interested groups including churches, clubs, lodges and business organizations working together from the entire greater New York area. Bredland wrote:

Certainly the 17th of May Committee has opened the lines on intergroup communication. One cannot overestimate the importance of this association where all groups have the interest of the larger community in mind (NT 4/17/58).

He went on to note the strength in unity and the importance of the Committee and the parade as a "common meeting ground for all groups." The improved relationships among groups result in a better community life and joint efforts in behalf of "better citizenship" (NT 4/17/58).

The Committee operated as an organization by means of sub-committees, each carrying out specific functions to produce the parade: publicity, ways and means, reviewing stand, publicity and journal committees. In addition there were coordinators of each of the elements in the parade, for example, for the bands, seamen, religious, social and sports, veterans, civic, Sons of Norway and miscellaneous groups as well as floats.

One of the Committee's most important sub-committees was that of the journal. The Norwegian-American ethnic parade, unlike most other ethnic parades in New York City is held in the NA sections of Brooklyn and not on Manhattan's Fifth Avenue. This location resulted in considerable support by and publicity for local merchants. The local businesses, most non-NA, were (and are) financial supporters of the parade's primary funding device--a parade journal (NT 6/27/52). The journal includes the program for the day, greetings from speaker's at and organizers of the parade, photos of the Committee and other participants, items of biographical information pertaining to speakers and historical data about the May 17 Constitution and Norway and Norwegian history. The journal is however primarily advertisements. The journal and its advertisers provide the major source of and the best indicator of the parade's financial support.

Content analysis of the journals for 1964, 1967 and 1977 indicates that the parade's major financial support comes from businesses located in the NA sections of Brooklyn.⁶ The support by ethnicity indicates a major shift in the decade between 1967 to 1977. More than one-half the journal's financial in-put came from NA businesses and organizations through 1967 with about one-third coming from American advertisers and three percent from Scandinavian-American (SA) organizations. In 1977 almost one-half of the ads came from American organizations with almost two-fifths from NAs; the SA support had grown to eight percent. Ads from Scandinavian-based organizations have dropped from 1964 to 1977 although these ads have never been more than two percent of the total number in the journals. Support from the area outside the NA districts

of Brooklyn has been about twenty-five percent of the ads (by geographic location), although non-ethnic enclave support has risen between 1964 and 1977 (see Table II). These figures indicate the important role of a spatially circumscribed ethnic area in which local businesses patronize the parade in return for NA customers.

The extent which the business community influences the parade is suggested by changes in the parade route. The parade began in 1952 at the Norwegian Hospital on 4th Avenue and 46th Street and proceeded to Eighth Avenue along 54th Street on Sunset Park. It then terminated in Leiv Eiriksson Park at 66th Street and Fifth Avenue in Bay Ridge. This route was maintained until the Fifth Avenue Board of Trade a major supporter of the parade, requested that the parade route be changed to Fifth Avenue, still in Sunset Park where many of the merchants were located. The Board promised to decorate the route with Norwegian and American flags and banners (NT 5/26/55). The 1956 parade route was changed to Fifth Avenue where it remained until the 1960s (e.g. NT 5/1/58). By 1964 the parade route had been changed to Eighth Avenue which was the heart of the NA community and a major business thoroughfare where many NA stores including members of the Eighth Avenue Board of Trade were located. As the number of NA stores declined on Fifth Avenue, the parade route changed as did the basis of the journal's financial support. In the decade of the 1970s, the parade route shifted from being primarily in Sunset Park to being entirely in Bay Ridge. Between 1940 and 1960, according to U. S. Census figures, more NAs resided in Sunset Park than in Bay Ridge. By 1970 a shift had occurred as the 1970 Census revealed more NAs in Bay Ridge than in

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF ADS IN SELECTED MAY 17 PARADE JOURNALS:
BY ETHNICITY, BY ORGANIZATIONAL TYPE, BY GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Percentages by Ethnicity			
	1964 (N=202)	1967 (N=157)	1977 (N=218)
Norwegian American	54.5 ¹	54.0	37.6
American ²	37.1	32.5	49.5
Scandinavian American	3.0	7.0	8.3
Norwegian	2.5	4.5	3.7
Scandinavian	1.5	1.2	.9
Not Identifiable	1.5	.6	--
Totals	100.1	99.8	100.0
Percentages by Type of Organization			
	1964 (N=202)	1967 (N=157)	1977 (N=218)
Business	67.0	67.7	66.0
Social	25.0	22.1	16.8
Religious	7.4	6.9	8.2
Philanthropic Institutions	--	2.5	3.2
Political	--	--	3.6
(Individuals)	--	--	1.3
Totals	99.4	99.2	99.1
Percentages by Geographic Location			
	1964 (N=202)	1967 (N=157)	1977 (N=218)
NA Area of Brooklyn	67.8	73.0	67.3
N. Y. Metropolitan	24.0	21.2	27.6
Outside New York	2.0	1.2	1.4
Not Identifiable	6.0	4.4	3.7
Totals	99.8	99.8	100.0

1

The percentages are intended to be suggestive of general patterns and not exact since the categories were determined by researcher on basis of 1) familiarity with organization 2) name and/or address and 3) other information in article, for example, proprietor's name.

2

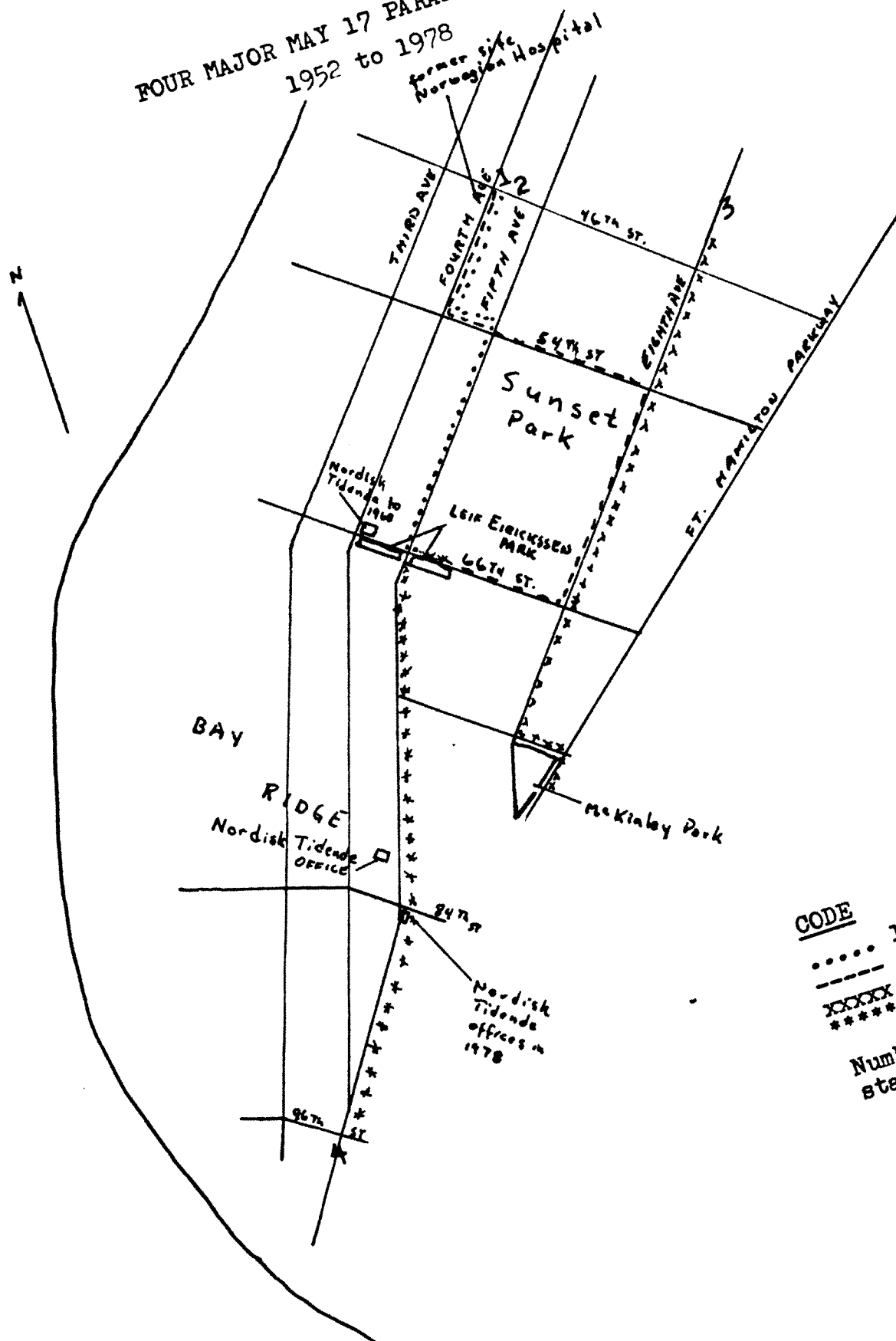
"American" here includes all those identifiable and not in the other four categories and includes other ethnic groups including Italian and Irish.

Sunset Park. By 1970 the Nordisk Tidende's offices had moved to the heart of Bay Ridge. Further the Fifth Avenue and 86th Street Boards of Trade in Bay Ridge had become major financial supporters of the journal and Nordisk Tidende as NA businesses on Eighth Avenue, Sunset Park, dwindled in comparison to those in Bay Ridge. In the 1970s the parade began in the streets numbering in the 90s, marching down Fifth Avenue, past Nordisk Tidende and into Leiv Eiricksson Park. The parade route had flip-flopped from Sunset Park, marching east to west toward Leiv Eiricksson Park,⁷ to Bay Ridge marching west to east toward the park. The switch reflected changes in the organizational locations of the journal's supporters as well as a change in the residences of NAs (see Map).

The parade was therefore a mixture of NA, Norwegian, Scandinavian, SA and American inputs although the major activity and preparation was conducted by NA organizations. The participating elements in the parade have remained somewhat constant although there has been a major shift toward American financial support. With the shifting support, and with changes within the broader metropolitan area environment, the content of the parade has changed to some extent, certainly it is not similar to a May 17 parade one would witness in Norway. Nonetheless its form is Norwegian-American and as in the 1940s is still supported by official Norway's representatives in the U. S.

Norwegian government representatives have been regular participants in the speeches which followed the parade. For example, in 1953 the Norwegian Ambassador to the United Nations, Hans Engen, and the Norwegian Consul General in New York, Thor Brodtkorb, were featured guests.

FOUR MAJOR MAY 17 PARADE ROUTES
1952 to 1978



CODE

..... 1952
----- 1956
XXXXX ca. 1964
***** 1970s

Numbers indicate
starting points

The Consul General's office has regularly participated and Norwegians have been among the parades "Honorary Chairman," speakers and participants (Parade journals, 1964, 5; 1967, 7; 1969, 72; 1978, 94 and 104). The official Norwegian circles were linked to the parade through the Nordisk Tidende staff and editors and other community-wide leaders.

The NA Manhattan business circles were represented in the early parades. For example the Norwegian American Women's Committee (NAWC) had sponsored a beauty contest which began in the mid 1950s. NAWC sponsored an annual trade fair in connection with the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce in Manhattan. It had initiated the Viking Queen contest in conjunction with the Oslo Tourist Agency as one way to promote tourism to Norway. The Viking Queen also participated in the parade in 1955 and continued to do so until 1964; when the event was discontinued. Nonetheless Chamber members still constitute an element of the journal's support.

Another major NA business organization, the Scandinavian-American Business Association (SABA; see Chapter 13), began participating in the parade in 1955. SABA began a beauty contest electing a Miss Norway and attendants who were featured in the SABA float in the parade. Miss Norway has developed into one of the main highlights of the parade and is in itself a major event in the NA community's annual calendar. SABA became a major supporter of the parade in the 1950s (NT 5/19/55) and continues to be a major source of the parade's support.

Two primary support sectors of the NA community are and remain the churches and religious organizations and the Sons of Norway lodges. These two segments were at one time bitter enemies representing a rigid

sacred-secular dichotomy in their respective interests and aims. The churches were, for example, opposed to secret oaths which Sons of Norway members had to take and against such social events as dances and parties. Nonetheless each element had steadfast adherents which, even in their opposition to each other, represented major population segments in the NA community. In the Committee and with passing time, the two groups have been collaborators in celebrating Norwegian awareness. Other sectors of the NA community participating in the parade included seamen's organizations, NA institutions such as the Lutheran Medical Center (formerly Norwegian Hospital), the Norwegian Children's Home and the old people's homes, folk dancing and sports organizations and unions with large NA memberships.

Thus large segments of the NA community spanning the metropolitan area participated in the May 17 Parade and on its Committee. There were few changes in the parade between 1952 and the present. Parade attendance and the number of marchers rose consistently from twenty-seven organizations, one band and 10,000 (including marchers) in attendance in 1952 (NT 5/22/52) to 88 organizations and 10 bands in 1960 (NT 5/19/60). Nordisk Tidende stated that 70,000 watched while 10,000 marched in the 1959 parade (NT 5/22/59). In 1960 the parade was described as "the great inundating wave which reminds us of how many we NAs are when we all come out of our own organizations and hiding places" (Roedder, I, 302). Among the guests in 1960 was Berent Friele, Secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation, supporter of Nelson Rockefeller's Republican gubernatorial campaign in 1959, and active member of the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce and the Norwegian Club (NT 5/19/60).

Serving as commentator during the 1960 parade ceremonies was Jon Embretsen, Director of the Norwegian Information Service in Manhattan (NT 5/19/60).

Speakers at the 1960 parade, for example, included Brooklyn Borough President John Cashmore. He stated, in part, the significance of the events of the day: "The two nations have long been joined in mutual efforts for peace and freedom." He noted the importance of world peace, commerce, and the role of Brooklyn as an anchor in the American supply line and the important role of Norway and its merchant marine in both war and peace (NT 5/19/60).

Norway's representative, Consul General Knut Thommessen, having just returned from Norway, brought "greetings from (Norway's) King Olav V." He continued:

The parade we have just seen was a most impressive demonstration of your feelings for Norway and it is, indeed, heartwarming for a Norwegian representative to witness such a manifestation of devotion to the country which you or your ancestors left.....I can assure you that your feelings toward my country are very much appreciated (NT 5/19/60).

New York's Lt. Governor, Malcolm Wilson, began: "The importance of Constitution Day in Norwegian life, reflecting deep devotion to liberty under the law, stems from the Norwegian character." He continued noting, among others, the Nazi resistance in Norway in World War II, the qualities tying Norwegians and Americans together, and concluded that" the people of America and the people of Norway as a whole are inseparably linked in the grand works for a world of liberty and justice for all" (Idem).

The parade events served two ends. In the first place it was a means of expressing solidarity with Norway. Although Consul General Thommessen's words imply a NA-Norwegian distinction ("my country"). There has been continued and even increasing cooperation between the Consul General's office and NA organizations. The 1977 Parade Journal, in a biographical sketch about the retiring Consul General Eigil Nygaard, wrote:

As it turned out Mr. Nygaard has probably attended more Norwegian-American groups and societies than any former Norwegian official representatives have been doing. He has been highly esteemed as a speaker and has won numerous friends among Norwegian-Americans in Greater New York (1977 Parade Journal, 54).

Likewise, referring to the incoming Consul General and spouse:

The Thestrups have taken a great interest in Norwegian-American organizations and have already won a multitude of friends in the Metropolitan Area (1978 Parade Journal, 54).

Secondly the ethnic parade continued to serve as a political rallying point although no one political party -- from either the U. S. or Norway -- was overly represented, nor is political affiliation ever cited in the parade journal. Politics was not a stated goal of the parade; in fact, it was the opinion of some prominent NA leaders, including Nordisk Tidende Editor Soyland, that May 17 should not be a political day (NT 6/27/57). Disclaimers to the contrary it was a political event. The speeches proclaimed both NA loyalty to the U. S. and their loyalty to Norway. This could be done on the basis of the broader "democratic" ideology which both nation's leaders extolled and,

particularly because the nations had been allies in and following World War II, upon joint economic and political ties. Political rhetoric aside, the presence of American national, state and local politicians serves to legitimate and perpetuate ethnic events and NA awareness.

Despite a NA population which was diminishing in size in the Brooklyn ethnic enclave, participation in the parade continued to rise above the 1950s participation: 104 organizations and sixteen bands in 1964, when Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (who was of Norwegian descent on his mother's side) was the main speaker; dropping to 62 and 60 organizations with thirteen and sixteen bands respectively in 1967 and 1968; rising to 72 organizations in with seventeen bands including one from Norway in 1970; 86 organizations and 20 bands in 1975; and 95 organizations and twenty-two bands and baton twirling groups in 1978. Attendance varied between 20,000 and 80,000 depending on weather, the speakers and organizational efforts.

Participation in the parade had been primarily NA through 1963. By 1964 American groups, primarily in the form of marching bands, were paid to join in the event. The May 17 parade in Brooklyn was now second in size only to that held in Norway's capitol city, Oslo (Roedder, I, 310-311).

The increasing number of American marching groups reflected the rising percentage of non-NA advertisers in the parade journal. Some NAs objected to the lack of authenticity with regard to the Norwegian character of the parade. NT's Soyland responded to the protests in 1967:

Norwegians recently arrived here tell us that our 17th of May parade in Brooklyn is not at all a genuine Norwegian parade. And this is true. The form has in a high degree become Norwegian-American. And the day has developed into a unique 'Norway Day'; where we not only reminisce about the men at Eidsvoll (Norway, where the Constitution was signed) but also enjoy the lovely spring together with our American friends and neighbors. This side of the celebration has become more and more essential for the Norwegian groups and the younger generation growing up here (Parade Journal, 1967, 20).

"A genuine Norwegian parade" would not include non-Norwegians, nor marching bands, nor floats advertising, for example, travel companies. Soyland recognized that "Norwegianness" in the metropolitan area was different than in Norway, and accepted the differences.

Large segments of the NA community, spanning the metropolitan area, participate in the parade. The Committee's members include Nordisk Tidende staff, the leaders of NA philanthropic institutions, business groups, social and cultural organizations, as well as Norwegian government and Norwegian official and private organizations. A wide variety of NA and Norwegian-based businesses and organizations, as well as an increasing number of American businesses, buy advertising space in the parade journal, thereby supporting the parade and ethnic awareness among NAs in the metropolitan area.

The May 17 parade represents "the" annual NA community event. To a large degree the Committee's efforts have been and are successful. One important aspect of the parade as a means through which ethnic awareness is maintained is observed in its broad cross section of support. It has been supported by the Norwegian government through the presence and participation of its officials, for example, Ambassadors,

Consul Generals, Vice Consuls and representatives of the Norwegian National Tourist Office and the Norwegian Information Service. It has been supported by the international business sector represented by Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce members, including the Scandinavian Airline System (SAS), Icelandic Airlines, the Norwegian-America Line, and other shipping and passenger companies. It has been supported by the metropolitan area NA business sector, for example, the Scandinavian-American Business Association, Inc., the Nordisk Tidende, as well as local Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce members. The parade has been supported by the American business community including Brooklyn Union Gas, Anchor Savings Bank and Barber Steamship Lines. And the parade has been supported by local American Bay Ridge and Sunset Park businesses. And it has had the support and legitimation of U. S. politicians, of NA and non-NA descent.

The parade also serves to unite the various organizational circles of the NA community including church and religious social, and cultural groups, sports clubs, charitable institutions, the press, Norwegian government officials and business firms. Thus the ethnic unity which Nordisk Tidende's editors have advocated since 1891 has been realized to a considerable extent in the development in the May 17 Parade.

At the same, as Editor Soyland noted, the parade is uniquely Norwegian-American. It is one of a few NA events in which a broad social, business and religious cross section unites for "the" annual NA metropolitan area celebration. The parade, like most viable NA ethnic groups in 1978, changed its membership and participation requirements to include non-NA persons and groups. Between 1968 and 1971 a

Swedish-American lawyer, John Carlson, active in the Leif Ericson⁸ Society, was the parade's General Chairman. Not long before he became Chairman, NAs vigorously debated about whether or not to allow a Swedish-American marching group to enter the parade before answering in the affirmative. The Committee's recognition that it had to adapt to changing ethnic demographic situation has enabled the parade to be successful as the form of ethnic persistence is maintained while the content changes.

The May 17 Parade represents the NA interorganizational network in operation. In effect the parade is broadly assimilationist as NA leaders espouse NAs to be good U. S. citizens while at the same time encouraging the perpetuation of a dual identity, at once American and Norwegian and in which there is no contradiction. The parade represents a major way in which ethnic leadership maintains a link to the past while keeping in contact with the present. Developments of the past decades suggest an attempt by ethnic leaders to increasingly unite NAs and other SAs into a broader Scandinavian ethnicity. This has been observed to some extent in the May 17 Parade. As the population of each SA group becomes further and further removed from the first generation and as ethnic enclaves cease to exist, organizational leaders must reawaken a latent ethnic interest or create a new interest in the lands of emigration and their heritages among later ethnic generations. Ethnicity to be successful cannot be parochial, based only on the past, but must be a blend of the past and present. Even if this is the situation, organizational mergers may be necessary to sustain some ethnic operations. The creation of a Scanpresence Committee, in the wake of events preceding and following

the NA Sesquicentennial Celebration (recalling the 150th anniversary of the first Norwegian group emigration to the U. S.) in 1975 and the U. S. Bicentennial Celebrations in 1976, suggests that ethnic leaders are seeking to guide their constituencies in the direction of a pan-Scandinavian ethnicity.

Footnotes

1

A major source for this chapter has been the annual parade journals (discussed in the text) produced by the May 17th Parade Committee since 1952. These publications are 5-1/2" by 8-1/2" produced on high gloss paper, and have been edited by Nordisk Tidende staff (with the exception of the 1978 journal which was edited by Erik J. Friis) and printed by the Norwegian News Co., Northway Printers who publish Nordisk Tidende. There are however no publisher or editor credits noted. A full collection of the journals is available, as far as this researcher is aware, only in the Nordisk Tidende offices, 8104 Fifth Avenue Brooklyn, New York, 11209.

2

The person credited with initiating the parade was Gustav A. Storaker, minister of the Sunset Park Methodist Church. Storaker was not a local NA, but had come to Brooklyn in 1941 from Oregon after twenty years on the west coast where he had served NA congregations. According to Soyland, Storaker was not your usual Brooklyn NA pastor. This is in part substantiated by his active part in the creation of the Nordmanns-Forbundet's New York Chapter, serving as its first Vice-President in 1948. Storaker was, however, also active among NA pastors in Brooklyn taking an active part in a coalition of NA churches (Vennestevnet). Following the war he received the St. Olav medal for "work in the Norwegian area" during the war (NT 5/21/42; 5/20/32; 5/6/48; 10/14/48; 6/19/49; 1/16/58). For a full discussion of the conflict among and different types of NA churches in Brooklyn see Christen T. Jonassen, "The Norwegians in Bay Ridge: A Sociological Study of an Ethnic Group," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1947, pp. 431-475, and Knight E. Hoover, "The Norwegian 'Colony' in Brooklyn, New York: A Study of Ethnic Community Survival in the United States," unpublished MA thesis, Brooklyn College, 1970, pp. 95-118.

3

A number of characteristics of Sons of Norway operations particularly offended NA church leaders although the "offense" depended on the degree of pentecostalism a particular congregation represented. For example, most churches were unanimous in their disapproval of secret oaths which Sons of Norway members and Masons, two organizations to which many NA Lutherans belonged, required. Most Lutheran bodies overlooked this secret oath offense and one found a high percentage of NA Lutherans in both organizations. A sharper division existed between "free" Lutheran denominations (that is, no affiliation with a major U.S. Lutheran Synod), and pentecostals who adamantly frowned upon and worked actively in prohibition movements long after the Prohibition Act was repealed, and opposed smoking, dancing, the use of cosmetics and other secular activities. Few of the "free" church members belonged to the Sons of Norway or to other social organizations.

4

Despite the initiative of a NA pastor in beginning the first NA parade during World War II, few NA churches belonged to the Norwegian Phlanx coalition of NA organizations supporting Norway. Exceptions were a NA Lutheran Church in the Bronx and the Sunset Park Methodist Church which Gustav Storaker, the parade's initiator, served between 1941 and 1949. The churches were, of course, avid supporters of the Norwegian war effort, but did so as a religious unit, not as members of the broad NA coalition.

5

John Yauchstetter is an American of Scotch descent who became Nordisk Tidende's first English Editor when he joined the paper following World War II. He is the English Editor in 1978.

6

The content analysis was based upon the number and not the size of the advertisement. However the organizations discussed in this dissertation were among the major advertisers, taking full page and half page ads. See Table II in text for further elaboration.

7

For a period in the 1960s, the parades terminated in McKinley Park located in Bay Ridge at 73rd Street. This park is southeast of Leiv Eiriksson Park and its use as a terminal point for the parade does not alter the general directions discussed here.

8

The Leif Erikson Society, Inc., meets in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn and is a cultural-historical club concerned with topics relating to Viking discoveries as well as more contemporary issues in the Scandinavian-American societies.

CHAPTER 15

THE SCANPRESENCE COMMITTEE

The Scanpresence Committee first met in 1972 to discuss the present and future presence of Scandinavian ethnics in North America¹ (Friis, 1976, xv).

The term Scanpresence is defined as

a portmanteau word for the Scandinavian presence in America-- the whole complex of organizations, institutions and interests which make up the Danish, Icelandic, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish communities in North America, and their friends and supporters here and in the five countries overseas (as defined by Ralph J. Jalkanen, 1977, "The Scanpresence II Conference," a Collection of Papers, emphasis added).²

Scanpresence was originally an ad hoc committee whose membership consisted of 1) Scandinavians and 2) Scandinavian-Americans (SAs) but could include "others" 3) non-Scandinavian or non-SA ("their friends and supporters"). The central or organizing membership of the Scanpresence Committee has varied throughout its six year existence based upon the three categories, which are broadly inclusive. Its aims, according to Jalkanen were to facilitate cooperation among the five groups to assist

"the individual ethnic components to maintain and strengthen their own identities and activities, and not at merging or homogenizing them ... cooperating where they can, (to) be better able to survive and grow." (Ibid., emphasis in original).

Scanpresence members did not express an interest in institutionalizing it.

It does not matter whether this cooperation is ad hoc or institutionalized; the important thing is that it happens.

Regardless of a stated lack of concern with becoming an organization, Scanpresence had reached "Committee" or organizational status by late 1977. In an undated "Progress Report No. 1," sent to participants of a conference, it was noted that

The Scanpresence Committee will meet within the next few weeks under the chairmanship of Dr. Jalkanen to reconstitute itself in accordance with the final vote of the ... conference and lay plans for its future activity.

Like the May 17 Parade Committee Scanpresence is an umbrella, coordinating agency which is dependent upon a variety of individuals, organizations and institutions scattered throughout North America. It has been in existence as a formal organization for one year although it has not yet assembled as a body since it achieved organizational status. The origins of Scanpresence indicate some of the principal initiators of and aims of Scanpresence.

Scanpresence began in June, 1972 when a "core group" of thirteen persons met in Bergen, Norway (Friis, 1976, 247). The core group included eight Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS) officials and representatives of Swedish-American, NA and Scandinavian organizations including General Manager from the Sons of Norway International Headquarters, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and the Secretary General of Nordmanns Forbundet in Oslo, Norway (Ibid., 247-251). The core group decided to arrange a Scanpresence conference to further determine what the situation of SAS was in North America (Ibid., XV). An Arrangements

Committee for the planned conference, Scan I, consisted of five persons: 3 academics and 2 SAS officials (Ibid., 247).

The first Scandinavian presence conference (Scan I) was held in May 1973. It was attended by approximately seventy invited guests from North America and Scandinavia and most were Scandinavian or SA, but not all. The participants included academicians and students (31), business persons (13), cultural organization officials (9), semi- and official government representatives from Scandinavia, (8) and officials from religious organizations (5; Ibid., 247-251). Among the participants were representatives from organizations discussed above, from the Norwegian News Co. (Nordisk Tidende), Sons of Norway, the Norwegian Information Service, the Royal Norwegian Consulate, the Norwegian government (Royal Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs), and Nordmanns-Forbundet, as well as from the Scandinavian Airlines System and the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

The sponsors or financial backers of Scan I were the Center for Norwest European Studies at the University of Minnesota and SAS (Ibid., XV). SAS was a major financial supporter of the conference. It had provided transportation for many of the participants and a base of Scanpresence was the SAS Public Relations Office in New York City. Further the book reporting the Scan I Conference results was sponsored by SAS (Friis, 1976, copyright page). Scan I was concerned with the task of documenting the Scandinavian presence in North America. The results are published (Friis, 1976)³ and contain statistical information (five percent of the U. S. population is of Scandinavian descent) and a description of the SA institutions (religious, fraternal,

special interest -- such as learned societies, museums and archives). Separate sections, reflecting the Scan I presentations, are devoted to educational and communications institutions. The former includes descriptions of U.S.-Scandinavian exchange programs, ethnic studies programs in the U. S. and programs of study in Scandinavia. The communications sections discusses the SA ethnic press in the U. S. as well as the role of other publications including the journals of SA organizations and ethnic radio. A final section presents the reactions of Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish scholars and official representatives to the Scanpresence idea of sustaining a Scandinavian presence in North America. A summary section by the NA scholar, Einar Haugen, described the revival of interest in ethnicity and ethnic studies. Haugen concluded by noting that the Scandinavian heritage contains important values which are or can be of benefit to the people of North America. Scan I gathered fact and opinion. It was then decided by the participants that a second conference should be planned to essentially discuss the question: Where do we go from here? The second Scanpresence Conference (Scan II) was therefore presented as an "action conference on the Scandinavian presence in America."

Scan II was held in October, 1977 and was attended by approximately 120 persons including representatives of academic (40), cultural (28), government (15), business (10), newspaper (9), fraternal (8) and religious (2) organizations; 7 were not identifiable. Scan II was sponsored by SAS, various (unnamed) departments at the University of Minnesota, the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Scandinavian Seminar.

The aims of Scan II were clearly stated. It was to be an "action conference" to find ways of continuing ethnicity among Scandinavians in North America and was based on the following premises:

- (1) the passage of generations has created new problems and conditions for the traditional components of the ethnic communities;
- (2) despite time and assimilation, there is a growing interest among American youth of Scandinavian derivation in their own heritage; and a very marked interest among youth and the public generally in America in Scandinavian values, culture and social models;
- (3) new methods of communication, educational structures and technologies and lifestyles have greatly multiplied the opportunities for the awareness of the Scandinavian presence in America;
- (4) existing organizations and programs are under pressure to make their content and activity more relevant to these new conditions;
- (5) while each of the ethnic groups and the various elements within them wish to maintain their individualities, they enjoy a strong mutual identity and community of interest;
- (6) there is a growing conviction of inter-dependence among them, in that they both require and can provide elements of mutual support (from "Origins and Aims of the Conference," a brochure mailed to Scan II participants).

These premises restate the aims of Scanpresence in general, outlining both the situation of the Scandinavian presence in North America and the directions to take to sustain it. They also restate three major elements of its targeted population, older traditional ethnics, young American-born of Scandinavian descent and the broader public. It is stated that traditional components are experiencing problems and that the "interest"

of the youth and general public must be tapped. Herein lies a latent resource. The way to reach the populations is to educate them. Further existing organizations must make their programs more relevant to "new conditions." Yet point five suggests that in becoming relevant the organizations cannot overlook older separations among the Scandinavian people, for example between Norwegians and Swedes. The way to fortify the Scandinavian populations in the U. S. is to coordinate their efforts but without "homogenizing" them. Here, it is suggested, is where the leaders know they must be careful. Presenting these ideas to some groups of ethnic constituents would not be well received. The members of Scan-presence however are in agreement with these points and recognize the need to cooperate, to share resources in order to sustain their interests and organizations.

The participation at Scan II, as in Scan I, did not however include the average member of ethnic organizations, but rather a stratum of ethnic leadership as well as another stratum of Scandinavian leadership. The ethnic leadership consisted only of the most prominent community-wide leaders in their respective areas. For example the publisher and editor of Nordisk Tidende, Gunnar Bjorkman and Sigurd Daasvand respectively, attended, as did Erik J. Friis, representing the American-Scandinavian Foundation. These were the persons active in the metropolitan NA community at local levels at Scan II.- Norway was represented by officials from the government stationed both in the U. S. and in Norway as well as a representative of Nordmanns-Forbundet's central office. Scan II provided a forum for these persons, who are already a part of the NA metropolitan leadership network, to mingle with other Scandinavian ethnic leader networks.

There were essentially three levels of leadership present at Scan II. First there is the level of ethnic leadership consisting of persons involved in the ethnic community's day to day activities. An example of ethnic leadership is editor of an ethnic paper. There is a second level of Scandinavian leadership interested in pan-Scandinavian affairs who may or may not be attached to a specific ethnic community. An example of a NA ethnic in this category is Friis who represented the American-Scandinavian Foundation. The third level is the official and semi-official Norwegian representatives, for example of the Norwegian Information Service in New York City. Each of these levels are linked and represent boundary personnel to other constituencies.

There were other leadership elements represented at Scan II which may fit into one or all of the above three levels, for example, those representing businesses interested in reaching the ethnic public but which is not in direct contact with that public. It is obvious that SAS, for example, is interested in both maintaining and creating a market to utilize SAS's services which represents one important segment of their customer public; therefore by establishing links to community-wide ethnic leaders with ties to local leaders and public, the tasks and goals of SAS become more feasible.

Still another and the largest segment (based on the numbers of those attending Scan II) of interested persons are academics, a potent force in describing, documenting and even promoting ethnic persistence.⁷ Academics represent a leadership segment which also may be, but most often are not, directly involved in local ethnic communities. Nonetheless they are brought and want to be brought into the contact with the

the leadership sectors. They are brought in because they have the raw data necessary to begin formulating programs. They want to be brought in because it further facilitates their access to sources which enable them to better conduct their trade.

The specific interests of the various leadership segments, of which only some were identified, are often different, but in unision they represented a core of persons which comprised the Scan II participants. As Jalkanen described these interests:

Scanpresence II exists because the first seminar in 1973 reached the consensus that the ideas, outlooks and qualities Scandinavian settlers brought to America are definitely worth preserving as a vital part of North American life; that new generations of Scandinavian-Americans are increasingly interested in their origins; that there is much interest among all North Americans in social, cultural, and industrial developments in Scandinavia which are relevant to the American condition; and that the existence of a strong Scandinavian-American community is an important asset in the continuing close relations between our countries (Jalkanen, in a letter to the participants included in "The Scanpresence II Conference," emphasis in original).

There can be many interpretations of the above statement. It may involve wishful thinking or it may be a combination of assumptions, hopes and plans for programs. As specifically stated Scan II sought to effect:

...concrete programs and projects to assure the continuation of a strong, relevant and constructive Scandinavian presence on this continent, in the fields of educational and cultural exchange as well as in fraternal and other community activities (Communication to Scan II participants "Origins and Aims of the Conference").

It is suggested here that, as Jalkanen stated, ethnicity also includes national government relations, and as suggested here, the interests of a broad range of economic interests.

The proceedings at Scan II followed the format established at Scan I in 1973, that is, presentations were made with reference to special interest organizations, brotherhood and fraternal associations (including Sons of Norway), educational and religious institutions and communications organizations. From these meetings thirty-five resolutions were arrived at by the central committee. The end product is the possible creation, centralization and bureaucratization of a "Scandinavian" ethnicity in North America. The notion of a Scandinavian presence or a Scandinavian ethnicity is suggested in another resolution which created the Scan-presence Committee organization:

1. The Scanpresence II Action Conference has resulted in a consensus among constituents of the Scandinavian-American community and related and interested organizations on this continent and in Scandinavia on a series of actions which require further consultation, research and implementation.
2. There is no existing organization whose interests cover the whole range of these actions or which is in a position to initiate them.
3. Further, in the nature of the Scandinavian presence in America, these actions should be undertaken through the individual initiative and/or cooperation of a wide range of existing institutions of different ethnic identifications and varying interests.
4. There nevertheless remains a requirement for some central agency to encourage, facilitate and coordinate the cooperation needed to implement these actions.
5. The Conference therefore endorses the continued existence of the Scanpresence Committee to perform this function.
6. The Committee is charged with reviewing the record of the Conference, bearing in mind the priorities which have been assigned to the various actions, and to take the initiative in calling together meetings of those organizations and individuals interested in implementing them.

7. The Committee should consist in the first instance of the present Chairman, Vice Chairman, Conference Coordinator and Task Force Chairman, together with representatives of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Scandinavian Seminar and the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies, and the Information Attaches of the Scandinavian countries.

8. It should, further, within a period of six months, broaden its membership to include by its own nomination two further representatives of the interests in each of the current Task Force Areas, in order to constitute a total of 25 members.

9. The regular members of the Committee should serve for a term of no more than three years or until another Scan-presence Conference is called, whichever is sooner. If a conference takes place within the term, regular members should be nominated from the floor, to serve as from the close of that meeting. If not, the Committee may nominate its own membership.

10. The committee should have the power to elect its own officers and form or rearrange its Task Force as it sees fit.

11. The costs of the Committee and of the meetings involved in its activity should as far as possible be borne by the participants themselves. The Committee is, however, authorized to call upon existing organizations and other interested parties for any further services and funding which may be necessary to carry out its activity. (The resolution was signed, Scan Presence II, October 8, 1977, Radison Hotel, Minneapolis, Minnesota.)

The Committee thus became an umbrella, coordinating agency for the various Scandinavian populations in North America. It is an international Committee composed of ethnic, cultural and educational as well as Scandinavian officials who will be responsible for planning and implementing programs. The Committee which is comprised at this time of only a few leaders is in a position to influence both its membership participating at the two conferences as well as larger SA groups. This is especially the case at present since Committee membership has not been open, but limited to the invitation of its organizers. To date

the Committee's officers have not been elected but appointed, as have been the various Task Forces on special interest, religious, fraternal, educational, and communications organizations. Funding requirements have been left open with the Committee authorized to obtain money from "existing organizations and other interested parties," if necessary. Yet this has not been necessary for the two conferences already conducted. No specifics concerning the funding of the conferences have been released, but SAS appears to be the major financial source. Thus a Scanpresence Committee was established at the Scan II Conference; it is a permanent organization with resources to preside over "SA ethnicity" in North America. How representative the Committee's membership will become of the broader SA ethnic groups (including both tradition and young SAs) in North America remains to be seen. At present the Scanpresence Committee is comprised of a leadership elite. The Committee can possibly manage the ethnics in its own interest as it appears to have done in creating a Scanpresence organization.

The question as to why the Scandinavian nations are interested in the Committee has many answers. One Norwegian official at Scan II stated that official Norway was "deeply interested" in supporting all programs designed to preserve a Norwegian presence in America. The official specifically stated the necessity of continued links between Norway and NAs. Further the amount of support provided in Norway's national budget to maintain these links was said to be less than necessary and he expressed the hope that more support would be forthcoming. The activities of both NA and SA organizations and institutions, the official noted, serve to promote increased interest in Norway and Scandinavia as well as strengthening

ethnic awareness among NAs. These links advance international relations between the U. S. and Norway and maintain a Norwegian presence in America (Priis, 1976, 222-224). This official's views are probably not representative of the Norwegian government, otherwise more funds would be appropriated to fortify the links, but at least some Norwegian officials favor the continued ties to NA and SA organizations to preserve ethnic awareness and feelings.

Some reasons for the creation of Scanpresence, conducting of two conferences and the institutionalization of a Committee have been stated. While the stated reasons for its creation are no doubt to some extent valid the researcher, based on participation at Scan II, does not think all or even the major reasons or agenda behind Scanpresence have been stated. The initiators and leaders of Scanpresence appeared to be managing the participants at Scan II to reach their own desired ends not, it must be added, without the consent of those attending. Since all participants were in some way related to SA organizations and interested in their continuation, it can be concluded that most stand to benefit by some form of Scandinavian persistence. For example, the support of academic, business, cultural, fraternal and social organizations could be further sustained by a continued Scandinavian persistence whether at the pan-Scandinavian or individual ethnic group levels. Thus many participants were hopeful as to the persistence of the individual communities or of a "Scandinavian" ethnic identity. As Jalkanen noted, this persistence might even be useful in "continuing close relations" in Scandinavian-American relations. Thus the statements of persons who saw ethnicity persisting went almost unchallenged, although

the definition of ethnicity or its various forms was never discussed and many terms used were vague. Those directing the conference were not interested in hearing information which countered the notion that interest in Scandinavian ethnicity was not in fact considerable. At one point a participant objected to the statement that SAs were becoming more interested in their origins based upon enrollments in Scandinavian Studies programs. The objector was cut off by the chairperson of the session.⁹ Here was one case where a discussion of the prevalence of interest in Scandinavian ethnicity was abruptly ended by the chairperson of the session and suggested a management of issues as well clearly indicating undercurrents of conflict among participants. (Such conflict is not revealed in the reports or official minutes of the conferences.)

Both Scan I and Scan II were organized by a very few people and they set the boundaries on what was to be discussed and who attended. It might be argued that the conferences were vehicles of legitimization for certain interests with agendas not fully spelled out. For example, SAS and its employees were clearly prime movers in the Scanpresence concept. SAS transports a certain percentage of SAs to Scandinavia each year. It would be, then, in the interest of SAS to help maintain or sustain ethnic organizations which provide one easily accessible market. SAS had a major role in Scanpresence and this was quite recognizable in the proceedings based on the number and leadership roles of SAS employees (Friis, 1976, 247-251, and "The Scanpresence II Conference, a "Collection of Papers"). Yet when it came to naming participants and the possible benefit the various groups stood to gain, the term "business" was omitted from Scanpresence materials with the exception of recognition given to the

University of Minnesota and Scandinavian Airlines (Marion J. Nelson, "Introduction" in Friis, 1976, xxi).

Thus it is possible that a few leaders had agendas which a Scanpresence conference could serve to carry out. This impression was further substantiated by claims of "railroading" by some of the participants. The railroading concerned the passing of 35 resolutions (See Appendix II) at the end of the conference and the separate resolution (noted above) creating a Scanpresence Committee. The resolutions were prepared by the conference leaders after the reporting and discussion sessions had ended. At a plenary session held to vote on the resolutions, the 35 resolutions were read and those attending the session, which was somewhat less than at the meetings, voted on their acceptance. After the voting some of the persons either tore up their results or did not hand them in. Whether or not such actions were the result of perceived railroading cannot be stated definitely. The resolutions, in themselves, were not the source of the discontent, but the way in which a small committee wrote them and the manner in which the vote was taken. The results of the voting were not made public as of Fall, 1978.

Whether or not the leaders of the Scan II Conference acted to carry out their own agendas was not definitely ascertained; however, it is clear that the participants did not represent the average ethnic, who might object to Scandinavian cooperation. Some attended without a clear-cut understanding of why they were there but because their travel expenses, in some cases from Scandinavia, were paid for the conference sponsors (not specified). Most had some interest--cultural, economic, educational or social--in attending. Organizations seek to survive, both ethnic and non-ethnic, which to some extent depend on ethnic trade or constituencies.

Scanpresence is not a metropolitan NA organization. Its inclusion here however is not inconsistent with several themes which have emerged in this study. First NA ethnicity in the metropolitan area has been increasingly related to organizations and less related to a specific spatial area. In spite of the decline of the NA ethnic population in Bay Ridge and Sunset Park, Brooklyn, there has been a tendency toward ethnic organizational and therefore ethnic persistence. The decline of first and second generation NAs has resulted in diminished organizational membership. The Sons of Norway with an increasing membership has been a major exception among organizations discussed. Such organizations "persist" by broadening membership qualifications to include non NA as well as by incorporating NA interests into those of pan-SA concerns. Although the focus has been upon NAs in the metropolitan area, evidence of broadening membership and pan-Scandinavian programs has been noted. NA ethnicity is becoming then more national and even to a degree international. Scanpresence is an illustration of an attempt to organize and consolidate existing, and to create, constituencies which can support a variety of interests. Friis noted at the time of Scan I in 1973 that the five groups were "only slightly interacting national subgroups" (Friis, 1976, xvi). Centralization and bureaucratization are dominant aspects of the American culture in the 1970s, and ethnic leaders are utilizing organizations to consolidate their interests and organize their constituencies.

This organizational specialization is as much a response to the larger American environment as it impinges on ethnic social organization as it is a conscious plan to manipulate constituencies. It would be

difficult to convince the NA flying to Norway as a member of Sons of Norway affinity group, at a bargain rate, that there is manipulation taking place by either of the organizations. It becomes increasingly evident that ethnic social structures are subject to increased management and coordination through centralized organizations operating at national and international levels. The bureaucratization of NA ethnicity is affected in response to declining numbers of Norwegian-born and even second generation persons and as the ethnic ghettos of the older immigrant groups are reduced by suburbanization, the increased mobility by their occupants, changing technology and concomitant alterations of life styles.

Despite the apparent "railroading" which occurred at Scan II, the Scanpresence Committee represents one response to the demographic decline of SA ethnics and a response of organizations dependent on such a public for their own continuation and livelihood.

The Committee's conferences also represent a major departure in the nature of their content from the type of NA ethnicity which existed in Brooklyn up to the time of World War II. Pre-World War II NA ethnicity was parochial, often focusing not only on Norway but on a particular geographic area within Norway. It was an ethnicity based on memories of the past and had little or no appeal to the American-born generations and expressed ideas alien even to contemporary Scandinavian visitors. This traditional notion of ethnicity is different than the type of ethnicity represented in the Sons of Norway which blends the older, traditional notion identified with the immigrant's motherland, and the more recent ethnicity focusing upon current political, economic, cultural

and social concerns in North America and Scandinavia. The Scan-
presence Committee is one example, it is suggested here, of an emerging
type of ethnicity based upon specific interests by specific groups
which, despite differences in interests, can be coordinated into broad
ethnic coalitions.

Footnotes

1

The major sources for this chapter are: Erik J. Friis, ed., The Scandinavian Presence in North America (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1976); "The Scanpresence II Conference: A Collection of Papers," distributed to conference participants by the Secretariat and Conference Coordinator, Scanpresence, Suite 1465, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10020; and notes and tape recordings made by the researcher of the proceedings of the Scanpresence II Conference held October 6-8, 1977 at the Radison Hotel, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

2

Ralph J. Jalkenen was President of Scanpresence in 1977. He is the President of Suomi College, begun by Finnish immigrants and located in Hancock, Michigan. He was involved with Scanpresence almost from its beginning.

3

The results of the Scan I presence were edited from recordings of the proceedings and prepared documents. The validity of the reports were not in general tested. The material ranged from experimental and impressionistic to empirical data. The book is a useful account of content of the Scan I proceedings. As usual in minutes and proceedings the dynamics and conflict of the "spirited" discussions (Friis, 1976, xvi) were edited out.

4

The participants were classified by the researcher on the basis of organizational affiliation listed which can be misleading since some represented interests of more than the organization listed. A business manager at the American-Scandinavian Foundation, for example, was listed as "cultural" rather than as a business representative. Further newspaper persons and some fraternal officials represent business interests. Of the 7 not identified (address only was listed) some might have been among the "observers," since the researcher was listed by address only and was among the observers. (There were two categories of participants "invited guests" and "observers" at Scan II. Where only an address was indicated the researcher categorized the person if the organizational affiliation was known by the researcher. The Scanpresence Conference, October, 1977, "Registration List.")

5

Scandinavian Seminar is located at 100 East 85th Street, New York, N. Y. 10028. The Seminar sponsors one year exchange study programs for college students and graduates interested in immersing themselves in a Nordic culture and language. Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden participate. It began in 1949 and since then more than 2,000 Americans

have participated ["The Scandinavian-American Bulletin," Vol. 21, #9, September, 1976, pp. 1-2 and 12]. Information on sponsors was contained in a communication mailed to Scan II participants, "Origins and Aims of the Conference," from the Secretariat and Conference Coordinator, of Norway which sponsored a welcoming party and by the Hotel Radisson which discounted the rates of Scan II participants lodged there.

6

Other NAs and Norwegians who were active in the broader NA leadership networks and also attending included Dr. Arthur O. Davidson, former President of Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y. who was Chairman of the NA Sesquicentennial Commission in 1975. (This Commission was established in early 1973 on the initiative of the New York Nordmanns-Forbundet Chapter as an organization in charge of arranging activities in the east as part of the 1975 Sesquicentennial celebration of the first Norwegian group migration to the U. S. It coordinated the celebration of the first Norwegian group migration to the U. S. It coordinated the celebration and arrival of guests from Norway with a similar committee in the midwest. "The Scandinavian-American Bulletin", Vol. 18, #3, March 1973, p. 1). Those in attendance from Sons of Norway and NA religious institutions were holders of high positions in their organization's central offices, such as the Executive Officer and Director of Fraternal Services of the Sons of Norway's Supreme Lodge and the President of the American Lutheran Church (comprised in part of the former NA Lutheran Church in America). Also in attendance was Einar Bergh, Director of Public Relations of the Supreme Lodge, Sons of Norway and former employee of the Norwegian Information Service in New York. Bergh's former boss, Consul Oyvind Riseng, Director of the Norwegian Information Service also attended. He represented Norwegian leadership. Also representing official Norway was the Director General of the Department of Press and Cultural Affairs, Royal Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Associate Director of the Norwegian Information Service in New York and a Nordmanns-Forbundet representative from Oslo, Norway who is also a member of Norwegian Parliament.

7

The role of academics in, as well as the intellectual aspect of, ethnic persistence has been discussed by Andrew Greeley and associates of the National Opinion Research Center, Chicago, Illinois, and Silvano M. Tomasi and associates at the Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, N. Y. The researcher is included among the 40 academics and is not of Scandinavian descent. My interest in Scan II, considering the focus here upon the organizational aspect of ethnicity, is obvious. Although an observer, without an active role at Scan II, I have become a part of the Scandinavian and NA ethnic network. After having spent nine months researching the Nordisk Tidende's back issues at the Norwegian News office and receiving every considerable courtesy, I agreed to write a review of the Scanpresence II conference which became a page one article in Nordisk Tidende (10/20/77). The question becomes one of the relationship between academics, ethnic interests, ethnic preservation and emergent ethnicity and is considered in the methodology section.

8

See methodology in Appendix I. This researcher was at the Nordisk Tidende newspaper nine months researching its archives. During this time discussion of Scan II came up and I sought to participate. Through friendships established at the newspaper and through contacts at the American-Scandinavian Foundation, I was invited to observe.

9

The objector was of the opinion that the reporters were "talking about a lot of wishes, but no one has produced any data" to substantiate the claims of rising interest in Scandinavian studies. The Chair then permitted a rejoinder in which it was stated that Scandinavian studies are being studied in elementary and high school grades as part of the European History. The objector: "I got to respond...why is that there? Because you guys lobbied and said that there was a need. And its political clout and...." Chair interrupts with "I think you made your point." (Recorded and transcribed by researcher from Scan II Proceedings.)

PART III; NA ETHNIC PERSISTENCE IN 1978

CHAPTER 16

CONTEMPORARY NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY

NA ethnicity has assumed and continues to assume the form of rational, interest-oriented, increasingly centralized and increasingly bureaucratized organizations and coalitions of organizations in the 1970s. The origins of the rational, interest-oriented component of the NA national origins group extend back at least a century, are integrally related to exchange between NA organizations and Norway and are, at least in part, due to historical accidents and crises. These accidents and crises have been consciously managed by NA leadership elites to enhance their own organizational and group interests. The NA ethnic groups' individual members have been relatively easily assimilated into the American society but were not adverse to advocating for their individual group needs by forming ethnic organizations which became power bases for reform. These organizations were not, in general, the source of broad social movements,¹ but rather were group adaptations to perceived adverse conditions existing in the broader U. S. society. Nonetheless ethnic adaptation and persistence has decided similarities to broader social movements.

Ethnicity as Rational Interest

Each of the fourteen selected organizations discussed have objectives which seek to enhance, either explicitly or implicitly, institutional interests. Most of these organizations including the press,

Sons of Norway, travel organizations, the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, the Scandinavian-American Business Association and the Norwegian Information Service seek to directly achieve or support economic and/or political goals. The Nordmanns-Forbundet, the Seamen's Church, the May 17 Committee and Scanpresence are adjuncts to political and economic institutions and seek to advance their own interests as well.

The interest-oriented role of organizations dates back, for example, at least to 1878 when the Norwegian Seamen's Mission, a private Norway-based organization, established a branch church, the Norwegian Seamen's Church in Brooklyn, N. Y. One goal of the church has been to care for Norwegian sailors and permanent NA residents. Support for the church was provided not only by Norwegian organizations (including shipping companies) but also by NA clubs and organizations. The Nordisk Tidende, another ethnic interest organization, was founded in 1891 with the explicit goals of linking NAs to Norway, serving as an advocate for NA interests and building ethnic solidarity. The Norwegian-America Line was created in 1910 on the urging of NAs who believed Norway should benefit from transatlantic passenger transportation. These are a few illustrations of rational interests which serve to advance NA ethnicity.

The Centralization of Ethnicity

World War II marked the period of increasing bureaucratization of NA ethnicity. Mergers of formerly independent organizations, particularly into Sons of Norway, had occurred at the time of the Depression and have continued to the present. By 1945 there were fewer NA organizations and those which remained were either centralizing or supporting

each other in coalitions. These centralized coalitions, such as the May 17 Committee or Scanpresence, often become separate organizations but nonetheless are comprised of the members of already existing organizations. The NA organizations began centralizing in order to better implement their aims and purposes, revealing new links and increased cooperation between Norwegian and NA organizations. Bureaucratization is observed internationally in the Nordmanns-Forbundet, with its New York Chapter created in 1948, and the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce. Centralization is therefore observed in NA organizational networks internationally and nationally. Centralization at the metropolitan area level is seen in the virtual merger of three (of four) Scandinavian presses under one roof, in the May 17 committee and in the Scandinavian-American Business Association. The centralization of operations has been observed as a theme from time to time in Nordisk Tidende. One common May 17 parade had been advocated since Nordisk Tidende began in 1891 continued until the parade became a permanent organization in the 1940s. Nordisk Tidende had also proposed that all NA organizations join Sons of Norway in the 1930s. After World War II Nordisk Tidende advocated for the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce's Norway House which would centralize most of Norway's government and business organizations under one roof.

Resource Exchange and the Ethnic Network

Exchange of resources, a further example of centralization, has been noted among each of the fourteen organizations, despite the fact that five are headquartered in Norway and one in Sweden. Resource exchange is illustrated by the numbers of Norwegians writing for

Nordisk Tidende during World War II and the participation of Norwegian Foreign Service personnel including the Ambassador and Consul General in most major NA celebrations. There is coordination of program scheduling and content. There is also the exchange of facilities among organizations and companies in the ethnic network, such as the Norwegian-America Line permitting its ships to be used for NA fund-raising drives. The use of Norwegian Information Service and SAS produced films for NA meetings is another illustration of resource exchange. The pooling of these resources serves to promote business interests as well as to enhance ethnic identity.

Management of Ethnicity

Historical events have also had an effect on NA organizational life. Such major events include the dissolution of the Dano-Norwegian Union in 1814, the first group emigration from Norway in 1825, the peaceful dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian Union in 1905, the centennial and sesquicentennial celebrations of Norwegian immigration to the U. S. and World War II. NA leaders have consistently used these events, as well as celebrations commemorating Norway's national heroes and NAs who have distinguished themselves in the U. S., to inspire NA group identity and solidarity.

The NA elite, as leaders of the group, used certain mechanisms to enhance group identity and solidarity. In ways similar to those used by leaders of social movements, NA leaders stir up certain issues or events, build esprit de corps and group morale within the NA community, maintain a legitimizing ideology and initiate operational procedures which serve to integrate and coalesce either various elements within

the group or the entire community (Blumer, 1969, 103-111).

Many NAs came to the U. S. in the 19th century proud of the economic, political and social gains occurring in Norway. Many maintained Norwegian identity, joined NA organizations and celebrated May 17. At various times in the group's history different elements among NAs were aroused by certain situations (relative lack of care for seamen, desire to find security in sick and death benefit securities, interest in developing trade links with Norway, interest in preserving the different Scandinavian ethnicities in North America) and by certain events (Norway's independence from Sweden, official Norway's and the U. S. Government's recognition of immigrant contributions to the U. S.) Provided with a stimulus (for example, promotions or reports in the Nordisk Tidende or the urging of a particular leader), the NA people either in whole or in part were aroused to support a NA function, organization, coalition or the nations of Norway and/or the U. S.

Once initial interest in something had been aroused, NA leaders built an esprit de corps in support of the task at hand. Esprit de corps was developed by (1) appealing to in-group vs. out-group identities, (2) "informal association on the basis of fellowship," and (3) ceremonial behavior and ritual (Ibid., 106-107).

Cases of in-group vs. out-group loyalty were evident in 1905 (Swedish-Norwegian Union dissolution), in 1914 (World War I) and especially in 1940-1945 (World War II during the Nazi occupation of Norway). In the N. Y. metropolitan area, an illustration of in-group behavior was evidenced by the constant moving of NAs in part to avoid association with in-coming southeastern European groups who were

"different." In the Nordisk Tidende there were reports of non-Norwegian owners of bars hiring Norwegian women as waitresses to lure and bilk Norwegian sailors out of their wages in the 1920s. There was also anti-Catholicism expressed in Nordisk Tidende during the early twentieth century with critical reference to "popish" practices. Such in-group vs. out-group references have subsided since the Second World War as other means of organizing group identity, also used in the earlier periods, were stressed to greater extents.

Informal associations which also build esprit de corps among NAs were numerous and included the Norwegian Club membered by NA and Norwegian economic elites, the Nordmanns-Forbundet, New York Chapter, among the intellectual elite, as well as the camaraderie developed among volunteers in support of various philanthropic institutions. Although many NAs initially joined clubs on the basis of region of origin in Norway, this development became more limited after World War II because of demographic decline among Norwegian-born as well as a growing understanding of and acceptance of other Norwegians.

A third means of building esprit de corps is by ceremonial behavior and ritual. Such behavior is observed in the visits by members² of Norway's royal family to various NA institutions and in the events and celebrations of various organizations such as initiations and officer installations. In each case certain rituals of protocol are observed. The crisis of World War II was the impetus for a NA parade which is a major spirit building event involving all elements of the NA community. The parade was organized by the NA churches, Sons of Norway and then finally institutionalized in the May 17 Parade

Committee. Another example of ceremonial behavior producing ethnic solidarity is the arrangement of commemorative events which play a large part in the annual calendar of NA organizations. These range from individual, annual organizational anniversaries to community-wide events such as the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce's 50th anniversary in 1964 or the Seamen's Church's 100th anniversary in 1978. The commemoration of group immigration in 1925 and again in 1975 provides still other examples. Homage was also paid annually and on special anniversaries to Norwegian national heroes including authors, poets, playwrights, explorers and politicians.

The use of ceremonial behavior and ritual as a means of creating ethnic solidarity is accompanied by slogans, banners, anthems, uniforms and other paraphernalia of sentimental significance. Slogans such as "Everything for Norway," banners displaying group affiliation, the singing of the Norwegian national anthem as well as certain hymns and songs at the gatherings and the wearing of uniforms and national costumes at the annual May 17 parades stir up and create memories and a sense of peoplehood.

Leaders of NA ethnicity, not unlike leaders of social movements, have built group morale within the NA community. This has been done by appealing to convictions and values which state or imply, among other things, that the NA and/or Norwegian way is the correct way. NA leaders encouraged the people to support philanthropic enterprises such as the Children's Home because Norwegians should "take care of their own." Similar appeals were made to encourage support for NA institutions seeking to cope with the effects of the Depression. During World War

II NA leaders urged that NAs should support the Norwegian war effort so that the Nazi dictatorship would be defeated thus returning Norway to the ranks of "free, democratic" nations.

The formation of ideology, a fourth factor in developing a social movement, is also an important aspect of ethnicity. The Nordisk Tidende was a primary ideological agent of the young immigrant community. The belief in "democracy" permeated the early New York NA settlements. Attacks by Nordisk Tidende against Norwegian shipping and religious elites in 1891-1911 period apparently reflected this belief. By 1912, Nordisk Tidende was one, perhaps "the" one, organization which had connections to the NA religious, business, cultural and philanthropic elements as well as ties to Norwegian government officials, that is, to the major elements of the NA network. Nordisk Tidende's ideology and purpose was to serve as a link between Norwegians on both sides of the Atlantic. Maintenance of contacts with Norway was believed to be the source of life for the NA ethnic group. Nordisk Tidende's staff through its numerous organizational relationships and by advocacy in the paper served as a major proponent of the objective. Nordisk Tidende supported and worked for the creation of the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, for the Seamen's Church, for the creation of a Norwegian Information Service and for the May 17 parade organization. It was also Nordisk Tidende which praised the efforts of the Norwegian-America Line, Scandinavian Airlines System and the New York Chapter of Nordmanns-Forbundet as major links between Norway and the Norwegian-America. Nordisk Tidende's leadership constantly advocated and worked for the creation of any organization which would broaden the NA ethnic network.

These actions seek to perpetuate the organizational structure upon which persistence is in part based. Thus the backbone of the NA community has been and remains the NA organizations and network of organizations, their leaders and membership.

Ethnic ideology is further reinforced by the broader American society's tolerance of ethnic groupings. For NAs a major breakthrough came in 1925 when both the U. S. President, Calvin Coolidge, and Norwegian officials praised NAs for their contributions to both nations. After decades of anti-foreignness and melting pot ideology an ethnic group was both recognized and legitimized. It was in 1924 that the concept of "cultural pluralism" was first used to describe the situation of America's ethnic groups.³ The combination of organizational network building by NA leaders and openness to ethnic pluralism further legitimized continued ethnic persistence. The concept of "cultural pluralism" was integrated into the Nordisk Tidende's published ideology and bouyed by the events of the day the paper cited a reemergence of interest in ethnicity.

NA ethnicity has not been used as the basis of a broader social movement, nonetheless NA ethnic leaders have used tactics similar to those used in social movements -- arousal of interest, esprit de corps, morale and ideology building -- to create and maintain ethnic identity and persistence.

Adaptations of Ethnic Organizations

Ethnic organizational structures have been crucial components of NA ethnicity because appeals to Norwegianness per se are insufficient to maintain ethnicity through succeeding generations. While the

immigrant generation can be appealed to on the basis of romantic ties to and memories of Norway, American-born persons are generally not as interested in such traditional forms of ethnic identity. Organizational adaptation to declining immigration is necessary in order for the organizations to survive. Adaptation can be observed in three types of ethnic organizations: traditional, transitional and contemporary.⁴

The traditional organization is one in which ethnicity is linked to a romantic notion of the land of emigration. Transplanted notions of Norway continued to live in traditional organizations as long as long as there was a mass from which to draw membership. The bygdelag movement of the midwest, for example, was rooted in the 19th century Norwegian social structure and based upon regional identities and dialects. It chose to die out rather than adapt its structure to include American-born persons. In the metropolitan area the Children's Home is an example of a traditional organization. It is based upon an ideology of self help and philanthropy which was supported by an ethnic system restricted to a territorial enclave. The Depression indicated that NAs did not have the resources to sustain ethnic institutions which duplicated those of the larger American society. The Home was also faced with changing demographic characteristics. No longer were young families immigrating to the U. S.; no longer were the NAs working primarily in hazardous positions. Although the Home does accept non-NAs and temporary residents, it has refused to merge with non-NA structures, thus limiting its financial base.

The Nordisk Tidende is an example of a transitional organization. It is rooted in the past, but is attempting to adapt to changing circumstances. It seeks to hold onto the old readership by writing in

English, by featuring up-to-date articles on events in Norway including popular singers, cultural activities and political developments. In this respect it has changed since World War II. Further, while its bases of support were also dependent upon the local enclave, Nordisk Tidende has sought to expand its financial basis by securing advertising resources based in Norway and to merge its operations with other Scandinavian papers in the New York area.

The Sons of Norway is the prime, and perhaps unique, example of a contemporary ethnic organization. It was adapted to the changing demographic composition of the NA population by actively supporting youth programs which emphasize the Norwegian heritage while at the same time adapting its structure to include broader bases of support. The Sons of Norway's motto is "Preserving a Heritage, Insuring the Future." The motto suggests its financial base of support, a thriving non-profit insurance business, which provides it with resources to develop other programs including both traditional and contemporary interests.

The traditional, transitional, contemporary ethnic continuum suggests the changing nature of the relationship between ethnicity and an ethnic territory or enclave. Among the NAs (and perhaps among older immigrant groups) there is a tendency toward ethnic communities sans locale. As NA ethnicity becomes increasingly centralized, based upon rational appeal to a wide variety of economic, social and recreational interests, ethnic community becomes increasingly organizational. It is a "community" of interests, not based in an enclave, but in specific, rational interests. Ethnicity as community results from the conscious coordination of the myriad interests of American-born generations. The

networks are coordinated by a leadership which provides the potential ethnic organization member with numerous options for involvement.

Ethnicity as a Form of Leisure

Participation in ethnic organizations has historically provided the immigrant with the opportunity for leisure time activities. The Depression of the 1930s indicated that free time produced by mass unemployment increased ethnic participation. Ethnic organizations have increasingly provided a variety of travel, sport, social and cultural activities as NAs have become increasingly middle class with more time for leisure. Educational exchange programs, charter flights facilitating travel to Norway, and the development of recreational areas owned by NA organizations are among examples of the use of leisure time as an element which sustains and increases membership in ethnic organizations.

Travel opportunities have enhanced the links between Norway and NAs. Travel and exchange programs, for example, have provided "new blood" to NA events. One effect of increased travel has been a renewal of NA-Norwegian ties at a personal level, a characteristic which was said to have disappeared as immigration dwindled. Another effect has been the addition of new organizational affiliations to the ethnic network including airline, cruise ship and educational exchange organizations.

Trends in Ethnicity Among NAs

A first component of NA ethnicity is its increasingly organizational form. As the ethnic enclave among older immigrant groups disappears, an ethnicity sans locale emerges. The organizational form of ethnicity is facilitated by NA leaders consciously utilizing both historical and

contemporary events to generate an interest among the masses. Interest takes on a dual form. On the one hand it is general, an interest in "things Norwegian" and, more broadly, Scandinavian. On the other hand interest is institutional related to business, cultural, political, religious and social organizations. There is no one leadership, but rather coalitions and networks of leaders which are both institutionalized as in the May 17 Parade or Scanpresence Committees and ad-hoc as called for by specific events.

A second component of NA ethnicity is increasing cooperation among previously discrete elements in the NA community. Crisis situations such as the Depression and World War II mobilized a declining immigrant population into cooperative ventures not previously undertaken. For the first time various organizations cooperated to support parades, programs and institutions which are the network sustaining NA ethnicity.

NA ethnicity is not an organized social movement seeking change in the broader society. Rather, the ethnic organizations and their leaders and members are secure in and reinforced by the American business oriented ideology. NA ethnicity reflecting general trends in American society has become more commercial, a third component of NA ethnicity. Its cultural content is less tied to old Norway; it is less traditional and less romantic. In one sense the members of NA organizations are assimilated and therefore little different than most Americans. On the other hand NAs are more in touch with the cultural content of present-day Norway. The U. S. and Norwegian cultures are more closely linked today by political, economic and socio-cultural exchange. Further Norwegians and NAs are in close contact, due largely to increased travel and

educational programs. NAs can be thought of not so much as a "national origins" group but as a "national interest" group. NAs can be "ethnic" in their recreational and leisure-time roles, but do not live their lives totally enmeshed in ethnic activities. Thus the dichotomy of ethnic vs. non-ethnic often associated with the notion of ethnic enclaves is not valid among NAs.

Another aspect of NA ethnicity is that it has become more intellectual reflecting the increasing educational levels of its members. NAs have increasingly joined the ranks of the new middle class which includes professional, technical, management and administrative, and sales and clerical occupations. The meaning of higher educational levels among NAs is still uncertain. On one hand, there is less interest in parochial, traditional ethnic organizations. Conversely, there has been interest among the more educated in the NA and Scandinavian-American organizations which were represented at the Scanpresence seminars, such as the American-Scandinavian Foundation and special interest groups, historical associations and learned societies. Often the memberships of these organizations also include non-NAs, however, which further suggests the notion of "national interest" or "Scandinavian interest organizations rather than national origins groups. In these cases the distinction between ethnic studies, ethnic interest groups and national origins groups becomes vague.

Environmental factors have been discussed throughout the text and must be considered to be support factors in NA ethnicity. The climate in the United States with regard to older national origins groups has been an open one. The melting pot ideology was replaced by the cultural

pluralist ideology. In 1971 the U. S. Congress for the first time in American history passed legislation to fund ethnic heritage studies. Ethnic groups were thus legitimized by the U. S. government. The interest in "roots" and "heritage" which led to the legislation has been presented in vague terms such as "ethnic revival," "cultural pluralism," "new ethnicity," and "new pluralism." It is this writer's opinion that such terms and the legislation enacting ethnic heritage studies are ideological catchwords and programs which do not seriously consider, but overlook the program facing many of America's groups which are not integrated into the American social structure. The NA ethnic group's members are integrated into American socio-economic structures. In relative terms, then, they have the money, the time and possibly the inclination to pursue ethnicity as a leisure time activity. The effect of the open climate on the older immigrant groups integrated into the American society may be to reawaken an interest in heritage. This study indicates that among NAs there are networks of interest which recruit members into a continually adapting NA ethnicity.

-

Footnotes

1

Some Norwegians and NAs have considered Marcus Thrane to be one of the great leaders among NAs. Thrane was active in the worker movement both in Norway and in the midwestern United States. Thrane's leadership is an example of, in part, an NA based social movement. Karsten Roedder, Av en utvandrer-avis' saga (Brooklyn, N. Y.: Norwegian News-Northway Printers, Inc., 1966), pp. 235, 247-248.

2

The first Norwegian royal visit to the U. S. occurred in 1939, followed by the residency of Norway's Crown Prince family near Washington, D. C. during World War II. Since the war royal visits have occurred at times of major events. King Olav V (Crown Prince during the war) visited the U. S. in 1975 at the time of the Norwegian Immigration Sesquicentennial for 25 days including visits to the Norwegian Old People's Home, Children's Home and Seamen's Church in Brooklyn and the Eger Home for the Aged on Staten Island ("Scandinavian-American Bulletin," September, 1975, Vol. 20, #9, pp. 1-2). The present Crown Prince, Harold, and his sibling, Crown Princess Sonja, visited the U. S. to participate in NA events in connection with the U. S. Bicentennial celebration in 1976 including a program at the Seamen's Church ("Scandinavian-American Bulletin," June 1976, Vol. 21, #6, p. 1). Crown Princess Sonja also attended the Seamen's Church's 100th anniversary in the fall of 1978.

3

Horace Kallen began challenging the notions of Americanization, Anglo-conformity, and melting pot as early as 1915, stating that these terms incorrectly described what was actually occurring in the U. S. In 1924 Kallen used the term "cultural pluralism" for the first time. Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 141-144.

4

These ideas are in part traced to Einar Haugen in his summary of the Scan I conference events. Erik J. Friis, ed., The Scandinavian-Presence in North America (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1976), pp. 235-240. Haugen describes two faces of the Scandinavian Presence, ethnicity and interest. He described ethnicity as "nationality," whereas "interest" was ascribed to non-Scandinavian ethnics, or "friends of Scandinavia." He then distinguishes between "primary" and "secondary" ethnicity. Primary ethnicity is unconscious, that which one acquires by growing up in wholly ethnic milieus. Secondary ethnicity is conscious, constituting a less dominant part in a person's life; it is more academic.

APPENDIX I: METHODOLOGY

METHODS USED

The primary hypothesis that NA organizations, either independently or in the cooperation with Norwegian national organizations, maintain ethnicity by and for rationally planned purposes was tested by a combination of methods. The principal method was the systematic reading of the Nordisk Tidende through a thirty-four year period (1926-1960). (The systematic reading was terminated with 1960 because further reading would have added more detail, but little of substantive value). The newspaper had already been read sporadically by the researcher between 1966 and 1978. The material from Nordisk Tidende was supplemented by analysis of other publications including organizational books, brochures, by-laws, constitutions, directories of membership, journals, magazines, newsletters, newspapers and other publications. Census data were also utilized. These methods were further supplemented by participant observation, interviews and informal discussions. A major aim of the analysis of written sources, including those extending back to 1825 through the use of Rygg (1941), was to reconstruct the development of the NA community in the New York metropolitan area. This historical focus, covering more than a century in time, takes into account the recent criticism of the quantitative historians that sociology present truncated views of historical perspectives, overlooking the time factor, resulting in superficial views of social process and social structural change (Thernstorm, 1973).

Analysis of Nordisk Tidende

The Nordisk Tidende is a Norwegian language paper (bokmål) published in Brooklyn, New York from 1891 to the present. The offices of the Norwegian News Co., Northway Printers, contain back volumes to 1926, (the 1891 to 1926 copies were sent to the University of Oslo Library and are not available in the eastern U. S.). The owners permitted me to use a space in the paper's offices where the research continued for nine months, April to December, 1977.

Nordisk Tidende's content provided the major common ground where each of the fourteen organizations selected for study could be observed in interaction. It was the most comprehensible source of NA events in the New York metropolitan area. Although the paper was an uneven source of information (as newspapers generally are), it was a thorough recorder of events. For example, it often listed guest lists of hundreds of persons, named committees, described organizational events in detail, and wrote organizational events in detail, and wrote organizational histories, biographical statements of persons and other information useful in tracing the development and history of NA organizations. The newspaper analysis was also complemented by the works of Rygg (1941) and especially Roedder (1966, 1968), both of whom were Nordisk Tidende editors. Almost daily discussion with Editor Emeritus Soyland, who joined the paper in the 1920s, provided considerable detail pertaining to information not recorded in Nordisk Tidende.

The study of Nordisk Tidende was a starting point for determining whether or not there was a NA ethnic organizational network. Since it was assumed that the newspaper was the "hub" of the metropolitan area,

it became the major "focal" organization (Evan, 1967) for the purpose of this study. The Nordisk Tidende, as the major unit of analysis, was used to "trace its interactions within the network of organizations in its environment" (Ibid., 329). Therefore the paper's organizational interactions provided the boundary of the study, although it is certain that few NA organizations in the metropolitan area have not been written about in the newspaper. Further no NA newspaper has been published as long as Nordisk Tidende. Of the approximately 30 NA publications in Brooklyn from 1847 to the present (based on a list compiled by the Norwegian-American Historical Association) most were not newspapers, but journals, and most were published only one or two years, none survived more than ten years. (To my knowledge, few of the newspapers discussed in Chapter 4 have been preserved, and none of these archives are on the east coast.) Nordisk Tidende represented the major preserved historical record suitable as a source for the research which I sought to conduct.

Originally a ten percent random sample of the Nordisk Tidende issues had been drawn. A random sample however did not enable the researcher to follow the activities of the fourteen selected organizations from week to week. Week to week records were essential considering the aims of the study to reconstruct organizational life cycles in relation to the total community's growth. All 1927 to 1960 issues were therefore scanned for articles pertaining to the selected organizations and read. This provided the method best possible for following weekly organizational events. In addition to information about selected organizations, the sample issues (5 to 6 per year) were read to enable me to obtain an understanding of the Nordisk

Tidende itself, of the broader NA community activities in addition to the selected organization activities and, therefore, as a context for the activities of the selected organizations in the total NA community. The notes for sample issues, for example, included a list of page one content by article title, a list of the general content of the paper page by page and by theme (for example, news of Norway, of churches, or other organizations, of Norwegians in the U. S. on visit, of the broader U. S. NA community, editorials, news of theatre and art, and literature serials).

Notes from Nordisk Tidende issues on all selected organizations were originally recorded on looseleaf paper and then analyzed and coded onto index cards. Persons were recorded on 3x5 cards, each listing recording organizational role and dates. In this way it was possible to determine the persons' role-sets and observe, for example, those serving on numerous boards. This revealed networks of interaction and leadership. Thematic events were recorded on 4x6 cards, including, for example, topics such as assimilation, ethnicity, parades, shipping and trade, and tourism. Information pertaining to organizations, for example, histories, goals, links to other organizations, and ways by which NA ethnicity was preserved in the organization, was recorded on 5x7 inch cards. Most organizations referred to in the paper were noted although specific details were recorded only for selected organizations.

Each of the fourteen organization's histories, beginning with the Nordisk Tidende, was reconstructed in relation to the development of the NA community in the New York area. The spatial boundary of investigation is limited to the New York metropolitan area although

if a local organization has links outside the New York area, they are noted since this information represents one important aspect of the original hypothesis. The nature of the local and non-local linkages, organization-sets, was fleshed out through the documentary analysis in the manner described.

Newspaper accounts were supplemented with other sources. The Nordisk Tidende offices contained a rather extensive library consisting of numerous materials pertaining to organizations in the New York NA community. These were read and analyzed to complement Nordisk Tidende's reports. For example the selected organizations often published books, special anniversary journals and brochures describing their purposes, origins, activities and history. Other documents such as constitutions, by-laws and membership lists were also utilized to further determine organizational purposes and linkages.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was restricted primarily to the nine months in the Nordisk Tidende's offices. It primarily involved informal discussions with the staff pertaining to the paper's operations and history, to certain developments in the NA community or to fill in gaps in information. Further, the paper's position as a hub in the NA community was observed by daily visits from NA organizational representatives. Attendance at Scan II (See Chapter 15) enabled me to have further informal discussions with a wide variety of NAs and Norwegians involved in NA and Scandinavian-American ethnic activities. This constituted another important aspect of participant observation.

Interviews with five persons were conducted. They were formal, arranged in advance and ranged in length from one to two hours. It had been an initial aim of the study to interview extensively to complement the Nordisk Tidende. However the interviews were not as effective as the other sources listed for gathering the type of information being sought, for example, past and present goals, financial inputs, outputs and other exchanges, leadership networks and organizational operations. Such information was more effectively garnered from the various types of organizational publications. Interviews were replaced by visits or phone calls to the various organizations to obtain current material about their operations as was made available.

Background of the Study

The history of the current study reveals that two sociologists have studied the NA community longitudinally over the past century (Jonassen, 1947 and 1949; Hoover 1970 and 1975). The present study evolved from two ethnic community studies using interviews, questionnaires, participant observation and in-depth reading of NA history.

I began to study the NAs in Brooklyn in 1966 at a time when I was residing in the Sunset Park section of Brooklyn, in the area in which the NA community was located. Several studies on the territorial community of NAs in the adjacent Sunset Park and Bay Ridge areas of Brooklyn familiarized me with the research on NAs in the U. S. and in New York City.

This earlier work resulted in the introduction of the researcher to the leaders, the organizations and the demographics of the Brooklyn NA enclave. This community was the topic of my M.A. thesis in 1970.

The M.A. thesis had focused entirely upon the territorial settlement. It left many questions unresolved as new information was discovered. I was certain that studying the NA ethnic groups only in a territorial context failed to account for other important aspects of NA ethnic life. There were, for example, suburban NA groups that were viable and growing in membership, particularly Sons of Norway lodges. There were NA organizations not in the Brooklyn enclave that had been in existence for decades which were still operating and which had been discussed as being part of the NA community in historical accounts (Rygg, 1941) but which were not considered in either Jonassen's dissertation (1947) or in my M.A. thesis (1970). These included many business related ventures. There were also Norwegian national, private, semi-governmental and governmental agencies which, although not NA, were components of the NA annual event schedule by virtue of their participation in it. There were also Scandinavian organizations included in NA life, further suggesting that the boundaries of ethnicity are not easily determinable and constantly in flux. These organizations were also part of "NA" life, based upon weekly observation of the Nordisk Tidende, although their specific roles and influences in the NA community network were vague and undetermined.

It was also during my M.A. research that I began to study the Norwegian, bokmål (Dano-Norwegian), language both in New York City and in Oslo, Norway. Reading of the language was essential in the analysis of Nordisk Tidende and other documents.

After completion of the M.A. thesis I continued to read Nordisk Tidende weekly. I also received a wide array of literature sent out

by Norwegian, NA and other Scandinavian-American organizations which was read and collected.

In 1973 I investigated NA organizational activities on Staten Island and on Long Island as a follow-up to a suggestion in my M.A. conclusions that one could not evaluate the viability of NA ethnicity without looking at NA activities in the broader New York metropolitan area. I chose to investigate Sons of Norway lodges primarily because they were a major source of NA life because they were in New York State, for which I had NA census data, and because they involved youth, third and fourth generation persons, which are not often present at Brooklyn NA events. Ethnic persistence depended upon the later generations, but had not been considered in studies of NAs. With the aid of Nordisk Tidende, I was put into contact with Sons of Norway leaders active in NA community activities, such as the May 17 Parade Committee. I presented a slide discussion program to two Sons of Norway youth groups in order to get into direct contact with the youth and also attended a series of lodge functions including adult and youth participants. This was accompanied by demographic analysis of census data.

In 1975 I suggested that a NA community existed in the metropolitan area of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut which supported NA ethnicity through organizational and leadership networks that united the various NA groups (Hoover, 1975). This idea was based on research I was conducting on the development of anti-poverty organizations during 1970 to 1975. The research included the notions of leadership networks, organizational relationships and environmental influences and their possible effect upon the development of organizations. I

thought the application of these concepts would be useful in the study of ethnicity. Since ethnicity is primarily analyzed from the perspective of the individual, I was intrigued by the possibility that organizational influences affected ethnic persistence and accounted for ethnic group adaptation in ways not previously considered. This has led to the present study which has, therefore, stemmed from 1) the pre M.A. and M.A. research; 2) exposure to different ways of looking at organizational relationships and consideration of their part in ethnic persistence; 3) continued interest in organizational persistence of the NA group in the New York area; and 4) a general renewal of interest in the phenomenon of ethnic persistence in the mid 1970s which was very important because it provided both encouragement to me to further pursue the topic and also led to financial assistance for the present research.

Gaining Access to the NA Community:
Ethnic Research as One Aspect of Ethnic Persistence

The role of the researcher is an extremely crucial factor which must be accounted for in any research and particularly in ethnic group research. I came to New York City in 1966 after having been raised in and around Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. While being raised I was aware of religious and racial factors as bases of social organization. I was only remotely aware of the existence of national origins groups and their role in social organization. This changed once I came to New York, which in part may have been the function of my first research project, a study of the NA community in Brooklyn as a follow-up to Jonassen's 1947 dissertation. This project led to my interest in

studying the NAs and to my first contact with the Nordisk Tidende's staff. When I first came into contact with the paper's editor, he took an immediate interest in me and my topic, in part because I was not of NA descent. Thus my concern with the NA group provided the paper with a human interest story. I had told the editor I was of German and English descent. This became translated in the Nordisk Tidende as

Hoover does not have any Norwegian blood in his veins. His descendants extend back to the days when Englishmen fought with the Indians (NT2/1/68).

This is certainly more interestingly stated than I had told the story, nonetheless the myth proved useful in gaining access to the community. I have never traced my ancestral heritage and the only definite knowledge I have of a national origin is to Germany; this reference was omitted in the newspaper account.

Once rapport had been established with the Nordisk Tidende's leadership it was relatively easy to get access into NA events which were of a more closed nature. Later I reciprocated by supplying statistical and other information to the editors. Thus in establishing entry one becomes, in certain ways, a part of the ethnic network; therefore, contributing in a small way to ethnic persistence by providing material to the paper, by disseminating information about NAs and Norway, and by participation in some events. I subscribed, for example, to several organizational publications, although most information was sent gratis after I requested being placed on mailing lists. I discussed my research and presented slide programs about Norway in

order to meet with the people and gain their assistance. Acceptance by the press and by community leaders, however, was instrumental in gaining access to organizations and publicly legitimized my presence at NA events. In return I had become a part of NA ethnic networks which was further responsible for my invitation to the Scan II conference and becoming an even more active part of ethnic affairs.

The Present Study

The principal ideas which propelled the present research in its formative stage in the winter of 1976 was that NA ethnicity was persisting because there was a network of organizations and leaders which facilitated the process of ethnic solidarity and adaptation despite changing demographic bases, despite the cessation of immigration and despite the integration of most NAs into the American social and economic structures. The existence of ethnic institutions and ethnic identity in spite and perhaps because of the structural and cultural assimilation of the NA ethnic raised a number of questions: Why did NA ethnicity seem to be persisting? What is NA ethnicity and what is its content? Organizations appeared to be the basis of the existing NA community, is there an ethnic organizational network (or networks) which seeks to enhance ethnic persistence? If so, what was its origin, what were the dominant institutions and who were the principal leaders and members? What were its resources, goals, projects, constituency, problems and sources of solidarity? These represented a few of the major questions which had to be answered or at least begun to be answered if the substance of NA ethnicity and the

reasons for its persistence were to be understood. Generalizability from this study is limited, but it does explore some options which other researchers might wish to investigate in the study of the role of national origins and interests groups as an aspect of ethnic persistence in 1978.

APPENDIX II

RESOLUTIONS ARRIVED AT DURING SCANPRESENCE II CONFERENCE

October 7-8, 1977, Minneapolis, MN

CONFERENCE CONSENSUS ON ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN

1. A need exists for an up-to-date and centrally available listing of the various components of Scanpresence and their corresponding interests in Scandinavia, including the press.
2. Needs exist at many levels for more effective inter-communication and exchange about activities of mutual interest as between the various components of Scanpresence. Means and media may vary according to actual demand at each level, but the exchange should be early and frequent enough to allow for mutual support where necessary and possible.
3. A need exists to encourage more adequate and relevant reporting of Scandinavian developments by the general press in North America.
4. A need exists to improve the outreach of Scanpresence to new generations of Scandinavian-Americans, to the wider circles of North Americans who have non-ethnic interests in matters Scandinavian and, very possibly, to Scandinavians who have interests in North America. This in turn implies wider use of English in ethnic press, attention to a wider range of subject matter, more relevant to younger and more assimilated generations, and the strengthening of professional and aesthetic standards in the collection, processing and presentation of information. These requirements further create a need for a sounder economic base for the existing periodical press, not merely to survive, but to widen its influence for a longer and increasingly useful life. One means of accomplishing these ends which merits investigation, is the creation of a periodical supplement, centrally produced, which can be distributed through existing media and other channels as well, as part of their service to subscribers and under their mailing privileges, and with revenue to them. This and alternative possibilities should be explored.
5. Those responsible for the circulation of existing media of information might wish to explore the possibilities of greater efficiency and economy through such measures as consolidation of mailing lists and facilities.
6. Regional clinics or leadership seminars for special interest societies and other interested parties should be organized, perhaps through the initiative of the stronger organizations or through

clusters of organizations in certain areas, or through an eventual umbrella organization.

7. Problems of outreach to new publics and of rapport with the student population should be referred back to the Task Force On Special Interest Societies for further study and specific recommendation.
8. Regional clinics of Special Interest Societies should also consider the question of broader financial support for these societies.
9. Improved communication between the various Brotherhoods, Fraternals and Special Interest Societies is desirable. A method of periodically exchanging ideas should be established.
10. Scandinavian-American societies are encouraged to examine their goals and objectives and to arrive at clear definitions of programs in which they are involved. It is recommended that this information be documented and exchanged between them through some central point.
11. The concept of an umbrella insurance service for Scandinavian-American organizations should be explored, with the intention of providing insurance services both to organizations currently offering such programs and for those who do not now do so, but who may wish to participate.
12. Scandinavian societies in Scandinavia are encouraged to participate with those in North America in circulating information regarding their organizations through Scanpresence channels.
13. In view of the increasing costs of commercial publishing and the relatively limited demand for certain types of books needed for Scandinavian studies and other activities of Scanpresence, it is vital to seek agreement among educators on basic texts, in order to allow quantity orders sufficient to keep books in print. Again, because of the economics of distribution, there should also be an attempt to secure agreement on a central clearing house for distribution. It would be advisable, as well, to encourage greater exchange with publishers and authors in Scandinavia and the development of more good translations from the Scandinavian language.
14. There is a need for a consolidated and up-dated central catalog of films available from the Scandinavian information service, tourist offices and other sources in order to make them more widely available to viewers throughout North America.
15. Comprehensive information about the availability of slide films, musical recording and musical scores would be useful to many elements of Scanpresence.

16. The possibility of a central registry of libraries of Scandinavian photo material in North America should be explored.
17. Where Scandinavian producers are commissioned to produce information and tourism films for impact in North America, the responsible authorities should take steps to assure that they will give proper consideration to the requirements of North American viewing audiences.
18. Agencies concerned with the allotment of funds for information purposes, are urged to give proper weight to the uses of audio-visual materials, so that such undertakings as the Scandinavian Film Project might become a reality.
19. Interested local groups may wish to encourage the wider use of broadcast materials available from Scandinavian broadcast and information agencies.
20. Broadcast agencies in Scandinavia may wish to explore whether the expanding use of video cassettes would open up additional possibilities for the use of their materials in classrooms, chapter programming and the like.
21. There is a need for continuous coordination between libraries and archives holding Scandinavian and Scandinavian-American materials, and for regular meetings of library/archive groups to serve as a coordinating body for bibliographic projects.
22. The production of an annual, periodically cumulated list of books and articles in English on all aspects of Scandinavian culture is a necessity. There is need, as well, for an annual selective list of basic books in English and of bibliographies of books in Scandinavian languages for the use of national and local organizations and public libraries.
23. The continuation, coordination and funding of microfilming programs is a matter of the greatest importance. This should be accompanied by the production of a central directory of all microfilm material on Scandinavian subjects.
24. In view of the ephemeral nature of many of the elements of Scandinavian-American historical material, an active effort is required to rescue and preserve these materials, to store them properly, make them accessible and communicate their availability. In this connection, each of the ethnic groups should consider establishment of a central depository for archival materials. Sessions devoted to archival activities, possibly at the annual meetings of SASS, are recommended.
25. The conference welcomes the initiative of Kent State University in undertaking an encyclopedia directory of archives and urges Scandinavian-American organizations concerned to cooperate.

26. A need exists for a process by which the many organizations and agencies of Scanpresence can be informed of forthcoming visits from overseas, with appropriate information, sufficiently in advance, to enable them to express interest in the use of these visitors, and to give the visitors a chance to make optimum use of their travel here.
27. A need also exists for a set of guidelines for visitors as to the parameters of travel in North America and of the needs and capabilities of local organizations. These guidelines should stress the advisability of generous lead times for planning and should also include some means of providing adequate information as to the nature, content and quality of visiting individuals and groups.
28. There is a need for the development, periodic updating and dissemination of information regarding relevant educational programs at all levels in both the United States and Scandinavia, under both academic and non-academic sponsorship, to include programs ranging from language instruction for children to special seminars for practicing professionals.
29. Development and updating of curricula and curriculum materials at all levels and for all types of programs should be undertaken through the cooperative effort of scholars and classroom teachers.
30. There is a need to support work and research in Scandinavian studies at both undergraduate and graduate levels.
31. The creation of a Committee on Graduate Study and Research in Scandinavian Emigration/Immigration is considered desirable.
32. Efforts are required to bring together the academic world and the non-academic world with respect to their common interests in Scandinavian culture and Scandinavian-American relations.
33. Both public and private sources should be encouraged to provide financial support for education programs and students when normal resources are inadequate.
34. The Conference cautions against taxation measures which can seriously impede the exchange of ideas and information among professionals through conventions, meetings and travel.
35. The Conference recognizes that the fundamental goal and aim of religious organizations and churches of every faith must reach out beyond ethnic and national identities in an on-going concern for a universal fellowship of mankind. At the same time, it is noted that, among the Scandinavians in America, religious and ethnic identities have largely converged and reinforced each other, and continue to do so in a great many congregations of a predominantly Scandinavian background whether they be Lutheran

Methodist, Mormon, Salvation Army or other.

The Conference, therefore, expresses the hope that the various church organizations recognize this ethnic awareness in their congregations, wherever it is in evidence, as a source of vitality and strength, and that they will encourage their member congregations of whatever ethnic background to express their religious hopes and aspirations in forms familiar to each through its own cultural heritage, and to explore the values of that heritage.

The Conference encourages the continued connections with the mother churches of Europe, especially the Scandinavian churches, as a source of renewed vitality, both of the churches themselves and of the Scandinavian Presence in North America.

REFERENCES*

Sources Listed by Author

- Alba, Richard, D. "Social Assimilation Among American Catholic National-Origin Groups," American Sociological Review, 41 (December, 1976), 1030-46.
- Bergmann, Leola Marjorie. American From Norway. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1950.
- Bernard, Jessie. The Sociology of Community. Glenview, Il: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1973.
- Bernard, William S. "Immigrants and Refugees: Their Similarities, Differences and Needs." International Migration, XIV (No. 4, 1976), 267-281.
- Bjork, Kenneth. Saga in Steel and Concrete: Norwegian Engineers in America. Northfield, MN: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1947.
- Blalock, Hubert M. Jr. Toward a Theory of Comparative Ethnic Relations. New York: Wiley, 1967.
- Blegen, Theodore C. Norwegian Migration to America Vol. I: 1825-1860. Northfield, MN: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1931.
- Blumer, Herbert. "Collective Behavior." Principles of Sociology. 3rd ed. Edited by Alfred McClung Lee. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969.
- Brinkerhoff, Merlin B. and Kunz, Phillip R., eds. Complex Organizations and Their Environments. Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown, 1972.
- Caro, Robert A. The Power Broker. New York: Vintage Books, 1975.
- Dann, Martin, ed. The Black Press, 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity. New York: Putnam, 1971.
- Domhoff, G. William. The Higher Circles: The Governing Class in America. New York: Vintage Books, 1971.

*References are listed in four classifications: 1) by author, 2) without author (organizational publications), 3) public documents and 4) interviews.

- Evan, William M. "The Organization-Set: Toward a Theory of Inter-organizational Relations." Approaches to Organizational Design. Edited by James D. Thompson. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967.
- Friis, Erik, J. The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1910-1960. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1961.
- _____. The Norwegian Club, Inc., 1904-1964. Brooklyn, NY: Norwegian News-Arnessen Press, Inc., 1964.
- _____. The Scandinavian Presence in North America. New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1973.
- Galtung, Johan. "Norway in the World Community." Norwegian Society. Edited by Natalie Rogoff Ramsøy. New York: Humanities Press, Inc., 1974.
- Gans, Herbert. The Urban Villagers. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1962.
- Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. Beyond the Melting Pot. Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1963.
- _____. Beyond the Melting Pot. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1970.
- _____. , eds. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Goering, John M. "The Emergence of Ethnic Interests: A Case of Serendipity." Social Forces, 49 (March, 1971), 379-384.
- Gordon, Milton, M. "Toward a General Theory of Racial and Ethnic Group Relations." Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Edited by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Greeley, Andrew M., ed. Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974.
- Haugen, Einar. The Norwegians in America. New York: Teachers College Press, 1967.
- Herberg, Will. Protestant -- Catholic -- Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology. Revised edition. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1960.
- Hollinshead, A. B. Elmtown's Youth. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949.
- Hoover, Knight E. "Norwegians in New York." Norwegian-American Studies, 24 (1970), 221-234.

- _____. "The Emergence of a 'Metropolitan Norwegian Community'." They Came From Norway. Edited by Erik J. Friis. New York: The Norwegian Immigration Sesquicentennial Commission, Inc., 1975.
- Hunter, Floyd. Community Power Structure. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1953.
- Janowitz, Morris. The Community Press in an Urban Setting. 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- Jonassen, Christen T. "The Norwegians in Bay Ridge: A Sociological Study of an Ethnic Group." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1947.
- _____. "Cultural Variables in the Ecology of an Ethnic Group." American Sociological Review, XIV, (February, 1949), 32-41.
- Kantrowitz, Nathan. "Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the New York Metropolis, 1960." American Journal of Sociology, 74 (May, 1969), 685-95.
- _____. Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the New York Metropolis: Residential Patterns Among White Ethnic Groups, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.
- Kornblum, William. Blue Collar Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Levine, Sol and White, Paul E. "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships." Complex Organizations and Their Environments. Edited by Merlin B. Brinkerhoff and Phillip R. Kunz. Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1972.
- Lovoll, Odd Sverre. "The Norwegian Press in North Dakota." Norwegian-American Studies, Vol. 24 (1970), 78-101.
- _____. A Folk Epic: The 'Bygdelag' in America. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975.
- _____. "'Decorah-Posten': The Story of an Immigrant Newspaper." Norwegian-American Studies, Vol. 27 (1977), 77-100.
- Mills, C. Wright. The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Morgenstierne, Wilhelm. Et Større Norge. Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co., 1932.
- Norborg, Sverre. An American Saga. Minneapolis, MN: Sons of Norway, 1970.

- Norlie, Olaf Morgan. History of the Norwegian People in America. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925.
- Osofsky, Gilbert. Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968.
- Park, Robert E. The Immigrant Press and Its Control. Americanization Studies, Vol. 7. William S. Bernard, ed. Republished Edition. Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1971, originally published, Harper and Brothers, 1922).
- Qualey, Carlton M. Norwegian Settlements in the United States. Northfield, MN: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938.
- Roedder, Karsten. Av en utvandrer-avis' saga. 2 vols. Brooklyn, NY: Norwegian News - Northway Printers, Inc., 1966 and 1968.
- Rygg, A. N. Norwegians in New York 1825-1925. Brooklyn, NY: The Norwegian News Company, 1941.
- _____. The Norwegian Children's Home: The Story of the Institution for Forty Years, From 1909 to 1949. Brooklyn, NY: no publisher listed, 1949.
- Schermerhorn, R. A. Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Schweicker, Richard S. "Ethnic Studies: Toward a New Pluralism." Pieces of a Dream. Edited by Michael Wenk, S.M. Tomasi, and Geno Baroni. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972.
- Skard, Sigmund. The United States in Norwegian History. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976.
- Sundby-Hansen, Harry, ed. Norwegian Immigrant Contributions to America's Making. New York: International Press, 1921.
- Tavuchis, Nicholas. Pastors and Immigrants: The Role of a Religious Elite in the Absorption of Immigrants. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963.
- Thernstrom, Stephan. The Other Bostonians. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Thomlinson, Ralph. Population Dynamics: Causes and Consequences of World Demographic Change. New York: Random House, 1965.
- Useem, John and Useem, Ruth Hill. "Minority Group Pattern in Prairie Society." American Journal of Sociology, 50 (March, 1945), 377-385.

- Vernon, Raymond. Metropolis 1985. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1963.
- Vilhelmsen, Vilhelm. Den norsk sjømannsmisjon i 75 år, 1864-1939. Bergen, Norway: J. D. Beyer, 1939.
- Warner, W. Lloyd and Srole, Leo. The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.
- Warren, Roland. "The Inter-organizational Field as a Focus for Investigation." Complex Organizations and Their Environments. Edited by Merlin B. Brinkerhoff and Phillip R. Kunz. Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1972.
- Wenk, Michael; Tomasi, S. M.; and Baroni, Geno, eds. Pieces of a Dream. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972.
- West, John M. "The German-Swedish Transit Agreement of 1940." Scandinavian Studies, Vol. 50 (Winter, 1978), 76-99.
- Wong, Johannes, ed. Norske utvandrere og forretningsdrivende i Amerika. Oslo: J. Burner and Company, 1927.
- Yancey, William L., Ericksen, Eugene P., and Juliani, Richard N. "Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformation." American Sociological Review, 41 (June, 1976), 391-403.

Sources Listed Without Author (Organizational Publications)

May 17th Parade Committee of Greater New York, Inc. Journals.
(No publishing data available), 1964, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971,
1972, 1975, 1977, 1978.

Nordisk Tidende (1926-1978), Northway Printers, Publisher, 8104 Fifth
Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11209.

Nordmanns-Forbundet, New York Chapter. (Norsemen's Federation, Inc.),
By-Laws, February, 1975.

Nordmanns-Forbundet journal. Edvard Hambro, ed., Vol. 35 (Nos. 1-12),
1942.

Nordmanns-Forbundet journal. Johan Hambro, ed., Vol. 69 (No. 8), 1976.

Norway Travel Association (Landslaget for Reiselivet i Norge). By-Laws
(Vedtekter). 75 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, NY 10019.

Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce, Inc., The Membership Directory,
1974-1975. 290 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10017.

Ny Verd, Vinlands Mallæg, Publisher, 18 Old Lantern Drive, Wilton, CT.
06897.

Scandinavian-American Business Association. Scandinavian-American
Bulletin. Erik J. Friis, ed., selected issues, 1973-1978.

Scanpresence II Conference. "Collection of Papers." Minneapolis, MN,
October 6-8, 1977.

Scanpresence "Progress Report No. 1." Secretariat and Conference
Co-ordinator, Suite 1645, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10020
(no date).

Sjømannskirken in Brooklyn, New York 1878-1953: Festskrift i anledning
Sjømannskirken 75 års jubileum den 18 oktober, 1953. (a memorial
journal in connection with the Seamen's Church's 75th Anniversary.
October 18, 1953; no publisher's data). The Norwegian Seamen's
Church, 33 First Place, Brooklyn, NY.

Sons of Norway. Forty Second International Annual Report. Miami, FL,
August 26 - September 2, 1972.

Sons of Norway, Supreme Lodge. Minutes of 42nd International Biennial
Convention. Miami, FL, August 26-September 2, 1972.

Sons of Norway, Supreme Lodge. Minutes of 43rd International Biennial
Convention. Banff, Alberta, Canada, August 22-24, 1974.

Sons of Norway. International Headquarters The Heritage People.
September, 1975. 1455 West Lake Street, Minneapolis, MN 55408.

Sons of Norway, Third District. Twenty-Ninth Annual Directory. (No
publisher's data, 1976).

Viking Magazine. Bent Vanberg, ed. Minneapolis, MN: The Sons of
Norway, 1455 West Lake Street, Minneapolis, MN 55408.

Public Documents

American Immigration and Citizenship Conference. Fact Sheet:
The Immigration Act of 1965 -- Public Law 89-236. 2nd revised
ed. New York: By the Conference, 509 Madison Avenue, April 7, 1967.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.
Census Tract Tabulations for New York City: 1940, September, 1942.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Population
Annual Report: 1950, Vol. III, Chapter 37, November, 1952.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. United
States Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Final Report PHC
(1) -- 104. Part I, Census Tracts, New York City, 1962.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Computer
Print Out. PS-2 Census of Population, New York City: 1970. City
Planning Commission, 2 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10007.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Detailed
Characteristics, New York State. PC (1) - D 34. Census of
Population, 1970.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Social
and Economic Statistics Administration, Table p. 2. Census Tracts,
New York City, 1972.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. County
and City Data Bank, 1972. U.S. Government Printing Office,
Washington, D.C., 1973. 15 Counties in New York and New Jersey
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Princeton University
Computer Center, 87 Prospect Avenue, Princeton, NJ 08540.

United States Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the
United States: 1974 (95th ed.) Washington, D.C.

Interviews

Nordisk Tidende staff, 4/77 to 12/77.

Former Director, Sons of Norway, Third District, 4/77.

President, American-Scandinavian Foundation, 8/77.

Associate Director, Norwegian Information Service, 7/77.

Director and Assistant Director, Norwegian National Tourist
Organization, 7/77.